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Essays and Articles from Rising Sun Press

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PO Box 4362
Allentown, PA 18105
(610) 437-2971



Chief Sam "Gray Wolf" Hannah and wife, Maxine Blue Jacket Hannah

Dedicated to the Memory of Chief Sam Gray Wolf

About Rising Sun Press

By Tom Big Warrior

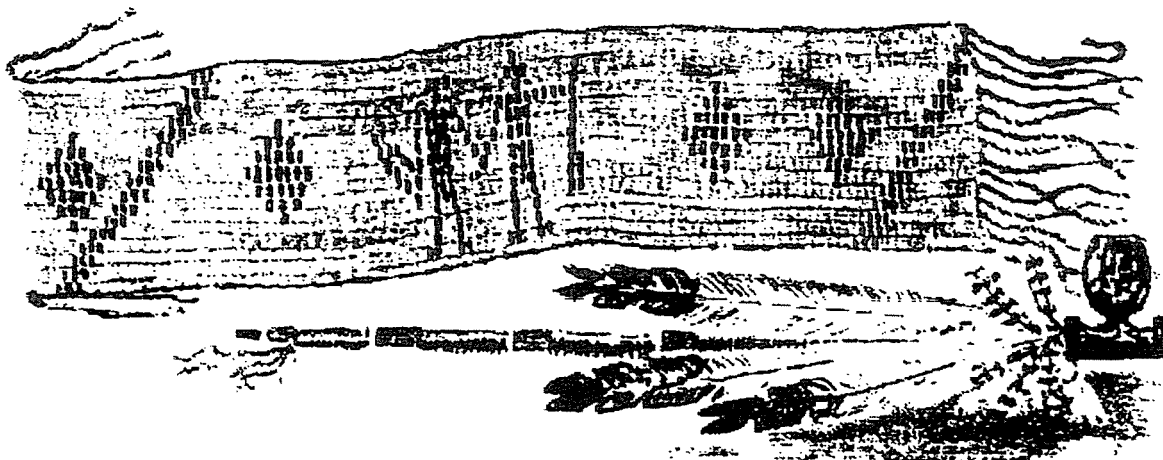
Rising Sun Press was begun in the mid-1990s to publish the newsletter The Wampum and other literature of the Lenape National Restoration Movement (LNRM) at the request of Chief Sam Gray Wolf of the United Eastern Lenape Nation (UELN). The Lenape (Delaware Indians) were the predominant nation of indigenous people of the Mid-Atlantic Region. Their homeland include all of New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and parts of New York, Connecticut, Maryland and Delaware. However, most were pushed west by Euro-American colonization and "ethnic cleansing," and today the descendents of this once great nation are scattered all over "Turtle Island," with the largest concentrations in Oklahoma and Ontario.

Sam "Gray Wolf" Hannah was born in Oklahoma to Oneida and Delaware Indian parents. He was a combat veteran of World War II and Korea, and he did a tour in Vietnam as a medic. He became an outspoken opponent of the draft, the Vietnam War and imperialism. He was a Pan-Indian nationalist and founder of the UELN. At his request, I became the "Historykeeper" to the Eastern Lenape and a member of the Chief's Council. As his health was failing, he also requested that I take over his correspondence with prisoners. He lived long enough to see the first issue of The Wampum in print.

Increasingly I began to get requests from prisoners of other tribal backgrounds for information and assistance in walking a traditional warrior's path. In 2000, I initiated the Red Heart Warriors Society (RHWS) as a prison-based intertribal warrior's society with an emphasis on fighting for the right of prisoners to participate in traditional spiritual programs and ceremonies. This expanded to include raising consciousness about resistance to U.S. imperialism and the fight against all oppression through its newsletter The Red Heart Warrior. I was contacted by Black prisoners, including the late Black Panther Party political prisoner, Samuel "Angel" Coley, who was then dying of hepatitis, about helping to start a similar society based on African warrior traditions, and thus the Black Brigade was created along with its newsletter, Leviathan.

A Black Panther faction came together within the Black Brigade led by Shaka S. Zulu and Kevin Rashid Johnson, and we began publishing the newsletter Right On! to be their voice. White prisoners began writing in asking if they could join or how they could help, and the White Panther Organization (WPO) was formed as an arm of the New African Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) along with the newsletter The Liberator. Finally, internal struggle within the Black Brigade led to its reorganization as the New African Service Organization (NASO), with a basis of unity of support for the Black Panthers 10 Point Program and the name of the newsletter was changed to Serve The People!

This anthology is composed of articles, poems, essays and drawings that appeared in these newsletters. It's all original material or stuff freely accessible on line – which is to say not accessible to prisoners directly. It reflects the ideas, interests and politics of a growing segment of prisoners in Amerika. The revolutionary inspiration of the original BPP, and the political ideological line we call "Pantherism" is the guiding influence. We are indebted to Chief Gray Wolf, to Huey and Bobby, Fred Hampton, George Jackson and the many comrades who went before, including many who are still imprisoned in the dungeons of Amerika, for daring to struggle for liberation and social justice. Panther Love! - TBW



The Legacy of Tamanend III:

The St. Tammany Society & Mayday

By Tom Big Warrior

Originally published by Heart Stone Press, 2005

"The name of Tamanend is held in the highest veneration among the Indians. Of all the chiefs and great men, which the Lenape nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his history is known. The misfortunes which have befallen some of the most beloved personages among the Indians since the Europeans came among them, prevent the survivors from indulging in the pleasure of recalling to mind the memory of their virtues...

"All we know, therefore, of Tamanend is that he was an ancient Delaware chief, who never had his equal. He was in the highest degree endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality, in short with every good and noble quality that a human being may possess, He was supposed to have intercourse with the great and good Spirit: for he was a stranger to everything that is bad."

- John Heckewelder, History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations

John Heckewelder, a Moravian missionary from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, who spent the better part of thirty years living among the Lenapes in western Pennsylvania and Ohio, wrote that:

"The fame of this great man extended even among the whites, who fabricated numerous legends respecting him, which I never heard, however, from the mouth of an Indian, and therefore believe to be fabulous. In the Revolutionary War, his enthusiastic admirers dubbed him a saint, and he was established under the name of *St. Tamanend*, the patron saint of America. His name was inserted in some calendars, and his festival was celebrated on the first of May in every year. On that Day a numerous society of his votaries walked together in procession through the streets of Philadelphia, their hats decorated with bucks' tails, and proceeded to a handsome rural place out of town which they called the *Wigwam* where, after a *long talk* or Indian speech had been delivered, and the *Calumet* of peace and friendship had been duly smoked, they spent the day in festivity and mirth. After dinner, Indian dances were performed on the green in front of the Wigwam, the calumet was again smoked, and the company separated.

The association lasted until some years after the peace, when the public spirited owner of the Wigwam, who generously had lent it every year for the honor of his favorite saint, having fallen under misfortune, his property was sold to satisfy his creditors... Since that time, other societies have been formed in Philadelphia, New York, and I believe in other towns in the Union, under the name *St. Tammany*: but the principle object

of these associations being party-politics, they have lost much of the charm which was attached to the original society of *St. Tammany*,... These political societies, however, affect to preserve Indian forms in their organization and meetings. They are presided over by a *Grand Sachem*, and their other officers are designated by Indian titles. They meet at their "*wigwam*," at the "*Going down of the sun*," in the months of snows, plants, flowers, &c. Their distinguishing appellation is always "*The Tammany Society*."

In actuality, it was considerably before the War of Independence that *St. Tammany* first appeared on the cultural scene at Valley Forge in 1736, With a fishing club of Quaker men. They were in conflict with the Penn proprietors over the right to fish shad in the Schuylkill River, which they contended had been granted to them by Tamanend. In the face of the Anglican Penn brothers, and those who attempted to take down their fish weirs, they avowed "*Tammany*" to be their "*patron saint*," proclaiming May 1st, the start of fishing season, to be their "*saints day*," and several other

¹ *History, Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, (1876), Heckewelder, John, p. 301. "The Wigwam Tavern with its river baths, located at the foot of Race Street was the gathering spot of the Philadelphia Tammany Society. Later they gathered at the River Tavern on Race Street throughout the 1830's, and perhaps longer." - *The Schuylkill*, (1951), Nolan, J. Bennett, p. 207.

men's clubs and associations in Philadelphia followed suit and joined them in festivities along the river.

Mayday had been a Celtic and Roman holiday in Europe, and may also have been a continuation of the Lenape tradition of holding a Spring festival, the *Mee-sing-kin-te-ka* (Gamekeeper Spirit's Dance) in honor of the *Mee-sing-haw-lee-kun* or *Mesing'w*, the masked Manitou central to the Lenape Big House religion. A feature of the mid-18th century St. Tammany's Day was the coming round of the "Sainted Chief" to private homes on the eve of the celebration dressed in full regalia, whooping and dancing about, to the fright and amusement of the children. The "Chief" would be given treats and then move on to the next home, much as the masked "*Mesing'w*" would visit the wigwams of the Lenape prior to the *Mee-sing-kin-te-ka*.

The name *Tamanend* means the "Affable One," and Tamanend the Third certainly lived up to this reputation. Not only did he make and keep the Great Peace of Shackamaxon with the "Children of Brother Onas," (William Penn), but also he rejected Iroquois attempts to goad the Lenapes into supporting their "Twenty Years War" against New France and its Indian allies.

In 1687, a Mohawk spokesman appealed to Pennsylvania's Governor Dongan for help in persuading the Lenapes to send warriors, saying:

"We ask for help, much of it, and in a hurry. Where can we run? There is a great crowd of Indians who would pursue us everywhere anyway?"²

Speaking for his fellow Lenape sakemas, (Mohocksey and Tamenend), Chief Hithquokas informed Pennsylvania's governing council that the Iroquois ambassador had attempted to provoke them by saying:

"You Delaware doe nothing but stay at home and boil your pots, and are like women, while we Onaondagages and Senekas goe abroad and fight against the enemy. But having resolved among ourselves not to goe, doe intend to send back this their belt of Wampum..."³

However when the word reached the Lenapes that French privateers were off the coast, the warriors rushed to Philadelphia, with guns, tomahawks and bows in hand, to defend their pacifist Quaker brothers. It was only with difficulty that they were persuaded that the French ships, while a threat to coastal shipping, posed no danger to the city.

To the Lenape, the rattlesnake, which was Tamanend's personal mark, embodies the *Spirit of Affability*, as he does not go for looking for trouble, and he always gives fair warning before striking, as if to say: "**DON'T TREAD ON ME!**"

Tammany was a warrior, and when the fighting broke out in the Revolutionary War, the Philadelphia Militia are said to have marched to it under a flag portraying his likeness. Many more Americans emblazoned the coiled rattlesnake on their flags and powder horns along with the inscription: "Don't Tread On Me!" The buck tail on the hat, identified with St. Tammany Day celebrations, was the mark of un-uniformed militia and rebel guerrillas up and down the thirteen colonies, and it was often worn by regular Continental Army troops as well.

After the harsh winter at Valley Forge, the Continental Army staged an impressive Tammany Day Celebration on May 1st, 1778. The soldiers:

"...marching with fife and drum and Huzzaing as they passed the poles [erected the evening before] their hats decorated with white blossoms. The following was the

procession of the 3rd J Regt on the aforesaid day first one serjeant in an Indian habit representing King Tammany, Second Thirteen Serjeants drest in white each with a bow in his left hand and thirteen arrows in his right hand. Thirdly thirteen drums and fifes. Fourthly the privates in thirteen platoons, thirteen men each - The Non-Commissioned Officers and Soldiers being drawn up in the aforesaid manner on the Regimental Parade gave 3 Cheers at their own pole... in the evening the officers of the aforesaid Regt assembled and had a song and dance in honor of King Tammany."⁴

The fact that corn given by the pro-American Oneida Indians had rescued the starving army over the winter cannot but have made the tribute to the Indian "King" all the more sincere.⁵

Tamanend was the third of his name to hold the office of Chief Sakema of the Lenape Nation. The *Wallam Olum* (Red Record) of the Lenapes mentions Tamanend the First (in lines 34 to 36 of Book IV), as leading the people during their epic migration in the western part of Turtle Island in what seems to have been the Yellowstone River country. It states:

By the Yellow River

They settled again

Harvesting much

From the wide meadows.

Everyone 's .friend.

Tamanend

Was the sachem.

*The first of that name*⁶

The Lenape had gone through a period of great internal corruption and oppression by grafting politicians, the ten successive chiefs whose names were deliberately forgotten. These were followed by a series of good sakemas: The Peaceful One, The Blameless One, Constant Love, House Maker, Chastely Loving, Long Lineage, Big Teeth, and Olumapi ("History Man"), who is credited with the innovation of keeping the written record of the *Wallam Olum*. During this period, the Lenape ancestors are believed to have adopted the Big House Religion.

Following this time in the Pacific Northwest, the Lenapes continued their southward migration into the Great Plateau region, which abounded with wild fruits, roots and salmon-filled rivers, and the Lenape became more numerous and prospered, until a great drought came and forced the people to seek the high plains in search of game. They crossed the Rocky Mountains into the new country.

However, the people were deeply divided, and for some generations, no one could fill the role of sakema. Hardened One, and after him, The Denouncer, tried to enforce unity, leading to splits and fracturing of the nation.

Tamanend II was the chief sakema after the people reached the Mid-Atlantic region, the homeland of *Lenapéhoking*. He is mentioned in lines 22 and 23 of Book V in the *Wallam Olum*:

Tamanend the Second

Then was the sachem

⁴ *Exemplar of Liberty*. (1991), Grinde, Donald J., & Bruce E. Johansen. p. 178-170.

⁵ On October 4th. Pvt. Thomas Paine led the working people of Kensington in looting the warehouses of the rich to feed the poor of the city and the starving Continental Army. Later wagonloads of corn from the Oneida Indians and the Lehigh Valley kept the army alive at Valley Forge.

⁶ *The Red Record*, (1989), McCutchen, David, p. 98.

² "*Pennsylvania Indians and the Iroquois*," Jennings, Francis, in *Beyond the Covenant Chain* (1987), Richter, Daniel K. & James H. Merrell. p. 81.

³ *Ibid*. p.81.

Making peace with all.

Befriending all.

Uniting them all.

Was this great sachem.

This is the last book of the great epic, and Tamanend II's tenure is believed to have begun around 1450 or a little earlier. After a time of great stress with the Lenape's Iroquoian neighbors, Tamanend II is credited with establishing peace and a grand eastern woodlands alliance. He is believed to have established the Lenape capital of Shackamaxon, ("Where Chiefs Are Made"), on the banks of the Schuylkill River, at the location of the present Kensington section of the City of Philadelphia.

The statue of William Penn atop the Philadelphia City Hall building is supposed to be looking at the Shackamaxon Elm, where the Great Treaty was made between Penn and Tamanend III, but the tree has since died of Dutch Elm's Disease, and the Great Treaty Monument stands in its place.

Ironically, during the British occupation of Philadelphia, General Simcoe, the English Commander, fearing that his soldiers might cut down the Treaty Elm in their forging for firewood, had a 24-hour guard placed on it. In 1810, a storm blew down the original trunk. Grafting had been made to keep the tree alive indefinitely, and it was reseeded, but all of these clones and children of the Treaty Elm perished in the blight during the 20th century.⁷

While Philadelphia was the largest city and capital of the emerging republic, it was the center of Tammanite activity. John Adams wrote home enthusiastically to Abigail about the May 1st celebration he witnessed in 1777 while a delegate to the Continental Congress:

This is King Tammany's Day. Tammany was an Indian King of this part of the Continent, when Mr. Penn first came here. His court was in this town. He was friendly to Mr. Penn and very serviceable to him. He lived here among the first settlers for some time and until old age... The people here have sainted him and keep his day.⁸

Philadelphia, the "Holy Experiment," was an instant success. Europeans by the shipload, mostly Quakers and members of other persecuted (and generally pacific) sects, got off their boats and stepped onto city streets, where they bought lots, built homes, and set up shop immediately. They depended on the residents of Shackamaxon and the surrounding Indian villages, a population of some 3,000⁹, to trade with them and supply them with food. They had no militia, but they traded guns to the Indians, (the best on the continent), and relied on them to hunt for them and to defend them.

Tamanend was more of a "king" to them than the men Penn left behind to govern them. He was more their idea of a "king" than the ones they had fled from in Europe. Among the Lenapes, even the most influential sakemas were regarded as ordinary men. They dressed themselves, hunted and fished for their families' dinner, and said, "He!" or "Yo!" to people as they passed, like everyone else. Still and all, in important matters, they commanded everyone's respect.

When Penn's proprietorship of the Pennsylvania passed to his heirs, they violated the Great Treaty with the fraudulent "Walking Purchase" and other outrages against the Indian peoples, which led to "Pennsylvania's Indians" siding with the French in the 1755 uprising. The response of Philadelphia's Quakers and the Franklinites was to set up their own negotiations with "King" Teedyuscung, the leader of the Eastern Lenapes, in the frontier town of Easton, Pennsylvania, on the Forks of the Delaware, in the midst of the French and Indian War.



King Teedyuscung

Based upon the Great Treaty and the legacy of Tamanend III, these negotiations led to the defection of the Lenapes and other Ohio Indians from the French camp, when it most served the British cause. Teedyuscung's exposure of the theft of the "Walking Purchase" lands at the Easton Treaty was popularized by the Lenapes' adopted scribe, Charles Thompson, and Benjamin Franklin.

This was instrumental in unseating the proprietors and making Pennsylvania a Crown Colony, where the crown was not firmly established. Pledging loyalty to "King Tammany" precluded affirming loyalty to the Anglican Church, and to St. George, St. David, St. Andrew or St. Patrick.¹⁰

From the start, the Mayday celebration in Philadelphia had a political edge. In 1738, after obtaining permission from the Governor, upstream people organized by Timothy Miller collected their canoes and stole downriver in the dark, intent on smashing the fish-weirs at Valley Forge, the night before the shad run began. The local fisherman jumped into their own canoes as soon as Miller's gang was detected sabotaging their weirs, and the "Great Fish Fight" ensued.

Miller lost heart after a Quaker broke his thumb with a paddle or club, and the upriver intruders gave flight, abandoning their canoes to flee by foot through the woods. Legal experts sided with the upriver people but the Quakers stood their ground. When two constables and three canoes of henchmen arrived with legal papers authorizing them to destroy the fish-weirs, two hundred Valley Forge Quakers became, "very rude and abusive...damned the King's laws and the lawmakers."¹¹ They mustered for defense and knocked three of the henchmen into the river with their clubs. The constables withdrew in haste.

In 1747, the Schuylkill Fishing Company presented a cannon to the Association Battery stamped with the words Kwanio Che Keeteru, a phrase attributed to Tamanend, meaning: "THIS IS MY RIGHT, AND I WILL DEFEND IT!"

⁷ *A History of Pennsylvania*, (1905), Shimmell, L.S., p. 29.

⁸ *Exemplar of Liberty*, p. 177.

⁹ *Glimpses of Philadelphia Life 1776*, Dunham. Richard S., from *The Founding City: The Philadelphia Inquirer's Bicentennial Journal*. (1976), p. 29.

¹⁰ The first three are the patron saints of England, Wales, and Scotland, whose combined crosses make the British flag, and St. Patrick is the patron saint of Ireland.

¹¹ *The Delaware*, (1940) Wildes, Harry E.

By the early 1770's, the emerging revolutionary group, the Sons of Liberty, had adopted "King Tammany" and the style of dressing in Indian costume, particularly their militant street-fighting wing, known as the "Mohawks." The Sons of Liberty took their name from a speech made in Parliament by Col. Isaac Barre¹² in rebuttal of Lord Grenville's proposed Stamp Tax on the American colonies. Speaking in favor of the bill, Charles Townsend said:

"...And now will these Americans, children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence until they are grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms, will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?"

Barre, a veteran of the last French and Indian War in America, sprang to his feet and interrupted, shouting:

*"They planted by your care? No! Your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny, to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all hardships to which human nature is liable, and ...they grew up by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised by sending persons to rule them in one department or another, who were, perhaps, the deputies of deputies to some members of this House, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them - men whose behavior on many occasions has caused the blood of those SONS OF LIBERTY to recoil within them."*¹³

Almost overnight, the radical circles in the different colonies grasped at a common identity. They set up the Committee of Correspondence to link the local organizations and other committees, which mirrored the Colonial governments and usurped their authority.

*"With the regular governments all but extinguished, the Sons of Liberty steadily tightened their control...they kept the upper hand. They acted, of course, more arbitrarily than the regular government would have dared to do: they seized private mail, restricted the freedom of the press, and terrorized their enemies without mercy. But this is only to say that they were beginning a revolution. They had seized the power which once had belonged to the royal governments, and they were prepared to keep it by fair means or foul until their end, the defeat of the Stamp Act, was accomplished."*¹⁴

Joseph Allicocke, a member of the Sons of Liberty Committee of Correspondence, was credited with leading the first Anti-Stamp Act demonstration in New York City. He and his fearless "Mohawks" were known to attack parades of British soldiers with brickbats and drive them from their drills by marching against them and pelting them with stones. A "mulattoe," he led the urban poor of all nationalities, and he was considered to be one of the two most dangerous radicals in New York by British intelligence services. When the Stamp Act was repealed in 1766, he was proclaimed a "general" by the mob and given a cannonade salute.

From 1766 to 1770, the New York Sons of Liberty had a running battle with the "redcoats" stationed in the city, over the "Liberty Pole" they had erected in "The Fields" to commemorate the repeal of the Stamp Act. Three times the redcoats snuck up in the night and cut down the pole, where the rebels gathered to renew their

commitment to the fight for liberty. On one occasion, they fired their guns into the tavern, which the local Sons of Liberty used as their nightly gathering spot.

Each time the Liberty Pole was replaced and increasingly girded with bands of iron to frustrate its being cut down again. In January of 1770, some British soldiers were discovered attempting to cut the pole down for the fourth time, and they were routed. A few nights later, they came back, and they not only cut down the Liberty Pole but deposited it on the tavern steps, to add insult to injury.

The next day, Isaac Sears, "the most dangerous revolutionary in New York City," and a few "Mohawks," caught a couple of redcoats putting up anti-Sons of Liberty posters. As events unfolded, the "Citizen's arrest" of the soldiers escalated into a full-blown "donnybrook" between a mob of redcoats armed with swords and bayonets and the Liberty Boys, armed with brickbats, stones, and fists. Preceding the Boston Massacre by more than a month, the "Battle of Golden Hill" has been dubbed the "first blood of The Revolution."

On May 1st, 1772, the Philadelphia Sons of Liberty became the Sons of King Tammany. The following year, after a mock "canonization," they became the SONS of ST. TAMMANY John Dickinson, who was to become the first President of the United States under the Articles of Confederation, was one who received an invitation to the planning meeting:

*"Sir, As all Nations have for Seven Centuries past. adopted some great personage, remarkable for his Virtues and Love for Civil and Religious Liberty, as their Tutular Saint; and annually assembled on a fixed Day, to commemorate him. The Natives of this flourishing Province, determined to follow so laudable an Example, for some Years past, have adopted a Great warrior, Sachem, and Chief named St. TAMMANY, a fast Friend to our Forefathers, to be the tutular Saint of this Province: and have hitherto, on the FIRST OF MAY, done the accustomed Honors to the Memory of so great and celebrated a Personage. And for the same Purpose, you are requested to meet the CHILDREN and ASSOCIATED SONS of St. TAMMANY on Saturday next, at the House of Mr. James Byrns, to dine together, and form such useful charitable Plans, for the Relief of all in Distress, as shall then be agreed on."*¹⁵

The presence of the Lenape chief and diplomat, Coquetakegton, also known as Chief White Eyes, in Philadelphia during the critical period of the winter and spring of 1776, while Thomas Paine's *Common Sense*¹⁶ was awakening people to the concept of "Natural Law" and moving them towards drafting the *Declaration of Independence*, had a profound effect on the political and ideological climate in Philadelphia.

White Eyes did not stay for the Mayday celebration, but he did stay for over five months, and was housed next door to what is now known as *Independence Hall*, where he could meet daily with the delegates and local Tammany Society members, including adopted Lenape, Charles Thomson, (*He-Who-Speaks-Truthfully*). An ardent patriot, Charles Thomson has been called the "Sam Adams of Philadelphia." He was the Secretary of the Continental Congress, and the chief's host.

Thomson was Ben Franklin's next-door neighbor, and the principle founder of the Sons of Liberty in Philadelphia in 1763. It was he who organized the First Continental Congress in the summer of 1774.

"The sequence of event began when (Paul) Revere...arrived at the London Coffee House in Philadelphia with the news that the port in Boston had been closed down in retaliation for the Boston Tea

¹² From whom, along with John Wilkes, the radical mayor of London, the Pennsylvania town of Wilkes-Barre derived its name. It was founded by a group of Connecticut squatters, led by John Durkee, a member of the Sons of Liberty, on the site of the former Lenape town of Wyomink. in 1769.

¹³ *Pictorial Field Book of the Revolution*, (1860), Lossing, Benson J., p. 162-163.

¹⁴ *The Stamp Act Crisis*, p. 355.

¹⁵ *Exemplar of Liberty*, p. 174.

¹⁶ Paine's pamphlet, entitled *Common Sense Addressed to the Inhabitants of America*, which advocated independence from England and the old European feudal order, quickly sold over 100,000 copies and became the single greatest influence in the movement towards a revolutionary republic.

Party. Thomson immediately went to work, and worked around the clock to arrange a spontaneous mass meeting."¹⁷

The Pennsylvania governor, a Penn [family] appointee, attempted to thwart Thompson's plans [to get the Pennsylvania Assembly to convene a congress of all the colonies] by exercising his right to refuse to call the assembly into session. Thomson promptly outflanked this maneuver by calling another mass meeting at which 8,000 Philadelphians gave support, by voice vote, to the resolutions to set up a revolutionary Committee of Correspondence, to send food and money to Boston, and to convene a general congress in Philadelphia."¹⁸

Thompson arranged to move the place of meeting from the State House to Carpenter's Hall, where the radicals could more easily control the Continental Congress.

Meanwhile, in New York City, on April 23rd, 1775, Isaac Sears led the mob in seizing the city arsenal and passed out muskets to the revolutionary militia, giving muscle to the new Provisional Congress, which had taken over from the Provisional Assembly. Sears also led the mob in destroying the presses and stealing the type from the New York Gazetteer, the city's largest, and most rabidly pro-British, newspaper.¹⁹

One of the frequent visitors of Chief White Eyes was his good friend, George Morgan, who lived only a few blocks away. Morgan was a partner of Baynton, Wharton and Morgan, one of the most influential firms in the Indian trade, and he had spent considerable time in Indian Country. His reputation among the Indians as an honest trader was of the highest degree.

Among the delegates, Chief White Eyes found an influential one who agreed with the notion of Indians being represented in the Continental Congress, Thomas Jefferson. Benjamin Franklin also agreed, but cautioned that they should be invited: *"After Congress has settled the question of Independence."*²⁰

Conquetakegton addressed Congress and appealed to them to send assistance in the form of teachers, ministers and a blacksmith to live among the Lenape of Ohio. The Lenape already had these, but he was intent upon wooing the more conservative and racist Southern and New England delegates by assuring them that the "heathen Indians" wanted to be "civilized." This would cause him trouble back in Ohio with both the Moravians, who considered the Delawares to be "their Indians," and the Lenape traditionalists, who thought there was quite enough "civilizing" going on already, but it was well accepted by the delegates to the Continental Congress.

Congress appointed George Morgan to be its special Indian Agent and empowered him to bring the Ohio nations into an alliance with the United Colonies. Eloquent in the language of wampum diplomacy, and knowledgeable in Lenape history and custom, Morgan was well-received by the Lenape Grand Council, which adopted him and gave him the rank of Lenape chief, along with the most honorable name of Tamanend, in recognition of the important message of peace he brought and the alliance he was attempting to forge, which was viewed as a renewal of the Great Treaty.

In September of 1778, the Continental Congress, through the Treaty of Pittsburgh, formally invited the Delawares to join the American confederation, and it was suggested that they might, *"...invite any other tribes who have been friends to the interests of the United States, to join the present confederation, and to form a state whereof the Delaware nation shall be head, and have a representation in Congress."*²¹

¹⁷ "Charles Thomson: Philadelphia's Own Sam Adams," Randall, Willard S., from *The Founding City*, p. 74-75.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ *New York, New York*, (1990), Allen, Oliver E., p. 64.

²⁰ *Wampum Belts and Peace Trees*, (1990), Schaaf, Gregory, p 14

²¹ *Treaty with the Delawares of September 17, 1778*, 7 stat 13.

This step was aborted, however, by the assassination of White Eyes, while he was serving as a Lt. Colonel in the Continental Army, and the Gnadenhutzen Massacre, where almost a hundred pacifist Moravian Indians were executed by the Washington County Militia, all tenants of George Washington. In the end, despite the intent of the Congress, General Washington used the War of Independence to strike hard at the Indian nations, invading the territories of the Iroquois, Cherokees, Creeks, Mingos, Lenapes, Shawnees, and others, and surreptitiously sabotaging every effort to build an American-Indian alliance.

By the end of the Revolutionary War, the Philadelphia Tammanites became known as the Constitutional Sons of Saint Tammany in recognition of their support for Pennsylvania's new democratic constitution. On May 1st, 1776, a referendum on the question of independence failed to pass. In response, the Continental Congress passed a decree on May 15th that said that wherever the old provincial governments were incapable of providing for the public welfare, new organs of government should be created. The revolutionaries of Philadelphia called a mass meeting on July 18th that declared the Provincial Assembly was no longer able to provide for the public welfare.

The Pennsylvania Constitutional Convention opened on July 15th, and it assumed the power of State government immediately, though often ineptly. There has been much criticism of this body, even of the advisability of forming it, as the old Provincial Assembly came out in support of the Declaration of Independence before its demise. The Quaker dominated Assembly was conservative, but step-by-step it was conforming to the changing situation. The decrees of the Continental Congress alienated the Quakers as a block, which became neutral towards the revolution and never again acted as a political force in the affairs of Pennsylvania.

On May 1st., 1783, the Tammany Society organized a parade to celebrate the impending peace with thirteen "sachems" dressed in full regalia. The Tammany Grand Sachem was symbolically vested with supreme authority for the day, and he ordained that each should *do as he pleased during the day*. The Society's secretary, who reminded the people that hostilities would soon be over, then produced a hatchet and he called on the warriors, hunters and young men to bury the hatchet. He then threw it on the ground, and each man tossed a stone on top of it to signify his agreement.

The ceremony ended with a cannon salute and the playing of Yankee Doodle, after which a six-foot long calumet adorned with thirteen feathers and thirteen stars was smoked by the hundreds in attendance, and toasts were drunk to St. Tammany, the Constitution of Pennsylvania, the Union and General Washington.

Next the Grand Sachem led in singing the traditional Tammany's Day Song, which was *"...in vogue long before the Revolution*. After singing several more popular and revolutionary songs, and drinking several toasts, *"...the revelers returned to the city, marching Indian file, as if on a forest path*. The following year, they again marched to Edward Pole's countryseat on the Schuylkill, elected chiefs and performed the *Dance of the Calabash*. While feasting, news arrived that George Washington had just arrived in the city, and the crowd gave a loud *Huzzah!* On the way back to town, they stopped at the house where Washington was being dined by Robert Morris. They cheered the general, and a man in *pow wow dress performed a manetta dance* in his honor.

After the Revolution, the Sons of Liberty were disbanded, but the Sons of St. Tammany continued to proliferate from Georgia to Rhode Island, and also along the banks of the Ohio, where many Revolutionary War veterans settled. Annual Mayday events were held throughout this vast area, and also celebrations on May 12th, which was proclaimed to be "King Tammany's" birthday during the Revolution. Washington and Patrick Henry were guests of honor at the 1785 Tammany Day celebration in Richmond.

This description of the Tammany May Festival in Philadelphia comes from "May games and noble savages," by Martin Walsh:

Philadelphia newspaper reports from the exuberant years

immediately following American Independence allow one to make a fairly consistent composite of the sequence of events on a Tammany May Day according to the "good old custom of our worthy forefathers." The location was the banks of the rural Schuylkill River on Philadelphia's westside. Festivities began at noon with a raising of the colours on three "maypoles" festooned with garlands, the central maypole sometimes dubbed the "Liberty Pole." The flags of the Netherlands and France, America's earliest allies, flanked the Pennsylvania state flag (later the U.S. ensign) which sported a portrait of Tammany on its field. A cannon salute and a marching-band rendition of a popular theatre song in honour of St Tammany then followed, and these would continue to punctuate activities through the rest of the day...

Song for St. Tammany's Day

*Of Andrew, of Patrick, of David, and George,
What mighty achievements we hear!
While no one relates great Tammany's feats,
Although more heroic by far, my brave boys,
Although more heroic by far.*

*These heroes fought only as fancy inspired,
As by their own stories we find;
Whilst Tammany, he fought only to free
From cruel oppression mankind, my brave boys,
From cruel oppression mankind.*

*When our country was young and our numbers were few
To our fathers his friendship was shown,
(For he e'er would oppose whom he took for his foes.)
And he made our misfortunes his own, my brave boys,
And he made our misfortunes his own.*

*At length, growing old and quite worn out with years,
As history doth truly proclaim,
His wigwam was fired, he nobly expired,
And flew to the skies in a flame, my brave boys,
And flew to the skies in a flame.*

The previous year's officers would next surrender "the ensigns of authority," which were engraved military gorgets. Then the bear-greased, face-painted, bucktailed and befeathered company formed a ring to elect a new chief and thirteen sachems (sub-chiefs), symbolic of the thirteen United States, each with its animal totem. Some of these brothers would even deck themselves out in a shaved head with scalplock fashioned from an animal bladder and horsehair. The new sachems' assumed names had an "authentic" ring, some of them belonging to major Woodland Indian leaders... A large council fire was then kindled - there seems to have also been a "council seat" - and Tammany and other Maytide songs were sung. The most important of these was the pseudo-Indian "Et hoh Song" which seems to have the status of an anthem, traveling wherever the Tammany idea traveled.

Drinking evidently began quite early while sitting about on the banks of the river, the Society never being particularly sensitive to the wide-spread problem of Native American alcoholism - one would suppose because it was a white American problem as well. The motto for the day was that of Rabelais's Abbey of Theleme, "ay ce que vouldras..."

Toward evening the company would retire to a specially constructed "cabin" or bower where the woodland feast was consumed - "The signal being given, every brother repaired with his scalping knife, to the repast." The fare was plentiful and varied: "Rounds of Beef, Barbacued Pig, Sirloin Steaks ... flowing bowls of good punch, lemonade and madeira ... leg of veal and rich spices ... perch, rock and grey squirrels," as well as the occasional sea turtle. The festival structure was decorated with a portrait of "our brave old saint" beneath his motto, together with other topical scenes,

in 1783 for example, a "Siege of Yorktown." The banquet always featured thirteen toasts, which were duly printed up in the newspapers, as well as other entertainments such as new Tammany odes.

After sunset the colours were struck and the holiday ground vacated, the "warriors" marching Indian-file back to the city to the tune of "St Tammany's Day." Since the "official" reports continually stress the good order and harmony of the Tammany celebrations, and since there was, simultaneously, an undercurrent of complaint, we may safely speculate that not all these well-primed "Indians" went quietly to their beds upon returning to Philadelphia.

The controversy over the United States Constitution rallied many Tammanites, former Sons of Liberty, Revolutionary War veterans, and the working and middle class people generally, against Alexander Hamilton's proposal of having the President and the Senate chosen for life and state governments elected by the Congress. In the end, a compromise was worked out, but the common people demanded that the Bill of Rights be amended to it before they grudgingly accepted the new Constitution. Governor Clinton of NY, a leading Tammanite and anti-federalist, led the opposition to the new Constitution.

While both federalists and anti-federalists belonged to the Tammany Society, the latter, known as the "Liberty Boys," far outnumbered the former and dominated the Society. From 1783 until 1787, the "Liberty Boys," who were mostly from the working and middle classes, dominated New York politics. However, New York had been a Tory stronghold before and during the Revolutionary War, and Hamilton was able to wrest control from the "Liberty Boys" and restore the propertied class to power by doing away with repressive legislation against former "Loyalists" and restoring their political rights at the federal level.

The New York State Constitution of 1777 had a clause in it restricting voting rights to male holders of property valued at 100 pounds, free of all debt, for the offices of Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Senator. Those with holdings exceeding 20 pounds, or paying 40 shillings annual rent, could vote for delegates to the Assembly. The rich class, represented by Hamilton, also held a monopoly on banking, and he used that power to enforce class discipline and party loyalty.

Denied a vote, the mostly poor rank and file veterans were further perturbed over the formation of the elitist *Society of Cincinnati*, named after a victorious general in Ancient Rome and composed exclusively of former officers in the Continental and French armies who had served in the War of Independence. Membership was only to pass through primogeniture, which many feared would create a hereditary American aristocracy.

George Washington was the titular head of the Society, and Alexander Hamilton and Arthur St. Clair were among its prominent members. St. Clair was President of the Society in Pennsylvania and Anthony Wayne was the Vice-President. It was only natural that the rank and file veterans would form their own society and name it after Saint Tammany.

Meetings to organize the Society began as early as 1786, but the new St. Tammany's Society was not officially founded until May 12th, 1789, just a fortnight after the establishment of the new federal republic. The initiation fee was \$2 to \$8, depending on ability to pay, and the quarterly dues were only 24 cents.

By the fall of 1791, the Society had over 300 members.²² William Mooney, a convivial New York paperhanger and upholsterer, and a former soldier, was chosen as its first Grand Sachem. However, the real leader in the formation of the Tammany Society was the man who drafted its constitution, John Pintard, a merchant and friend of Thomas Jefferson, who shunned the limelight. He invented the

²² The Tiger: The Rise and Fall of Tammany Hall. (1993), Allen, Oliver G., p. 148.

Society's Indianesque titles and rituals and summed up the Society's salient characteristic as, "belief in the common man."²³

Pintard defined the Society as: "A political institution founded on a strong republican basis whose democratic principles will serve in some measure to correct the aristocracy our city."²⁴

Tammany braves each year elected thirteen sachems to run the Society, plus a scribe (secretary), a treasurer, a *sagamore* (master of ceremonies), and a *wiskinsky* (doorkeeper). The sachems chose one of their number to serve as *Grand Sachem* for a year. The President of the United States was called by the honorary title of the *Great Grand Sachem*.

Initiation into the Society was carried out in secret, with torches, mystical symbols, Indian incantations and song. Members greeted each other in public with secret handshakes and passwords.

During the first few years, the New York Society met in various taverns around Bowling Green, but after 1798, they set up their wigwam in the backroom of "Brom" Martling's Tavern, on the corner of Nassau and Spruce streets (near the present City Hall). Earlier, they had established the Tammany Museum in the back room of City Hall, (then on Wall Street), the building which served temporarily as the Nation's Capitol. After the curator and owner of the collection, Gardiner Baker, died, the artifacts were sold and ended up eventually in the collection of P. T. Barnum. John Pintard later became a principle founder of the New York Historical Society in 1804, and he could be called the "*Grandfather of the Hays Museum of the American Indian*" which is located in the Tammanites' old "stomping ground," across from Bowling Green.

The French Revolution was greeted with great joy and enthusiasm by most of the Tammanites and budding Democratic-Republicans, but it was much less enthusiastically received by the Federalists, who became increasingly concerned as it grew more radical. Fierce arguments erupted in the Tammany meetings.

Nevertheless, with the arrival of the new French representative, Citizen Genet, in New York, most Tammanites became wildly pro-French. The flamboyant Gaelic representative brought with him an admirer, Mrs. Julia Hatton, who penned the libretto for America's first opera while in New York City. It was composed by James Hewitt and was called *Tammany*, or *The Indian Chief*. It was first performed in 1794 under the auspices of the Tammany Society, and it was a smash success.

The writings of Thomas Paine, then in France, were also very influential on the Society, and on Americans generally. At the Independence Day celebration of the New York Tammany Society in 1791, the toasts included: "*To the scourge of aristocracy—author of Common Sense and The Rights of Man!*"²⁵

In 1793, the General Society of Mechanics and Tradesman of New York offered a toast to success for the "*Armies of France and the mechanic, Thomas Paine!*" The Tammanite poet, Philip Freneau, was inspired to write these lines of tribute to him:

Rous'd by the Reason of his manly page.

Once more shall Paine a listening world engage:

From Reason's source a bold reform he brings.

By raising up mankind he pulls down kings.

Final rupture with the Federalists came when farmers in western Pennsylvania rioted over Hamilton's excise tax on whiskey in 1794. The tax was to pay for Washington's unsuccessful attempts to invade the Indian territories west of the Ohio. The farmer-distillers of the frontier made whiskey, as there was no other way to get their

corn crop to market. West of the Appalachians, liquor served as a substitute for scarce money. They viewed the tax as unfair, discriminatory, and a deliberate attempt to restrict their freedom.

The Whiskey rebels erected Liberty Poles, dressed in Indian costumes and presented their demands in the form of a mock Indian treaty. After a federal agent was killed, Washington seized on this as an excuse to federalize the state militias in Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey and Virginia and sent them against the rebels in October of 1794. The farmers did not attempt to resist, (Although some moved on to Kentucky and Tennessee), and those who were arrested and convicted of treason were later pardoned by Washington.²⁶

Opposition in Congress and in the press to the President's high-handed and repressive action led Washington to lash out at "self-created societies" in a speech before Congress that was generally interpreted as a reference to the Tammany Society only, (and not his own Society of Cincinnati, which was heavily involved in the incursions into Indian Country). The Federalist minority in the New York Tammany Society issued a pamphlet defending the President's actions, and statements condemning all those who criticized him.

At the next Society meeting, the Tammany braves voted 100 to 65 to repudiate what their brethren had written, The Federalists faction resigned en masse. The stage was not set for the Tammany Society to openly become a faction of the new Democratic-Republican Party that Jefferson, Madison and Aaron Burr were cooking up. Burr never joined the Tammany Society, (he was a member of the Society of Cincinnati), nor did he ever step through the door of Martling's Tavern, but he was to dominate and forever change the Society.

A New York lawyer and former Senator, Aaron Burr was the nemesis of Alexander Hamilton. Like him, he was suave, ruthless and incorrigibly ambitious. Hamilton had a lock on the city through control of the only two banks, the Bank of New York and the Bank of the United States, so Burr set out to pick the lock. He did so by organizing a company to supply fresh water to Manhattan, the Manhattan Company, which was chartered to buy a reservoir and lay pipe to carry potable water to the city's inhabitants. In the rush of legislative business, no one noticed that Burr had included language in the charter that would enable the water company to act as a bank, and the Bank of the Manhattan Company, (later the Chase Manhattan Bank) was born.

Matthew Davis, who had become the Grand Sachem of the Society, was Burr's ardent disciple. Together with a close-knit group called the "Little Band" (virtually all Society members), Burr conspired to take over the City and with it the Nation, in the upcoming elections of 1800. No one had ever seen anything like the thoroughness with which the Burrites prepared for the election. It was a lesson Tammany Hall would never forget.

The administration of John Adams had become very unpopular with the passage of the Alien and Sedition Act in 1798. The Tammany Society organized a massive demonstration on that year's Independence Day against this attempt to restrict the right of dissent. George Clinton, the former Governor of New York, addressed the rally with militant rhetoric, calling on the people to:

*"Resist the first appearance of usurpation... While with cheerfulness you obey the constitutional acts of the constituted authorities, evince to your country and the world. that YOU are resolved to LIVE FREE OR DIE!"*²⁷

On Saint Tammany's Day in 1802, James Carson delivered *An Oration on the Past and Present State of our Country* in Philadelphia, which characterized the indigenous people as, "*the receptacle of peace, happiness, and contentment... unacquainted with the vicious habits and evil propensities with which Europeans were deeply contaminated,*" who welcomed the Europeans, "*with*

²³ Jefferson and Hamilton. (1945), Bowers, Claude G., p. 148

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Tom Paine and Revolutionary America, (1976), Foner, Eric, p. 254.

²⁶ Treason, by definition, implies betraying one's country to a foreign power, which had no application in this case.

²⁷ The Tiger, p. 13.

open arms...and unbound hospitality... Good God! What scenes of havoc, destruction and distress did hence ensue!!"²⁸

In the face of America's westward expansion, the Tammany Society stood as an obstacle, and they forced the imperialists to at least attempt to put a semblance of legality on the invasions and forced "sale" of Indian lands.

At this time, New York's electoral votes were controlled by the legislature, with the majority capturing all votes as a block. To swing the national election, Burr needed to carry the New York legislative election the previous spring. Burr taught the Tammanities to win an election *by any means necessary*, and they never forgot it, in later years adding embellishments and fine-tuning his basic methods. The result was the victory of Thomas Jefferson to the Presidency and Aaron Burr to the Vice-Presidency. It was a great moment for the Tammany Society, but an attempt by Burr to use an anomaly in the Constitution to steal the top spot from Jefferson backfired, and the Tammany Hall clique suffered in the handing-out of Federal patronage jobs as a result.

Burr was to find that the office of Vice-President of the United States can be a very isolated post. George Clinton, now back as Governor of New York, got the privilege of awarding patronage jobs at both the state and federal levels. The Governor's nephew, De Witt Clinton, a former Tammany Society member, now led the campaign to isolate the Burrites in New York politics from the office of Chairman of the Council of Appointment, which controlled thousands of jobs from county sheriffs to the Mayor of the City of New York. De Witt Clinton also managed to oust Burr and his associate, John Swartout, from the directorate of the Manhattan Company.

In 1803, De Witt took over as Mayor after wounding Swartout in a duel in New Jersey. The following year, Burr fatally wounded Hamilton in a duel and was forced to flee the city. Matthew Davis, the Grand Sachem, had been his second, and John Swartout had been his other second. The Tammanities might have faded away at this point, but Davis showed remarkable skill in restructuring the Society. It officially became a charitable organization, and at the same time, the General Committee of Tammany Hall was recognized as an elected organ of the City's Democratic-Republican Party. When George Clinton, who replaced Burr as Vice-President, came out against Jefferson's Embargo Act in 1807, Davis persuaded the other sachems to unite behind Jefferson, mending the rift created by Burr.

In the Spring of 1808, the Society galvanized support among the people for the embargo, (which primarily affected British shipping), by staging a mass parade from Martling's Tavern to the waterfront and embarking in thirteen open boats, bearing coffins draped in black, for Wallabout Bay. (later the site of the Brooklyn Navy Yard), where during the Revolutionary War thousands of Americans had been imprisoned in rotting hulks of old warships. Some 11,000 of these soldiers, sailors and political prisoners were buried in shallow unmarked graves along the shore. The Tammany *braves* dug up their bones and reentered them in proper graves.

The Tammany Society seems to have reached its broadest base in the years 1810-1811, when they gained control over Rhode Island, and they were a force to be reckoned with in many other localities. Dr. Michael Leib, the Grand Sachem of the Philadelphia Society, authorized the formation of the first Ohio "wigwam" in 1810.²⁹

During the War of 1812, they were ardent supporters of President Madison, in opposition to the anti-war Federalists. But this caused a certain amount of identity crisis for the Society, and they stopped dressing in Indian regalia, as Tecumseh and the bulk of the real

Indians were siding with the British. The New York Society never went back to this tradition, though after the war they did resume the use of Indianesque titles and terms.

In 1813, the *Order of the Red Man* was founded by war veterans at Fort Mifflin, (outside Philadelphia), and it continued the earlier St. Tammany Society traditions, adding Tecumseh to Tamanend as a figure of veneration.



Tammany Hall in NYC

In 1812, Tammany Hall literally became a hall, seating up to 2,000 *braves*. Step by step, the New York Society was gaining in political power and influence. And at the same time was losing its good name and spiritual orientation. Sometimes this power was used to serve the people, as in obtaining universal manhood suffrage (even for Blacks) in New York State in 1821, but more often it was used to enable the politicians who controlled Tammany Hall to enrich themselves at the public's expense.

But there are two sides to every coin, and Tammany Hall was a school where the masses were enriched in knowledge about how the bourgeois-democratic system worked in practice. In 1825, a dinner was held in honor of Thomas Paine's birthday, January 28th. These dinners continued throughout the 1830s, in several cities, spreading not only the spiritual orientation of Deism, but also nurturing a growing working class consciousness.

The National Intelligencer summed up the situation inside Tammany Hall as one in which the Tammany "regulars" were being confronted by growing dissatisfaction from the ranks:

"'Who are the 'regulars?' If a name can give character, they are 'Democratic Republicans.' If deeds, not words, are to be the test they are the party in office, enjoying what they have got and casting about to see how they shall keep it and get more: fattening on the loaves and fishes, and becoming lazy and saucy in proportion as they get fat. They are the political descendants of those men who thirty years ago rallied to the cry of 'Jefferson and Democracy!' who supported the patriot-statesman through good and bad report and gave to this republic, in the person of him whom the rich and the proud denounce as leveler and an infidel, a chief magistrate such as we may never see again.

"But if you seek in the modern Tammany the likeness of their political fathers, you will lose your time and your pains. Throughout the country, indeed, you will still find attached to the party a remnant of the original stock. But look to the regular leaders - the mill-horse nomination men - and you will find them just what all mere political men are -

²⁸ *Exemplar of Liberty*, p. 188-189.

²⁹ *Dictionary of American History*, Charles Scribner's, (1940), p. 218.

scramblers for office and men who talk of public good as a bone or a chimera."³⁰

While the Tammany sachems were busy becoming bankers and corrupt officials, stealing an estimated quarter-of-a-million dollars a year from the public till, many of the rank and file braves were busy forming a new political party of their own, the *Workingmen's Party*, established in 1829, known popularly as the "Workies." Their leading light was Robert Dale Owen, the son of the famous utopian socialist, Robert Owen. "Dale" as he was familiarly known, had left his father's model community, New Harmony, Indiana, with a small following of bright young men opposed to private and exclusive use of the soil and hereditary transmission of property. Their views were like fresh air to the urban mechanics and laborers. At their first public meeting, on October 19, 1929, they resolved:

*"In the opinion of this meeting, that the first appropriation of the soil of the State to private and exclusive possession was eminently and barbarously unjust. That it was substantially feudal in its character, inasmuch as those who received enormous and unequal possession were lords and vassals, That hereditary transmission of wealth on the one hand and poverty on the other, has brought down to the present generation all the evils of the feudal system, and that, in our opinion, is the prime source of all our calamities..."*³¹

After declaring that the Workingmen's Party would oppose all exclusive privileges, monopolies and exemptions, the resolution proceeded:

*"We consider it an exclusive privilege for one portion of the community, to have the means of education in colleges while another is restricted to common schools, or perhaps, by extreme poverty, even deprived of the limited education to be acquired in those establishments. Our voice, therefore, shall be raised in favor of a system of education which shall be equally open to all, as in a real republic it should be..."*³²

Less well known than Owen, was Thomas Skidmore, who may be one of the most brilliant of the pre-Marxist socialists. According to Mark A. Lause, author of *The Hard-Earned Obscurity of Thomas Skidmore*:

*Conversely, one scholar has called Skidmore "one of the most arresting figures involved in the American labor movement of the early nineteenth century" and "the most interesting and provocative of what was a strongly non-conformist group."³³ Another described his major work, *The Rights of Man to Property*! as "probably the single most comprehensive statement" of antebellum American radicalism,³⁴ and one recent anthologist treated Skidmore as "clearly the most radical American social thinker of his day."³⁵ Such estimates of a man's importance rarely fall to more obscure Americans than Thomas Skidmore.*

Skidmore was an early advocate of the abolition of slavery and inclusion of Blacks in redistribution of land and wealth, equal rights for women and citizenship for Indians. He may have been the first to advocate working class-led revolution in the U.S.

³⁰ The New York Sentinel and Working Man's Advocate, July 28, 1830.

³¹ History of Tammany Hall, p. 80.

³² Ibid.

³³ Edward Pessen, "Thomas Skidmore: Agrarian Reformer in the Early American Labor Movement," *New York History*, XXV (July, 1954), 280, and his *Most Uncommon Jacksonians: Radical Leaders of the Early Labor Movement* (Albany, 1967), 57.

³⁴ Staughton Lynd, *Intellectual Origins of American Radicalism* (2nd ed.; New York, 1969), 88.

³⁵ Ibid.

The Workingmen's Party put a full slate of candidates on the ballot in New York and in some other cities, and they polled some 6,000 votes in New York's election compared to Tammany Hall's 11,000. They elected the president of the Carpenter's Union to the Assembly. They performed this amazing feat despite the fact that no newspaper supported them, and all heaped abuse on them.

"The Courier and Inquirer [called them] an infidel ticket, hostile to the morals, to the institutions of society and the rights of property,"³⁶ And the Commercial Advertiser wrote that they were, "lost to society, to earth, and to heaven, godless and hopeless, and deserving of nothing better than to die like ravenous wild beats, hunted down without pity."³⁷

Among the issues the *Workies* campaigned on were; a ten-hour work day, abolition of imprisonment for debts, and better education for children of the poor and working people. One of them wrote: "Great wealth ought to be taken away from its possessors on the same principle that a sword or a pistol may be wrested from a robber." The *Workies* avowed: "We are opposed to Monarchy, Aristocracy, Monopolies, Auctions, and in favor of the Poor and asserting in all cases that those who labor would be protected and rewarded; and finally, opposed to degrading the Mechanic, by making Mechanics of Felons. Our motto shall be Liberty, Quality, Justice and The Rights of Man."³⁸

The defection of the *Workies* cost Tammany Hall their majority of seats on the Common Council, and they were forced to resort to backroom chicanery to maintain Walker Brown as mayor. The Tammany politicians were dismayed to see the strength the newcomers had mustered in wards they had long considered their own. They concluded that it would be a good idea for them to start delivering on a few reforms, so they championed a bill to require those commissioning building projects to retain from the contractor the amount to be paid to the workers as wages, as it was a common practice for contractors to "stiff" their temporary employees once a job was done.

Tammany sponsored a bill to abolish imprisonment for debt, and they got their banking connections to lower rates and loosen credit requirements for mechanics.

The "schmoozing" of the voters, which Tammany Hall became so adroit at, was put into high gear. By the next election, the *Workies* had lost half of their votes, and they split apart, with some going to the new Republican (Whig) Party, but most returning to Tammany Hall and the Democratic Party.³⁹

A major banking scandal in 1833, (in which it came out that all of the Tammany members of the legislature were "on the take," along with more than a hundred state and city officials), prompted another mass defection of Tammany braves, this time to form the Equal Rights Party. Besides the mechanics, laborers and intellectuals who had been in the Workingman's Party, the Equal Rights Party included many small businessmen and professionals. They advocated doing away with city-created monopolies that were such a corrupting influence on Tammany Hall and a burden on the

³⁶ The appellation "infidel party" referred to the influence of the *Deists*, the adherents of Thomas Paine's *Age of Reason*, who were prominent in the movement.

³⁷ *The American Past*, (1947), Butterfield Roger, p. 95.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ The principle factions were issue and ideologically oriented in different directions. The "Agrarian Party," which published the *Friend of Equal Rights*, advocated a general "ripping up" of land titles and to have all property of the state sold at a national auction, with the proceeds divided equally among the people. The "Education Men" rallied around the *National Intelligencer*, which placed Free Universal Education as the first great object to be obtained by the working class. A third faction, called the "Working Men," was a collection of individuals opposed to the "infidels" and Agrarianism, and more concerned with immediate reforms.

common people. They also opposed the circulation of paper bank notes, "Shin Plaster Money," in lieu of hard currency.

When the City attempted to renew the monopoly on ferry service to and from Brooklyn, the Equal Rights Party packed the meeting at the "Wigwam" set to discuss it, and they took it over and voted on their own resolution to set up competing services. The State Legislature accepted this recommendation.

The next year, when Tammany Hall was going over its slate of nominations for local offices, the Equal Rights mob again invaded the Hall and took over the dais, ejecting the conservatives from the meeting. The sachems withdrew to a local tavern to continue their selection of nominations, but one of them slipped into the basement of Tammany Hall and turned off the gas, plunging the Long Room, where the insurgents were meeting, into total darkness. The insurgents had come prepared with candles and the new self-lighting matches called "loco-focos." Soon the Hall was ablaze with light, and the jubilant mob continued their meeting and then marched with candles, torches, flags and banners through the streets of Manhattan. The morning papers dubbed them the "Loco-Focos," and the name stuck.

The "Great New York Fire" gutted much of Lower Manhattan in December of 1835. The Tammany politicians rushed to obtain low-interest loans to rebuild the banks, but they had only the traditional Christmas fruit baskets for the poor of the Lower East Side.

In the November election, many of the Equal Rights Party candidates were swept into office. The stock market crash in the "Panic of '37" added to the misery of the poor, and numbers of hungry and homeless people crowded into the alleys and ruins of Lower Manhattan. A protest against "Shin Plaster Money" in City Hall Park turned into a riot, as the demonstrators marched to Washington Street and battered down the door of Eli Hart & Co.'s warehouse. The Loco-Focos dumped 500 barrels of wheat into the street for the poor to gather up. Another warehouse belonging to the rich was then "taxed" to feed the City's destitute.

Seeing the mood of the masses and the determination of their leaders, the moderates of Tammany Hall decided the future of the Democratic Party rested with them and not the conservatives in power. They seized the initiative through the Young Men's Committee of Tammany Hall, and in September of 1837, at a general meeting, they voted through resolutions essentially adopting the Loco-Focos' Declaration of Rights. Furious, the conservatives resigned en masse. They walked out and never came back. The people had retaken Tammany Hall!

However, it was not long before the new bosses raised to power were as corrupt as the old bosses. Evidently, the political-economic system was the problem, and the emerging working class began to seek to assert itself outside of the electoral system to obtain changes in the political-economic system.

During the 1820's and '30, the Fourth of July had become the main holiday of the working people, a day to call for the renewal of the Spirit of '76. As the *Daily Sentinel* of New York proclaimed on July 12th, 1829, the principles toasts were for: "*The Working Men, the legitimate children of '76; their sires left them the legacy of freedom and equality. They are now of age, and are laboring to guarantee the principles of the Revolution.*" But, the working class was clamoring for its own holiday. On August 6th, 1882, the Central Labor Union of New York had declared the 5th of September a holiday for the workingman. In 1884, they changed this to the first Monday in September, and the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada adopted this day. By 1894, there were annual Labor Day celebrations in over 400 cities.⁴⁰

In 1894, Amos J. Cummings, a New York typographer and a U.S. Congressman, introduced a bill to make Labor Day an official national holiday. It passed, and on June 28th, 1894, it was made into law. However, May 1st had begun to be revived as the day of

celebration of the common people by many workers. The Philadelphia carpenters had been campaigning on the 1st of May for the 10-hour day since their strike in 1791. They argued that: "*All men have a just right, derived from their Creator, to have sufficient time in each day for the cultivation of their mind [s]*"⁴¹

In 1827, they went on strike again for the 10-hour day, but this time, the carpenters in Boston joined them. In 1835, they went on strike again, and the strike became a general one in Philadelphia. In Boston, the carpenters issued a call for all workers to join the fight for the 10-hour day, proclaiming:

*"We have been too long subjected to the odious, cruel, unjust and tyrannical system which compels the operative mechanic to exhaust his physical and mental powers. We have rights and duties to perform as American citizens and members of society, which forbid us to dispose of more than ten hours for a days work."*⁴²

The brawn of the Philadelphia General Strike was the Irish coal haulers, who lead the parades of workers through the streets. Barely three weeks after their strike had begun, the capitalists of the city were ready to capitulate. A wave of strikes replicated this victory in cities across the country, but the Panic of 1837 wiped out most of these gains.

In 1840, Tammany's patron, the "Little Magician," Martin Van Buren, became President of the United States, and he established the 10-hour workday by executive order. This only affected government employees, but it encouraged the working class to renew its efforts.

Spearheaded by the New England Workingmen's Association, (which was composed primarily of women garment workers in Pennsylvania), the 10-hour day movement won victories in New Hampshire, Pennsylvania and Maine with enactment of 10-hour workday laws. However, the employers soon realized they could get around these laws by forcing their employees to sign contracts that said they would not refuse overtime at straight pay. If they refused to sign, they were fired and "black-listed."

By 1860, most skilled mechanics had won the 10-hour day, but most unskilled factory workers were still working eleven to thirteen hours a day. But in Philadelphia, the workers had already begun campaigning for the 8-hour day. In 1863, the Machinists and Blacksmiths Union declared attainment of the eight-hour day, "*the most important change to us as workingmen to which all else is subordinate.*"⁴³

By 1866, the National Labor Union was marshalling support for a nationwide campaign by the whole working class. May 1st, 1867 marked a greater day of struggle in Chicago. Illinois passed an 8-hour day law, which was to take effect on May First, but it contained a clause that said it would only take effect "*where there was no contract to the contrary.*" On May 1st, a parade of members of 44 unions, with floats and banners, and over 10,000 marchers demanded strict enforcement of the new law. The *Chicago Times* called it, "*The largest procession ever seen on the streets of Chicago.*"⁴⁴ In many shops the workers walked out after eight hours; however, the law was not enforced.

Ira Steward, a Boston machinist was credited by the socialist Labor Standard as the "*originator and author of the Eight-hour Movement.*"⁴⁵ Steward's theory was that:

"The habit, customs, alld opinions of the masses represented tile strongest power in the world,... [and] if hours were reduced, the leisure time would create new motives and desires, In order to satisfy these new habits,

⁴¹ Ibid., p.8.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid., p.10.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁰ *May Day!*, (1986), Foner, Philip S., p. 4.

wages would have to move upwards. Change and improve the daily habits of the laborers, and they will raise their own pay in spite of any power of the universe and this can be done by furnishing them with more leisure time."

Further, Stewart argued, "...the way out of the wage system is through higher wages resultant from shorter hours."⁴⁶

Joseph Weydemeyer, a German immigrant and former Union Army officer,⁴⁷ and American's first Marxist leader, agreed with Stewart that shorter hours were the principle immediate demand that would advance the labor movement and the movement for social justice. By the early 80s, the 10-hour day and the 6-day workweek had become the norm in most industries in the United States. In 1879, the new Knights of Labor, which organized both black and white workers under the slogan, that: "*An Injury to One is An Injury to All!*" featured the demand for the 8-hour day in the preamble of their constitution. From 1881 till 1883, they debated whether to make the first Monday in September or the First of May the day to focus the workers' struggle and still could not decide. The problem was that their Grand Master Workman, Terence V. Powderly, was opposed to the tactic of striking.

By 1884, the influence of Marxists and ex-soldiers within the American Federation of Labor made it the most militant association of unions in America. George Edmondson, President of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, got the ball rolling by introducing at their first convention a resolution to the effect that: "*Eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1st, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations that they so direct [their members].*"⁴⁵ On that day, strikes and demonstrations occurred not only in the major cities, but in factory towns across America.

Some 90,000 workers marched down Michigan Avenue in Chicago. In New York, 10,000 staged a torchlight parade down Broadway to Union Square, where another 10,000 joined them for a rally conducted in English and German. In Detroit, 11,000 workers demonstrated, and 10,000 marched in Milwaukee. In Louisville Kentucky, 6,000 blacks and whites marched together, and in Baltimore, more than 20,000 black and white workers demonstrated together, followed by a huge mass meeting on May 3rd.

From Boston to San Francisco, the streets echoed with the tramp of marching feet and the singing of workers' songs. The strike wave continued to gain momentum across the country as tens of thousands of workers downed their tools to go on strike demanding union representation and the 8-hour workday, in many cases winning their demands right away. By May 3rd, the capitalists were starting to panic, and the reality of class dictatorship behind the facade of democracy and the "rule of law" was made evident to many.

A rally of 6,000 striking members of the Lumber Shovers Union in Chicago's Haymarket Square was being addressed by August Spies, a leading member of the Chicago Central Labor Union, when the whistle blew at the nearby McCormick Harvester plant, which

was on strike, and "scabs" started pouring out of the gates into the square. Some 500 workers detached themselves from the rally and started walking towards the "strike-breakers." The "scabs" ran back through the factory gate, and suddenly the Chicago police who were guarding the gate opened fire with pistols on the demonstrators, wounding many, including four who died.

August Spies immediately called for a mass protest to be held in Haymarket Square the following day. Some 20,000 flyers were quickly printed and distributed, but with strike actions going on all over the city, barely 3,000 people showed up under threatening skies. The rally was peaceful and uneventful. During the last speech it started to pour, and two-thirds of the crowd fled for shelter from the rain. No more than 200 were still at the rally listening to Samuel Fielden, when some 180 policemen marched up in military formation and surrounded them. The police captain ordered the crowd to disperse immediately. Fielden protested from the stage that it was a lawful, peaceful assembly, but the police started wading through the crowd with their clubs, attempting to reach him.

Suddenly, a bomb flew through the air and went off in front of the massed policemen. One officer was killed immediately, and seventy others were wounded. The surviving cops emptied their pistols into the crowd, killing six more of their own in the confusion, and wounding others in their panic and frenzy to shoot the workers. The following day, Wisconsin militia opened fire on striking workers outside a rolling mill in Milwaukee, killing nine and wounding many others. Nearly 50 of the surviving workers were indicted, but not one of the murdering militiamen were. Instead, they got cash gifts from the city's employers.

No one was ever able to determine who threw the bomb in Haymarket Square, though it was generally believed to be the work of a paid provocateur, perhaps one of the notorious Pinkerton Detectives, who at one point killed the Governor of Colorado in an attempt to frame the Western Federation of Miners, and who killed policemen and mine superintendents in the Pennsylvania coal fields to set up the "Molly Maguires."

Hundreds of workers were arrested in a citywide sweep, out of which thirty-one were indicted and eight were brought to trial, all of them anarchists and all leaders of the IWPA; August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Albert Parsons, Michael Schwab, Adolf Fisher, George Engel, Louis Ling and Oscar Neebe. No fewer than 200,000 had won shorter hours with no reduction in pay because of the efforts of these men, and others like them, and the employers were determined to make an example of them.

The trial began six weeks after the arrests took place. Albert Parsons, whom the police had been unable to locate with a massive manhunt, walked into the courtroom and took his place voluntarily with his arrested brothers. The State never even attempted to make a case that any of the defendants threw the bomb or had any connection to it other than their participation in the 8-hour day movement. State's Attorney Grinnell told the carefully selected jury, which was composed entirely of employers:

*"Law is on trial. Anarchy is on trial. These men have been selected, picked out by the grand jury and indicted because they are the leaders. They are no more guilty than those thousands who followed them. Gentlemen of the jury, convict these men, make examples of them, hang them, and you save our institutions, our society."*⁴⁸

All but Neebe were convicted and condemned to die. Before sentence was passed, they were permitted to address the jury. Spies spoke for hours, beginning with the words: "*Your Honor, in addressing this court I speak as the representative of one class to the representatives of another.*" He ended with:

"...If you think that by hanging us you can stamp out the labor movement... the movement of the downtrodden millions, the millions who toil in want and misery... if this is

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 11.

⁴⁷ A Prussian artillery officer and engineer who quit the Prussian Army to collaborate with Marx and Engels in the revolutionary democratic movement in Germany in the 1840s, Weydemeyer played a leading role in the German Revolution of 1845. He arrived in New York in 1851, and in 1852, he formed the Proletarian League, the first Marxist society in America. He later moved to the Midwest, where he was active in the Abolitionist movement and the formation of the radical-wing of the Republican Party. At the outbreak of the Civil War, President Lincoln commissioned him as a captain attached to the staff of General Freemont and the Department of the West, where he served alongside the Lenape Scouts, against the Confederate guerrillas in Missouri and the Indian Territory, mustering out as a general.

⁴⁸ May Day!, p. 34

*your opinion, then hang us! Here you will tread upon a spark. but there and there, behind you and in front of you, and evervwhere, flames blaze up. It is a subterranean fire. You cannot put it out!"*⁴⁹

There was an international outcry over the verdict, including from liberal Democrats and "Old Guard" Republicans, as well as Socialists and Anarchists. The American Federation of Labor alone sent more than half-a-million names on petitions for clemency to the Republican governor of Illinois, James Oglesby, but to no avail, until the last minute, when he commuted the sentences of Fielden and Schwab to life imprisonment. Parsons, Spies, Engel, and Fisher died on the gallows on November 11, 1887. Ling had been found dead in his cell.

They called it "Black Friday," because so many buildings in the "Windy City" were decorated with mourning crepe. Thousands filed past the martyrs' coffins, and half-a-million lined the streets to honor the procession of tens of thousands who escorted the black-draped coffins through Chicago's downtown to the Central Train Station for the ride to the cemetery where they were buried in a common grave. "*They died for Liberty!*" was their epitaph.

The next Democratic governor pardoned the surviving defendants and exonerated the martyrs, but no one was brought to justice for their legal murders. The fight for the 8-hour day was far from crushed. The blood of the martyrs nurtured the struggle, and the working class prepared to deal the employing class and even sharper blow. The AFL convention in St. Louis in 1888 set May 1st, 1890, as the date for the next round in the 8-hour day fight. Washington's Birthday, Independence Day, and Labor Day were all used to build for that year's Mayday. Parades, picnics, and demonstrations were organized to rally the working people for a mass strike wave that was billed as "*Labor's Emancipation Day.*"

Across the Atlantic, the summer of 1889 marked the centennial of the great French Revolution, and some 400 delegates from twenty-one countries were gathered at the World Exhibition in Paris for the International Socialist Congress to form the *Second International* under the leadership of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the authors of the *Communist Manifesto*. Hugh McGregor of the International Society of Seamen and Firemen delivered a letter from Samuel Gompers, the leader of the American Federation of Labor, asking for their support in making May 1st *International Workers Day* and using it to focus the working class on the fight for the 8-hour day.

In America, the carpenters were again asked to spearhead the strike wave, and other unions were asked to contribute to their strike fund to enable them to stay out as long as it took to win the 8-hour day throughout the industry to serve as a model for other industries. On May 1st, 1890, the thunder from America was answered by lightning from Europe. Not since the Revolution of 1845 and the Paris Commune was Europe so jolted.

The red and black flags of the working class went up in every capital. The tramp of workers' boots on cobblestones reverberated through the streets of London, Paris, Rome, Brussels, Amsterdam, Stockholm, Warsaw, Helsinki, Budapest, Berlin and Vienna. The echo reverberated from the streets of Havana, Lima, and Santiago de Chile. In cities and factory towns around the world, the machinery of industry fell silent.

On May First, Vienna was a "dead city," where the work stoppage was 100%. The middle class had "...*vanished. Instead the Prater was filled with masses of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, the entire security force was mobilized.*" Nothing moved but the 100,000 marching workers in disciplined ranks who claimed the city's streets. The one thing all the city's newspapers could agree on was that: "*On this day Vienna was ruled by the proletariat!*"⁵⁰

The thunder from America continues to reverberate throughout the world. Every year, May First is a day of struggle and celebration of

the common people. Few today know of its roots and origin as St. Tammany's Day, and the Quaker fishermen of Valley Forge would be surprised to see what they started.

The spirit of Tamanend is still with us. According to legends, his body is buried by a spring located three-and-half miles from Doylestown, P A. Another local legend places his final resting place under Nassau Hall on the campus of Princeton University in New Jersey.

Tammany Hall is today remembered only as a corrupt institution, a gang of grafting politicians who, for a number of years, dominated the politics of New York City. But it started out with noble intentions. Throughout the modern epoch, there have been a number of movements that have in turn tilted lances with the growing power of monopoly capital, and important concessions have been won, but none have interrupted the overall tendency of wealth and power to become concentrated in ever few hands.

The American Revolution has passed through many phases; the struggle for independence, for the Bill of Rights, universal manhood suffrage, the abolition of slavery, the right to collectively bargain, women's suffrage, abolition of child labor, the 8-hour day, social security and unemployment compensation, abolition of racial segregation and respect of civil rights for Blacks and other people of color, and religious freedom for Native Americans. Around the world, working people have toppled governments and institutions oppressive to them and instituted new governments and institutions intended to better serve their needs. But the cause of social justice has yet to win a final victory.

The New World Order represents the highest and final stage of capitalist domination. It is a global system of imperialism presided over by a small class of international corporate gangsters with utter contempt for the rights of the common people and utter disregard for the future existence of mankind. Their sole concern is their accumulation of wealth and the maximization of their profits.

Now more than ever, we need to reflect on the legacy of Tamanend and dedicate ourselves to be his worthy sons and daughters. If history shows us anything, it is that the power of the people united is the greatest power on earth. □



Treaty Monument in Philadelphia

"We meet on the broad pathway of good faith and goodwill: No advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. I will not call you children, for parents sometimes chide their children too severely, not brothers only, for brothers differ. The friendship between me and you I will not compare to a chain; for that the rains might rust, or the falling tree might break. We are the same as if one man's body were to be divided into two parts. We are all one flesh and blood." -- William Penn, "Great Treaty" between Penn and the Leno Lenape (Delaware) at the village of Shackamaxon (c. 1682) □

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 48-49



Tamanend

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Excerpted from The Indian Chiefs of Pennsylvania (1927), by Hale Sipe, reprinted from Turtle Talk, Vol. 2, No. 2, 1997

TAMANEND, (Tammany, etc.) was the head chief of the Unami or Turtle Clan of Delawares from before 1683 until 1697 and, perhaps later. He is referred to in the Colonial Records of Pennsylvania as "King" of the Delawares, the head chief of the Turtle Clan always presided at the councils of the three clans composing the Delaware Nation. Tamanend lived and hunted along the Neshaminy Creek in what is now Bucks County. His name signifies "the affable." The town of Tamanend, in Schuylkill County, is named for this noted chieftain.

Tamanend is thus described by the Moravian missionary, Rev. John Heckewelder, who, was the staunch friend of the Delawares, and had lived among them in all the intimacy of friends and companions more than thirty years: "The name Tamanend is held in the highest veneration by all the Indians. Of all the chiefs and great men which the Lenape nation ever had, he stands foremost on the list. But, although many fabulous stories are circulated about him among the whites, but little of his real history is known. The misfortunes which have befallen some of the most beloved and esteemed personages among the Indians since the Europeans came among them, prevent the survivors from indulging in the pleasure of recalling to mind the memory of their virtues. No white man who regards their feeling, will introduce such subjects in conversation with them. All we know, therefore, of Tamanend is that he was an ancient Delaware chief who never had an equal. He was, in the highest degree, endowed with wisdom, virtue, prudence, charity, affability, meekness, hospitality; in short with every good and noble qualification that a human being may possess. He was supposed to have had intercourse with the great and good Spirit; for he was a stranger to everything that is bad. The fame of this great man extended even among the whites, who fabricated numerous legends concerning him, which I never heard, however, from the mouth of an Indian, and, therefore, believe to be fabulous. In the Revolutionary War, his enthusiastic admirers dubbed him a saint and he was established under the name of Saint Tammany, the Patron Saint of America. His name was inserted in some calendars and his festival celebrated on the first day of May in every year."

Heckewelder then describes the celebrations in honor of Saint Tammany. They were conducted along Indian lines, and included the smoking of the calumet (1 and Indian dances in the open air. "Tammany Societies" in the early part of our history as a nation, were organized in several American cities.

William Penn Purchases land from Tamanend

William Penn did not set foot upon the soil of his Province until the 29th day of October, 1682; but, after maturing his plans for the new colony during the summer of 1681, he appointed his cousin, William Markham, to be his deputy governor. Markham left England in the spring of 1682, and he arrived at New York about the middle of June of that year. He then proceeded to Upland, or Chester, Pennsylvania, and, no doubt, presented his credentials to the justices and announced to them and the settlers that once more a change of government had been decreed.

William Penn decided to follow the advice of the Bishop of London and the example of the Swedes, and purchase from the Indians inhabiting his Province whatever lands, within the bounds of the same, might from time to time, become occupied by his colonists. The first Indian deed of record was a purchase of lands in Bucks County, made by Deputy Governor Markham for William Penn, dated the 15th day of July, 1682; and though Tamanend was not of the grantors therein, we mention it in this connection on account of its historical importance. The native grantors were fourteen Delaware chiefs or "sachemakers," bearing the following names: Idquahon, leanottowe, Idquoqueuon, Sahoppe for himself and Okonikon, Merkekowon, Orecton for Nannacussey, Shaurwawghon, Swanpisse, Nahoosey, Tomakhickon, Westkekitt and Tohawsis.

Markham paid the Indians for this purchase: 350 fathoms of wampum, 20 fathoms of "stroudwaters," 20 white blankets, 20 guns, 20 coats, 40 shirts, 40 pairs of stockings, 40 hose, 40 axes, 2 barrels of [gun] powder, 60 fathoms of "duffields," 20 kettles, 200 bars of lead, 200 knives, 200 small glasses, 12 pairs of shoes, 40 copper boxes, 40 tobacco tongs, 2 small barrels of pipes; 40 pairs of scissors, 40 combs, 20 pounds of red lead, 100 awls, two handfuls of fish hooks, two handfuls of needles, 40 pounds of shot, 10 bundles of beads, 10 small saws, 12 drawing knives, 2 ankers of tobacco, 2 ankers of rum, 2 ankers of cider, 2 ankers of beer, and 300 guilders in money, — a formidable list, indeed, and all very acceptable to the Indians.

However, on June 23rd, 1683, William Penn, at a meeting with Tamanend and a number of other Delaware chiefs at Shackamaxon, within the limits of Philadelphia, purchased four different tracts of land from the Indians. The first deed was from Tamanend, who made "his mark" to the same, being a coiled snake. This deed conveyed all of Tamanend's lands "lying betwixt the Pemmapecka [Pennypack] and Nessaminehs [Neshaminy] Creeks, and all along Nessaminehs Creek." The consideration was "so many guns, shoes, stockings, looking glasses, blankets, and other goods as the said William Penn shall please to give."

On the same date, (June 23, 1683), William Penn purchased a second tract of land from Tamanend, the deed being signed by Tamanend and Metamequan Also, on the 5th day of July, 1697, "King Taminy [Tamanend], and Weheeland, my Brother and Weheequackhon alias Andrew, who is to be king after my death, Yaqueekhon alias Nicholas, and Quenameckquid alias Charles, my Sons," granted to William Penn, who was then in England, all the lands "between the Creek called Pemmapeck [Pennypack] and the Creek called Neshaminy...."

It is to be noted that in the list of articles which Penn gave in exchange for the various tracts of land purchased from Tamanend and his associate chiefs, no brandy or other strong liquor appeared. It will be recalled that in Markham's purchase in Bucks County on the 15th of July 1682, he gave the contracting sachems, rum, cider, an beer as part of the purchase price. Penn, however, was more scrupulous than his deputy governor, doubtless having realized more strongly than Markham, the injury done the Indians by liquor. Indeed, in the "Great Law," which Penn drew up shortly after his arrival, there was provision for punishing any person by fine of five pound who should "presume to sell or exchange any rum or brandy or any strong liquors at any time to any Indian within this province." Later the

Indians found their appetite for strong liquor to be so strong that they agreed, if the colonists would sell them liquor, to submit to punishment by the civil magistrates "the same as white persons."

Penn's memorable treaty with Tamanend and other Delaware chiefs, under the great elm at Shackamaxon within the limits of Philadelphia, is full of romantic interest. Unarmed, clad in his somber Quaker garb, he addressed the Indians assembled there, uttering the following words which will be admired throughout the ages: "We meet on the broad pathway of good faith and goodwill; no advantage shall be taken on either side, but all shall be openness and love. We are the same as if one man's body was to be divided into two parts; we are of one flesh and one blood." The reply of Tamanend, is equally noble: "We will live in love with William Penn and his children as long as the creeks and rivers run, and while the sun, moon, and stars endure."

No authentic record has been preserved of the "Great Treaty," made familiar by Benjamin West's painting and Voltaire's allusion to it "as the only treaty never sworn to and never broken;" and there has been a lack of agreement among historians as to the time when it took place. Many authorities claim that the time was in the November days, shortly after Penn arrived in his Province. "Under the shelter of the forest," says Bancroft, "now leafless by the frosts of autumn, Penn proclaimed to the men of the Algonquin race, from both banks of the Delaware, from the borders of the Schuylkill, and, it may have been, even the Susquehanna, the same simple message of peace and love which George Fox had professed before Cromwell, and Mary Fisher had borne to the Grand Turk."

Other authorities, in recent times, fix the time of the treaty as on the 23rd day of June, 1683, when Penn, as has been seen, purchased the four tracts of land from Tamanend and his associates; in other words, that the purchase of land and the "Great Treaty" took place at the same time and at the same place. Moreover, a study of West's painting of the treaty scene shows the trees to be in full foliage, thus not suggesting a late autumn or winter day, as contended by Bancroft, but rather a day in the leafy month of June, says Jenkins, in his *Pennsylvania, Colonial and Federal*.

"In the years following 1683, far down into the next century, the Indians preserved the tradition of a agreement of peace made with Penn, and it was man times recalled in the meetings held with him and his successors. Some of these allusions are very definite. I 1715, for example, an important delegation of the Lenape chiefs came to Philadelphia to visit the Governor. Sassoonan - afterward called Allummapees, and for man years the principal chief of his people--was at the head and Opessah, a Shawnee chief, accompanied him. There was 'great ceremony' says the Council record, over the 'opening of the calumet.'" Rattles were shaken, and songs were sung. Then Sassoonan spoke, offering the calumet to Governor Gookin, who in his speech spoke of 'that firm Peace that was settled between William Penn the founder and chief governor of this country, at his firs coming into it,' to which Sassoonan replied that they had come 'to renew the former bond of friendship; that William Penn had at his first coming made a clear and open road all the way to the Indians, and they desired the same might be kept open and that all obstructions might b removed,' etc.

In 1720, Governor Keith, writing to the Iroquois chiefs of New York, said: "When Governor Penn first settled this country he made it his first care to cultivate a strict alliance and friendship with all the Indians, and condescended so far as to purchase his lands from them. And in March, 1722, the Colonial Authorities, sending a message to the Senecas, said: 'William Penn made a firm peace and league with the Indians in these parts near forty years ago, which league has often been repeated and never broken.'" In fact the "Great Treaty" was never broken until the Penn's Creek Massacre of October 16 1755. (2)

Unhappily, then, historians are not able to agree in stating the exact date of the "Great Treaty" under the historic elm on the banks of the Delaware--a treaty that occupies high and glorious place in the Indian history and tradition of Pennsylvania and the Nation. Though the historian labors in vain to establish the date, the fact of the treat

remains as inspiring to us of the present day as it was t the historians, painters, and poets of the past.

On August 16th, 1683, William Penn wrote a long letter to the Free Society of Traders, in which he describes council that he had with the Indians,--possibly the "Great Treaty: "I have had occasion to be in council with them (the Indians) upon treaties for land, and to adjust the terms Of trade. Their order is thus: The King sits in the middle of a half moon, and hath his council, the old and wise, on each hand; behind them or at a little distance, sit the younger fry in the same figure When the purchase was agreed, great promises passed between us of kindness and good neighborhood, and that the Indians and English must live in love as long as the sun and moon give light; which done, another made a speech to the Indians in the name of all the sachamakers or Kings, first to tell them what was done; next to charge and command them to love the Christians, and particularly live in peace with me, and the people under my government; that many Governors had been on the River, but that no Governor had come himself to live and stay here before; and having now such an one that treated them well, they should never do him or his any wrong. At every sentence of which they shouted and said *Amen* in their way."

NOTES

1) This is a word of French origin signifying a "Peace Pipe"

2) Most authors agree with the Lenape that the "Great Treaty" was broken by the fraudulent 'Walking Purchase.'" □

FOURTH OF JULY ADDRESS AT REIDSVILLE, NEW YORK, 1854 John Quinney (Mahican)

From *Great Documents in American Indian History*, Edited by Moquin, Wayne and Charles Van Doren (1973). Reprinted from *The Red Heart Warrior*, Vol. 3, No. 2, Fall, 2004.

It may appear to those whom I have the honor to address a singular taste for me, an Indian, to take an interest in the triumphal days of a people who occupy, by conquest or have usurped, the possessions of my fathers and have laid and carefully preserved a train of terrible miseries to end when my race ceased to exist.

But thanks to the fortunate circumstances of my life I have been taught in the schools and been able to read your histories and accounts of Europeans, yourselves and the Red Man; which instruct me that while your rejoicings today are commemorative of the free birth of this giant nation, they simply convey to my mind the recollection of a transfer of the miserable weakness and dependence, of my race from one great power to another.

My friends, I am getting old and have witnessed for many years your increase in wealth and power while the steady consuming decline of my tribe admonishes me that their extinction is inevitable. They know it themselves and the reflection teaches them humility and resignation, directing their attention to the existence of those happy hunting grounds which the Great Father has prepared for all his red children.

In this spirit, my friends, as a Muh-he-con-new, and now standing upon the soil which once was and now ought to be the property of this tribe, I have thought for once and certainly the last time I would shake you by the hand and ask you to listen for a little while to what I have to say.

, About the year 1645, when King Ben the last of the hereditary chiefs of the Muh-he-con-new nation was in his prime, grand council was convened of the Muh-he-con-new tribe for the purpose of conveying from the old to the young men a knowledge of the past.

Councils for this object especially had been held. Here for the space of two moons, the stores of memory were dispensed; corrections and comparisons made and the results committed to faithful breasts to be transmitted again to succeeding posterity.

Many years after, another and last council of this kind was held; and the traditions reduced to writing, by two of our young men who had been taught to read and write in the school of the Rev. John Sargent of Stockbridge, Mass. They were obtained in some way by a white man for publication, who soon after dying, all trace of them became lost. The traditions of the tribe, however, have mainly been preserved, of which I give you substantially, the following:

A great people from the northwest crossed over the salt water, and after long and weary pilgrimage, planting many colonies on their track, took possession of and built their fires upon the Atlantic coast, extending from the Delaware on the south to the Penobscott on the north. They became in process of time different tribes and interests; all, however, speaking one common dialect.

This great confederacy, Pequot's, Penobscot, and many others [Delaware's, Mohegan's, Manses, Narragansett's) held its council fires once a year to deliberate on the general welfare.

Patriarchal delegates from each tribe attended, assisted by the priests and the wise men, who communicated the will and invoked the blessing of the Great and Good Spirit. The policies and decisions of this council were everywhere respected, and inviolably observed. Thus contentment smiled upon their existence and they were happy.

Their religion communicated by priest and prophet, was simple and true. The manner of worship is imperfectly transmitted; but their reverence for a Great Spirit, the observance of feasts each year, the offering of beasts in thanksgiving and atonement is clearly expressed.

They believed the soul to be immortal—in the existence of a happy land beyond the view, inhabited by those whose lives had been blameless. While for the wicked had been reserved a region of misery covered with thorns and thistles, where comfort and pleasure were unknown. Time was divided into years and seasons; twelve moons for a year, a number of years by so many winters.



The tribe to which your speaker belongs and of which there were many bands, occupied and possessed the country from the seashore at Manhattan to Lake Champlain. Having found the ebb and flow of the tide, they said: "This is Muh-he-con-new," "Like our waters which are never still." From this expression and by this name they were afterwards known, until the removal to Stockbridge in the year 1630.

Housatonic River Indians, Mohegans, Manhattans, were all names of bands in different localities, but bound together as one family by blood and descent.

At a remote period, before the advent of the European their wise men foretold the coming of a strange race from the sunrise, as numerous as the leaves upon the trees, who would eventually crowd them from their fair land possessions. But apprehension was mitigated by the knowledge and belief at that time entertained, that they originally were not there, and after a period of years they would return to the west from which they had come. And they moreover said all Red Men are sprung from a common ancestor, made by the Great Spirit from red clay, who will unite their strength to avert a common calamity. This tradition is confirmed by the common belief, which prevails

in our day with all the Indian tribes; for they recognize one another by their color, as brothers and acknowledge one Great Creator.

Two hundred and fifty winters ago, this prophecy was verified and the Muh-he-con-new for the first time beheld the paleface. Their number was small, but their canoes were big.

In the select and exclusive circles of your rich men of the present day I should encounter the gaze of curiosity, but not such as overwhelmed the senses of the Aborigines, my ancestors. Our visitors were white and must be sick. They asked for rest and kindness; we gave them both. They were strangers, and we took them in; naked and we clothed them.

The first impression of astonishment and pity was succeeded by awe and admiration of superior intelligence and address.

A passion for information and improvement possessed the Indians. A residence was given—territory offered—and covenants of friendship exchanged.

Your written accounts of events at this period are familiar to you, my friends. Your children read them every day in their school books; but they do not read—no mind at this time can conceive, and no pen record, the terrible story of recompense for kindness, which for two hundred years has been paid the simple, guileless Muh-he-con-new.

I have seen much myself—I have been connected with more—and I tell you I know all. The tradition of the wise men is figuratively true—that our home at last will be found in the west; for another tradition informs us that far beyond the setting sun, upon the smiling happy lands, we shall be gathered with our fathers, and be at rest.

Promises and professions were freely given and ruthlessly and intentionally broken. To kindle your fires was sought as a privilege; and yet at that moment you were transmitting to your kings intelligence of our possessions, "by right of discovery," and demanding assistance to assert your hold

Where are the 25,000 in number, and the 4,000 warriors, who constituted the power and population of the great Muh-he-con-new nation in 1604?

They have been victims to vice and disease, which the white men imported. Smallpox, measles and firewater have done the work of annihilation. Divisions and feuds were insidiously promoted between the several bands. They were induced to thin each others ranks without just cause; and subsequently were defeated and disorganized in detail.

It is curious, the history of my tribe, in its decline, in the last two centuries and a half. Nothing that deserved the name of purchase was made. From various causes, they were induced to abandon their territory at intervals and retire farther inland. Deeds were given indifferently to the government by individuals, for which little or no compensation was paid.

The Indians were informed, in many instances, that they were selling one piece of land when they were conveying another and much larger limits. Should a particular band, for purposes of hunting or fishing, for a time leave its usual place of residence, the land was said to be abandoned, and the Indian claim extinguished. To legalize and confirm titles thus acquired, laws and edicts were subsequently passed, and these laws were said then to be, and are now called, justice.

Oh, what mockery to confound justice with law! Will you look steadily at the intrigues, bargains, corruptions and log rollings of your present legislatures, and see any trace of justice? And by what test shall be tried the acts of the colonial courts and councils?

Let it not surprise you, my friends, when I say that the spot upon which I stand has never been rightly purchased or obtained. And by justice, human and Divine, is the property of the remnant of the great people from whom I am descended. They left it in the tortures of starvation and to improve their miserable existence; but a cession was never made, and their title was never extinguished.

The Indian is said to be the ward of the white man, and the negro his slave. Has it ever occurred to you, my friend, that while the negro is increasing and increased by every appliance, the Indian is left to rot and die before the inhumanities of this model republic?

You have your tears and groans and mobs and riots for the individuals of the former, while your indifference of purpose and vacillation of policy is hurrying to extinction whole communities of the latter.

What are the treaties of the general government? How often and when has its plighted faith been kept? Indian occupation is forever next year, or one removal follows another, or by the next commissioner, more wise than his predecessor, repurchased, and thus your sympathies and justice are evinced in speedily fulfilling the terrible destinies of our race.

My friends, your Holy Book, the Bible, teaches us that individual offenses are punished in an existence-when time shall be no more-and the annals of the earth are equally instructive that national wrongs are avenged, and national crimes atoned for in this world to which alone the conformation of existence adapts them.

These events are above our comprehension, and for a wise purpose; for myself and for my tribe I ask for justice-I believe it will sooner or later occur, and may the Great Spirit enable me to die in hope. □



TURN THE IRON HOUSES OF OPPRESSION INTO SCHOOLS OF LIBERATION!!

Editorial: Reprinted from the Red Heart Warrior, Vol. 3, No. 2

What I remember most from reading Sun Tzu's *The Art of War*, is that to defeat your enemy you must defeat his strategy with your own. It is all well and good to talk about the abolition of prisons, but this requires that first the state itself must be abolished, for you cannot have one without the other.

But to develop a strategy that will defeat the ruling class's strategy of mass incarceration as a means of social control and the criminalization of a generation, we need a strategy that utilizes this reality and makes it work for us. Penitentiaries have always been the universities of the oppressed. Many older prisoners complain that the new crop of prisoners haven't a clue as to the ways of the "Old School." They are for the most part amateurs unlearned in the fine points of the criminal underworld and its ways and customs. The massive increase in the number of incarcerated has forever changed the situation. What is called for is a "New School," not based upon the criminal life style but upon becoming warriors who live lives of service to the people.

Most "ethnic" people are not so far removed from the warrior traditions of their ancestors. These traditions held that a warrior's life was not his own, it belonged to his people, his tribe or his nation. In these societies, the State did not exist. There were no special bodies of armed men, soldiers or police, no prisons and no class

ruling over society. Every man, (and some women), was a warrior. When the need arose, he dropped what he was doing to rise to the defense of the people or perform whatever service was needed. Otherwise, he went about his business of providing for his family or neighbors in need.

This is how society worked for many thousands of years, and the virtues of the warrior were the virtues of humanity; courage, loyalty, humility, honesty and reliability. Warriors strove to be their people's pride and to set a good example for the youth and children who looked up to them and learned from them. They did not fear death, only dishonor. To die for the people was an honor. The strategy of the ruling class is to degrade, demoralize and dishonor the members of the underclass; to turn the young women into "ho's" and the young men into "gangsta's," addicting both to "crack" or "smack" and thereby neutralize them and render them impotent in the class struggle, setting them up for early graves or long prison sentences. They give the Indian nations casinos and call this "sovereignty rights." They turn the urban barrios and "hoods" into war zones, giving the people a choice of colors in fratricidal gang warfare.

Every bit of this is about oppression, even if it puts a wad of dough in your pocket, or it puts you in a flash car or flash clothes for a while. This is all chump change to the ruling class, and you are never going to be one of them. All they will let you be is a Judas Goat with a bell around your neck leading the people to slaughter. What you sell to wear the bell is worth a lot more than what you receive.

Creator made us to be warriors. This is biologically determined. The very gifts that enable us to be strong warriors, strength of body, quickness of mind, and courage are exploited to turn us into "gangsta's" and "hoodlums." We are made into caricatures of what we were intended to be...not the real thing at all!

To be real, we must return to the ways of our warrior ancestors and their traditional spiritual orientation. We must let Creator stand us tall and help us to walk in balance on the Red Path of true warriors. When necessary, we must walk alone, when possible, we must unite as brothers and form warrior circles. Virtually any prison group can become a warrior's circle and help to transform the joint into a "School of Liberation." Every yard and cell block can become a classroom of higher learning.

Education is the key. Those with knowledge and understanding must share it with others. Lifers, who cannot get out, can school those who will. Those who come out can carry the "New School" into the neighborhoods and back onto the reservations. No matter how bad one has been, when turned to service to the people we can all be useful. We can be Giants!

The people who run the prisons talk about "corrections" and "rehabilitation," but it is all a scam. The only ones who care about rehabilitation are the prisoners themselves and their loved ones. The system is rigged to fail. People are expected to come out more demoralized and dehumanized then they went in. They are expected to re-offend and go right back in, or trip over some technical violation of parole placed in their path.

The reality is there are not enough decent jobs to go around. Globalization calls for exportation of the good jobs elsewhere and importation of cheap immigrant labor to depress wages in the service sector. That's why so many Americans are being incarcerated for longer prison terms. It has nothing to do with crime rates and everything to do with keeping the underclass down.

The only way to win is to stop playing their game and to turn the tables on our oppressors. Nobody can change a thing about the past. What's done is done! All we can do is determine what we are going to do today and what we aspire to become in the future. Why should we accept the label of our past misdeeds as an identity or put such on others? Pretty near everyone in prison did some pretty awful thing or things to get where they are, but why dwell upon it? Need it determine the rest of one's life?

We can be the sort of men whom others will respect and trust regardless of the start we made in life, if we decide to change our

ways and walk a righteous path. We were all given the capability of living up to Creator's expectations.

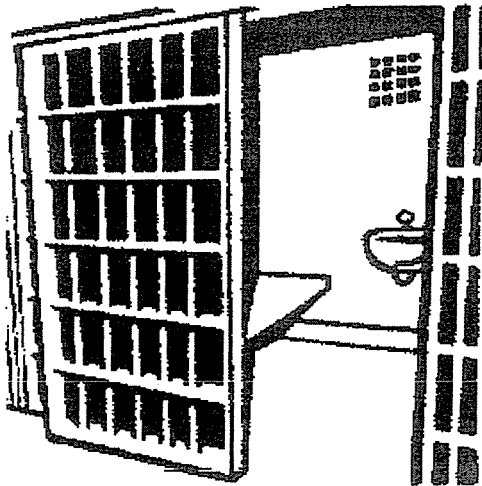
Sometime you have to leave the path to find it, to fail in order to succeed. We were born in a sewer of exploitation where everything sacred is profaned and selfishness, insensitivity, ruthlessness and greed are promoted as virtues. We live in a world turned wrong-side up. No one on death row killed more people than Lee Iacoca, when with the stroke of a pen he eliminated the option of putting a safer gas tank on the Ford Pinto, and they proclaimed him "Man of the Year."

Compared to the crimes of the ruling class, all the offences of all the prisoners in America taken together pale by comparison, but they go Scott free, or at worst get a slap on the wrist, no matter what their crimes, while the poor are executed or grow old in prison cells. But before there can be an accounting of true justice, the people must be united. Such unity does not fall from the sky, or occur as an instantaneous mystical happening, it must be built up gradually from below. A nation stands upon its warriors, and without them, a people have nothing.

America is not just a nation of prisons, where one in four of the incarcerated people in the world reside, it is a prison house of nations. First and foremost are the indigenous nations whose homelands are occupied. Then there is the nation of Africans in America, of Mexicans and Puerto Ricans in America, and so on. All the nations in America, including the white colonial settler nation, must learn to stand together and to stand tall in opposition to all oppression. Warriors must lead the way!

We are all in the same boat. Our fates are intertwined. To have a future, we must wrest the wheel from Blind Greed and Selfish Ambition and put Reason in command. Who can understand this better than those whose personal lives have been wrecked upon the rocks? It is from within the bowels of the system of injustice, from those stripped of everything tangible, and struggling to retain their humanity and spirit, that hope for the future will be found. In the hard knocks school of prison and on the mean streets of poverty and desperation, the people will find their champions.

Let all who yearn for a day of liberation for mankind take a hand in consciously creating this school. Yes, one day we shall see the abolition of prisons, and of every form of oppression, but not without first raising up a tide of red-hearted warriors who, even under the gravest adversity, have learned how to be free. □



FREE IRON THUNDERHORSE!



WHAT PRICE FREEDOM?

By Iron Thunderhorse, Quinipiac Grand Sachem

Reprinted from the Red Heart Warrior, Vol. 3, No. 2.

Freedom is a word synonymous with *America* (Turtle Island). Yet what exactly is *freedom*, and what does it mean? Like everything else in America, it means different things to different people... because of the ingrained "double standard" within the system developed by the United States. Indians have been consistently subjected to this.

Prior to the arrival of the *wapsu* on our ancestral shores, Turtle Island was truly "The Land of the Free," where upwards of 150 tribal councils devised a system of "democracy" still unequaled anywhere in the world. Over a third of these nation's council fires belong to the Algonquian family, known to ourselves as Lenape, or Renapi, or Anishinabe ("We The People").

We shared a common root language, culture, blood-lines, political structure and spiritual orientation. Each nation enjoyed sovereignty, yet throughout the Eastern Woodlands region they were united in confederation along with those of Iroquoian stock.

The *wapsu* had no true concept of democracy prior to their arrival on our shores. From the Algobquian and Iroquoian peoples, who were bound together in the grand *Womanokke* ("Dawnland") confederacy, which extended from Nova Scotia to northern Georgia, and to which the Lenni Lenape ("Original People") were regarded as the "Grandfathers," the colonists drew their inspiration for the Continental Congress and the Articles of Confederation. In fact the word "caucus" was borrowed from our language.

The Continental Congress proclaimed the great Lenni Lenape sachem, Tamanend, the "Patron Saint of America" and proclaimed May 1st a national holiday in his honor.⁵¹ This same Continental Congress authored the Pittsburgh Treaty of 1778, which recognized the sovereignty of the Indian nations over their unceded lands and the right of the nations west of the Ohio to form an all Indian state, and if they chose to, to be represented by the sachems of the Lenni Lenape in the Continental Congress as the 14th of the United States of America.

Nevertheless, the *wapsu* did not fully comprehend or embrace the concept of *Freedom*, nor follow through on this promise, nor did they abolish involuntary servitude or establish equal rights for women or the poor, protect the environment or the working people from vicious exploitation. And so, while concessions have been won through hard-fought struggles by the people over the years, what has prevailed is a system called "Capitalism" based upon social inequality and dictatorship of the rich as a class over the rest of society.

⁵¹ See *America's Patron Saint* in Chapter 13 of "Native Roots: How the Indian Enriched America" by Jack Weatherford, NY, Fawcett Columbine, 1991.

I've heard many compare our traditional ways to communism, anarchism and socialism, yet still I hear our people and leaders say we should commit ourselves to the Democrats or Republicans. I say "No!" Let us RETURN to our traditions and see who will unite with us. This is our homeland and we should stand tallest for its liberation and oppose all oppression.

The *wapsu* double standard can be seen everywhere in America, even in the Bill of Rights. In the First Amendment, it guarantees freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and religion, but every time our people assembled off the reservation, out came the cavalry. Our religions were outlawed until 1978, and our religious leaders were put in prisons, like the Hopi elders sent to Alcatraz.

Alan Dershowitz, professor of law at Harvard, taught that there still are two sets of laws – the written law and the unwritten law. The rich pay for their justice ("Just-Us"), while the poor are punished for their disenfranchisement. Our people have paid a very high price.

During the '60s and '70s, Indian people started fighting back with occupations, like the ones at Alcatraz, the BIA Headquarters in Washington, D.C. and at Wounded Knee, and blocking crossings in demonstrations against violations of our sovereignty rights. In the Dawnlend, some of the leaders then were chiefs Mad Bear Anderson, Sam Gray Wolf, and Adam Fortune Eagle. It wasn't until 1978 that the AMERICAN INDIAN RELIGIOUS FREEDOM ACT was passed.

During this time of "Civil Rights Explosion," all minorities in America were demonstrating against the long-standing oppression of people of color. Blacks and Native Americans demonstrated peacefully, but "big brother" responded with "extreme and often deadly force," so the resistance began to take up arms in self-defense and to protect the elders and children.

It seems the French philosopher of the Enlightenment, Yves Simon, hit a bull's eye when he postulated that the ruling class needs an "accursed group," a segment of the population to tie to the proverbial whipping post. The Establishment stubbornly resisted any change in the status of Black and American Indian people.

Indian protests were not restricted to public places but took place on the reservations too, from Rosebud and Pine Ridge to the little quarter acre of the Paugusset in Connecticut. Someone had to pay the price of getting the *wapsu's* attention. Leonard Peltier and lesser known scapegoats like Dallas Thundershield and Paul Skyhorse were railroaded into prison. And their were plots to neutralize them in prison. One of these plots, to get Leonard Peltier was foiled by Standing Deer Wilson, whom the Feds had recruited to assassinate Leonard. Standing Deer proved to a true "Red Heart," and he was retaliated against by the authorities until his assassination while on parole in Texas last year.

I too was targeted and paraded through a series of highly-publicized trials for crimes the joint task force, (Feds, state & local police, and Texas Rangers), knew I was innocent of. During the trials it was revealed that the government against suspected me of being involved in supplying weapons to these resistance struggles because of my military background and contacts. When I entered the Texas prison system in 1978, (a year after my arrest), the TDCJ refused to accept my "race" and "religion" as being "Native American." I had come to the TDCJ with "warrior braids" and had won a temporary restraining order to prevent them from cutting them. The warden tore up the TRO, and I was beaten with axe-handles, but I survived to fight again and again for my rights.

After many legal battles, my racial status was changed to "other" and my religion was changed to "Native American shamanism." I was the first prisoner in Texas to win the right to wear a "medicine bag," a bandana headband, and feathers. After 14 years of legal battling, I was permitted to form the first recognized circle of traditional Native American spiritual practitioners within the Texas prison system.

But like the Indian Treaties, the agreements of the Criminal Justice system are subject to changing interpretations by successive administrations and the whims of wardens. I authored the book *Return of the Thunderbeings* and co-founded the THUNDERBIRD

ALLIANCE, (a national coalition of prisoner circles and outside supporters.) I began writing for the Thunderbird Free Press, the Alliances newsletter, and other outside press such as Akwesasne Notes and News From Indian Country.

The price I had to pay was years of segregation and harassment. Eventually an agreement was reached where I would be allowed to practice as a "shaman" (medicine man) and to have contact with other Native American spiritual leaders on the outside and the prison circles on the inside. I would be allowed to keep my original medicine bag and its contents, and my personal prayer pipe. I would even be allowed to keep my braids, if I cut them off and attached them to a headband to be worn under my bandana, but only in the privacy of my cell.

Later on, the TDCJ set up this made-up sanitized religion they call "Native American," complete with assembly line-made "medicine bags" with their own "pet rock" inside, and all-white bandanas. Our late brother Standing Deer wrote a powerful article denouncing this quasi-Christian faith entitled "*Medicine-Bags-R-Us*."

The TDCJ made several attempts to ramrod this made-up religion down Indian people's throats. First they recruited two women volunteers but they either quit or were let go for resisting the TDCJ's blatantly racist policies. Then they found a willing servant in Chaplain Ronald Teil of Corpus Cristi, who calls himself "Walks In Smoke."

All an inmate has to do is file an I-60 claiming "Native American" heritage and faith to sign up with him. I asked this chaplain what tribal nation he belongs to, and he had no answer. I've been told by others that he is connected with the white racist group called the "Republic of Texas." When I asked him what his position was on Native traditionalists, he said he always tells them to "get out."

I asked how he could claim to be holding "intertribal pipe ceremonies," when no members of any tribe were participating. I am putting this plastic, "New Age" priest on the "hot seat," because some people who are following him don't realize that his purpose is "spiritual sterilization" and preempting a truly traditional program in the TDCJ. The teachings and ceremonies he promotes are a blend of New Age and Christian tenants. Traditional things like *baginos* (sweat lodges), feast days and celebrations are not included, nor is the right to wear long hair.

The TDCJ's one-size-fits-all quasi-Christian made-up religion violates the most basic right of the Indian nations to designate their own spiritual teachers and culture bearers. Back in 1995-96, the TDCJ went tobacco free. You can't buy tobacco products, and it is a crime to smuggle them in. But you can put in an I-60 change of religion to "Native American," and you can smoke tobacco as part of a "Native American spiritual circle."

I am now under attack by this "Walks In Smoke" plastic priest and his boss, Chaplaincy Director Bill Pierce. Recently they had my braids and personal prayer pipe confiscated as a clear act of war to pressure me into changing my official religion from "Native American Shamanism" to their generic "Native American," so they take back what has been won over the years. So as I fast and pursue my legal avenues of redress, I encourage all sovereign Indian nations and true traditionalists to voice their support for me and send letters of protest to:

Warden Smith's Office, Hughes Unit
RT. #2, Box 4400
Gatesville, TX 76597
Fax: (254) 865-6964
Tel: (254) 865-6663

Chaplain Ronald Teel
PO Box 2
Corpus Christi, TX 78403-0002

In the spirit of Tamanend, Teddyuscung and Techumseh, Cornstalk and Pontiac! *Wanishi!*

Iron Thunderhorse #624391 □



THE TORTURE OF CHIEF IRON THUNDERHORSE

by Tom Big Warrior

On June 7th, 2005, ranking officers of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ), at the Polunsky Unit in Livingston, Texas, attacked an elderly and legally blind inmate, Iron Thunderhorse, while he was attempting to go to the chowhall. They knocked the glasses and UV shields from his face and sprayed chemical pepper spray directly in his eyes. They proceeded to spray him all over with the chemical irritant, kicking him and wrenching his crippled arm behind his back.

For weeks, Iron had been denied entry into the chow hall, or any food at all, as the TDCJ was attempting to starve him into complying with an order to submit to a haircut, despite the fact that a federal court had recently upheld that his civil rights were being violated. This was the latest outrage in a struggle that has been going on for almost thirty years.

After being railroaded by the FBI's COINTELPRO program, along with many other dissidents and activists around the country, in the early 70s, Iron went to court to assert his rights as a Native American spiritual practitioner. He got off the bus from jail to prison armed with a court order requiring the TDCJ to respect these rights, including his right to wear long hair. He was met by the warden and a "goon squad" of inmate "building tenders" armed with baseball bats and axe handles. The warden tore up Iron's court order and had his "goons" beat Iron unconscious and then forcibly cut his hair. Year after year, Iron has suffered repeated beatings and torture, including years in solitary confinement in the sweltering Texas heat. His blindness stems from repeated gassings and being sprayed in the eyes with pepper spray. His body is covered with scars, only a few of which he received as a soldier in Vietnam.

Iron is the hereditary chief of the Quinnipiac Renapi, a branch of the greater Lenape Nation, whose homeland runs along the Quinnipiac River in Connecticut. His people have the dubious distinction of being the first North American tribe to be placed on a reservation by the English settlers at New Haven, in the early 1600s.

Iron's long ordeal began when he stopped at a diner for a cup of coffee on his way home from work, more than thirty years ago. Some of the local Connecticut white boys, who saw him pull up on his classic Indian motorcycle, thought it might be fun to give this long-haired Indian a hair cut.

After years in the rough and tumble Indian boarding schools, his muscles now hardened by long hours of construction work, Iron defended himself well. It was a clear case of self-defense, but the white boys were sons of the local establishment, and so the cops arrested Iron. But this was the least of his problems, as the white boys, enraged by their deserved ass-whipping, began to stalk Iron waiting for a chance to get revenge. It happened one winter night when two of them spotted his car and gave chase. They ran the car off the road, but Iron wasn't in it.

After the highway patrol informed him that his young wife and child had been killed in the resulting "accident," Iron began drinking heavily. Then he donned his war-paint, got on his motorcycle, and went looking for revenge. He found the boys before the police did, and when they arrived, they arrested Iron for aggravated assault. It was then that the Army stepped in, and Iron was released into the custody of a colonel recruiting for special service in Vietnam.

Having frequently run away from boarding school, Iron fine-tuned the woodlands skills he had been taught as a child by living off the

land in wilderness areas. These skills, coupled with the rage he was going through, made him an ideal candidate for the covert operations he was groomed for at Fort Bragg and other army training schools. Placed under the direction of the CIA, Iron was sent to Vietnam, where he took part in secret operations, as well as elsewhere in S.E. Asia. But eventually, he and his team refused to obey an illegal order, and they were sent back to California and discharged.

Iron gravitated to the American Indian Movement (AIM) and to others standing up to the system, and he became a target of COINTELPRO, the FBI's illegal campaign to infiltrate, entrap, frame-up, assassinate and otherwise suppress activists in the anti-war and other movements for social justice that had emerged in the 60s. Their intent was to lock him up and throw away the key.

Iron went into prison in top physical condition and highly trained in martial arts. Over the years, he fended off several attempts to assassinate him, but now his health is precarious and he is virtually blind. "I suffer from corneal dystrophy and have cataracts and open angle glaucoma, my corneas no longer produce tears," Iron wrote in a complaint over the June 7th attack, explaining the excruciating pain he was in when he was at last taken to the medical unit. "Lt. Lawrence and Sgt. Sheffield refused to allow the duty nurse to conduct a proper PHD exam....Officers refused her admonishment to un-handcuff me due to excruciating pain in [my] shoulder." Iron had a pass, repeatedly renewed by doctors since 1992, prohibiting his being cuffed behind his back due to his crippled arm. This was confiscated after the attack.

"Officers refused to allow the nurse to flush my eyes with water or otherwise decontaminate my person from the pepper spray. The OC pepper spray saturated both eyes, face, head, ear canals, neck, torso, arms, palms, buttocks and thighs. Officers kept saying, 'LET HIM BURN!'"

Iron also suffers from rhinitis and seborrheic dermatitis, both of which are specifically mentioned on the precautions list for use of OC pepper spray. This was known by the officers prior to this premeditated attack, and Iron had reported that he had been repeatedly threatened with this type of assault. It was obvious that an allergic reaction was taking place to the pepper spray, yet Iron was prevented from showering until more than 12 hours later.

This torture is compounded by medical neglect. Iron suffers from high blood pressure, heart arrhythmia, sleep apnea, and recurrent shingles and only has one functioning lung. All of these conditions were aggravated by the assault, yet his requests to see a doctor were not only denied, so were his regular prescribed medications for these conditions.

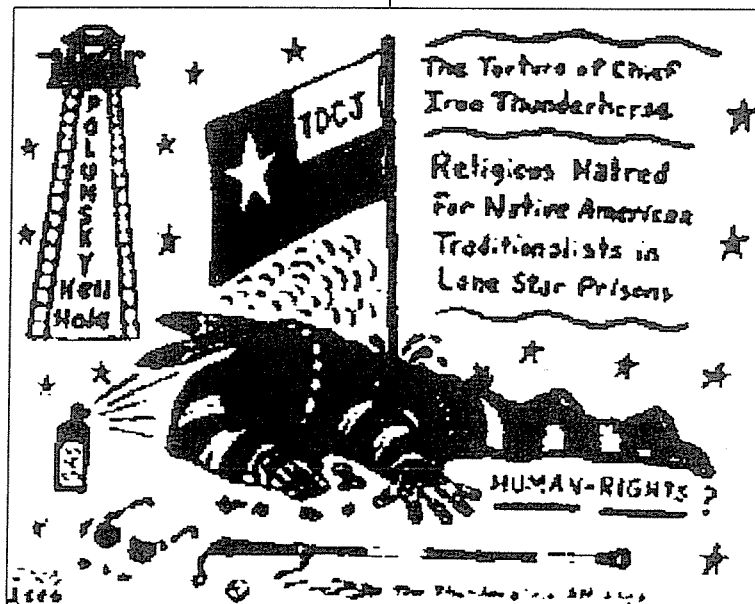
According to his wife, Ruth Thunderhorse: "The warden tells me that Iron's glasses were lost in the property confiscation after the 'assault,' but if they cannot find them, they will get new ones. Anything to keep Iron from his legal work, I assume. Since the warden hemmed and hawed when I asked if Iron had his fan, that probably is not in his possession either. He also ignored my question as to whether Iron has his magnifier." Meanwhile, Iron's glasses, UV shields and his navigational cane, which were confiscated, have not been replaced, and his typewriter has been confiscated. Basically, the TDCJ is doing all it can to frustrate Iron's efforts to defend his civil rights, including deliberately endangering his health.

President Bush, who was formerly the Governor of Texas, can claim all he wants that, "We do not condone torture," but the facts show otherwise. The torture of Iron Thunderhorse continued throughout his term as governor and it continues today. The federal court had more than enough justification to put Iron in federal protective custody while he is litigating against the TDCJ. The very essence of this case is the suppression of religious freedom for Native Americans here in the USA, the history of which spans the whole history of the US.

Ruth asks for letters of support addressed to Iron. His address is:



Iron Thunderhorse, #624391
Polunsky Unit, 3872 FM 350 South,
Livingston, TX 77351



Religious Freedom:

A myth for Native American prisoners

By Iron Thunderhorse

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Try to imagine what it would be like to be in a prisoner-of-war camp where only a small handful of people are Christians and the prisoners who are Christians are further separated from each other because your captors don't want any of you to congregate.

Every day you are subjected to ridicule. Your crucifix is confiscated and kept locked away. Your Bible is kept always *out* of reach. If you denounce your Christian traditions you can have anything you want. Religious leaders from all other religions are allowed to come into the POW camp regularly. You under constant pressure to give up being Christian in order to enjoy the simple privileges that the "others" are allowed.

Let this feeling sink down deep into your bones, your heart and your gut. Each time you try to break the cycle of harassment and oppression the retaliation gets worse. Your oppressors rough you up and spread rumors against you.

If you could begin to imagine how this would feel, day and night, for 17 long years, then you have an idea how it has been for me.

In 1978, after spending a year in county jails going through several criminal trials, I petitioned the District Court of Grayson County, Texas for an injunction to keep the Texas Department of Corrections (TDC) from cutting my hair because it had been a part of my religious practice for many years. Judge William Ralph Elliot issued a Temporary Restraining Order (TRO) to prevent TDC from cutting my hair.

I was taken to the TDC Diagnostic Unit on September 12, 1978. The reception area had been cleared. Along with Assistant Warden Billy Ware there were over a dozen ranking officers and inmates called "building tenders" (inmates who work as guards), all carrying ax handles and bats. I was told to get in the barber chair. When I tried to produce the TRO, I was told, "You're in Texas now, Ol' Thang, we run this prison. Get your hair cut or get your head busted." I was beaten almost to unconsciousness.

While at the Diagnostic Unit I was asked what my race was. I said, "Native American," and they laughed, saying there are only three racial categories, black, white, and Hispanic. They asked my religion, and I said "Native American shamanism," and they laughed again, saying, "There ain't no such religion."

I was assigned to the Ellis 1 Unit where I was interviewed by a major who told me that he hated Indians and jailhouse lawyers. "If you don't get your heart right, my boys will know how to handle it," he said.

Thus began a 17-year war, a holy war, between the Texas prison system and Native American religious freedom. The first thing I did was prepare an appeal in the civil case which issued the TRO, but the court never received it. At the time, TDC was being sued by inmates for serious mail tampering.

In retaliation for my legal work, the building tenders organized hit-squads and made several assassination attempts on my life. There were other inmates who rallied behind me and a series of confrontations developed. I was labeled a "troublemaker" and placed on Death Row, even though I wasn't sentenced to death.

Judge William Wayne Justice eventually abolished the use of building tenders and forced TDC to clean up its act, but roc resisted. For the first six or seven years, I would be given a haircut by force every few months until Judge Justice ruled that TOC could no longer use force

against me. However, I was denied all visitation, commissary privileges, recreation privileges, etc. My typewriter was confiscated on several occasions because several of us organized to challenge TDC in the courts and in the media.

I was eventually placed in administrative segregation, where I was kept out of sight and out of mind. I have spent 85 percent of my time in roc locked away from others.

For a while, TDC allowed me to have my medicine bag, ceremonial pipe, eagle feathers, etc., and in 1991, we formed a Native American Cultural and Religious Council. I was released into the Wynne Unit population with braids down to my waist. I was paroled in June of 1991.

My parole was violated in 1992 because I left a hospital without permission. I was charged with escape, (although I was on parole and no warrant had been served on me), and given 20 more years.

I am now back in segregation after a year in solitary confinement and confrontations. As soon as I arrived back in TDC, officers of rank began harassing me, calling me "Thunderbolt," and "Thunderdurd." I was denied meals (unless I cut my hair) on several occasions. When these tactics failed, officers tried using force.

Last year, after the Religious Freedom Restoration Act was passed by Congress, TDC revised its religious policy. On its face, it appears to give all inmates equal access to religion. The section on Native Americans allows inmates to have a sacred pipe, medicine bag, stone, shell, herbs, feathers, bandanas, etc. I made arrangements to have all these items sent to my unit, so we could practice our religion. The items were stored in the Chapel. Soon after they arrived, and I requested use of them, I was placed in segregated status and told I could not use them until I was released into population, which means that when I cut my hair, then I can have my religious freedom.

The policy says nothing about being denied access to spiritual items for people in administrative segregation. Although it was the chaplain who advised me of this restriction, it was authorized by the warden...so much for separation of church and state.

In my culture (Algonquin), I hold the tradition of being a *powwau*, which means "dream-power," alluding to the dream fasts we practice in ceremony to obtain divine revelations. I have been a spiritual leader of my people for over 30 years, and in our traditions only certain people who are trained after receiving a traditional calling are authorized to conduct our ceremonies. Numerous inmates have signed requests for TDC to allow me to work with prisoners leading the ceremonies, but TDC refuses. TDC does not know the fundamentals of Native American religions. They want to decide who can practice our religion and who cannot.

TDC spends a sizable budget each year for Christian inmates. Regular Christian revivals are the only events allowed. TDC has to entice many inmates with football stars, magicians, and free soap and shampoo in order to get inmates to attend. The TDC administration hasn't spent a penny on acquiring ceremonial items for Native American prisoners. I've had to do this on my own.

I have yet to see a multi-cultural revival in prison in TDC. In other penitentiaries this is a common thing, and each ethnic religion is allowed a special day of celebration.

I do not think or act like white people because I was raised differently. I feel like an alien who has lived on another planet for the past 17 years — cut off from my culture and traditions. Instead of taking

advantage of my status as a spiritual leader allowing me to conduct ceremonies for other inmates, TDC has tried its best to break my spirit and force me to worship their way.

Change can only take place if and when the Christian people themselves take action. I ask that all true Christians make good on their promise to end the wrongs and injustices done to Native Americans in the past 500 years.

Christians can contact the ministries which come into prisons on a regular basis such as: Chuck Colson Ministry, Bill Glass Ministry, Texans Do Care, etc. and request that multi-cultural revivals be provided. Many Native Americans have accepted a hybrid form of Christian worship in their spirituality. It can be done by Christians as well.

Christians could also visit Indian communities, get to know them and invite the elders to these multi-cultural revivals at the prisons so that they can visit the Indian prisoners, especially those in segregation who cannot attend the revivals. Since these elders have no transportation, they should be helped so transportation is provided, and they are welcomed.

By observing and participating in this way, Christians and the prison administration will see that our ancient traditions are not a form of devil worship. People call the Great Spirit by different names, and we each use our own symbols and instruments to honor the Great Mystery. But we are all saying similar things through traditions that have been handed down since the beginning of time.□

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Chief Iron Thunderhorse #624391, is the Medicine Chief and a leading member of the Red Heart Warriors Society (RHWS). He is also the Thunder Clan/Society chief of the Algonquian Confederacy of the Quinipiac Tribal Council (ACQTC) and a published author and artist. According to Iron, conditions have worsened for Native American prisoners in Texas since this was written. It is interesting to note that the Islamic POW's being held by the U.S. military at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba have been permitted more religious freedom, (being allowed copies of the Koran, turbans, prayer beads, etc.), than many Native American prisoners in this country.*□

Facing the Four Directions

By Tom Big Warrior

Reprinted from the Red Heart Warrior, Spring, 2008

The U.S. is a global-reaching empire waging war to establish its hegemony everywhere. Business is war, and war is big business. The U.S. has never not been at war. It was born in war; with this country's indigenous inhabitants, with the Afrikans it bought and kept in bondage, and with its imperialist parent – England – and her imperialist rivals.

It has been at war all along with its Spanish-speaking neighbors, from whom it took Florida, Texas, California and the Southwest states, Puerto Rico, Guam, and Guantanamo Bay. It's still at war imposing "Banana Republics" and "Narco-Military States" in Latin Amerika.

It's been at war with Asia, colonizing the Hawaiians and Filipinos, and imposing neo-colonialism on China, the Koreans and Vietnam, Thailand, Indonesia and India. Imperialism is at war with the whole world, breeds world wars, and leads governments to war on their own people.

This constant state of war – unrelenting competition for the highest rates of profit and ultimate power – produces casualties, who die on far flung battlefields, and by the millions from hunger, exposure, preventable diseases, overdoses, fratricide and suicide.

Countries, communities, families and individuals suffer and become dysfunctional because Empire robs them of what they need to grow strong and healthy. It robs them of livelihood and self-respect.

Standing in Amerika and looking to the Four Directions, we see the chaos and anarchy Amerikan imperialism is unleashing in the world. We stand in the eye of the hurricane that is unleashing mass destruction.

Half the people in the world are living in dire poverty – unable to support their families. Half the people are trying to survive on \$2 a day or less, while a couple hundred billionaires dictate to the whole world. The people of the world – red, yellow, white and black – share a common destiny. We have a date with history.

It is up to us to unite and make world socialist revolution and replace the dictatorship of the rich with people's power. Democracy is not getting to vote for Tweedle Dum or Tweedle Dee, it is the power to impose the will of the majority on the exploiting minority.

Where does political power come from? It grows out of the barrel of a gun. The question is, which class commands the gun? People's power is created by people's war. If we take to the streets in peaceful protest, the gun will be there, on the hips and in the hands of the police, and backing them up, the National Guard, and ultimately the whole of the military might of the state.

We can demonstrate – just as we can vote – so long as these things do not threaten the powers that be. The dictatorship of the rich allows for dissent and freedom of speech – but you might find yourself investigated and spied upon. You might be "blacklisted" or be set-up for political repression and "railroaded" into prison.

We can exercise our freedom of speech so long as the ruling class can exercise its power to control every aspect of our lives. The Panthers and Red Heart Warriors believe we must do more than protest and speak out. We must organize for and create more favorable conditions for revolution. We must create and build people's power to prepare the oppressed people to *seize the time* when conditions are ripe and snatch the power of the state away from the imperialists and overpower their gunmen and torturers.

To do this, we must unite the people of the "Four Directions" into a powerful revolutionary united front of the countries, communities and classes against capitalist imperialism. We must ring imperialism with the fire of people's war and transform the urban oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social, and political revolution. We must create a revolutionary people armed with revolutionary theory and science and imbued with revolutionary spirit – the spirit of the Panther, *Chingwe*.

Prisons are "universities of the oppressed," and we must transform them into "Schools of Liberation." By changing the character of the "prison experience," and transforming the "lumpen" ("broken") proletarians into class-conscious, revolutionary proletarian fighters, we can contribute to "putting the world right side up."

In the past, in the Indian movement, the Black movement, the labor and other movements for social justice, militancy has often been used as leverage for selling out, and accommodating with the system. We are not a movement of "angry young militants" but of determined revolutionaries.

From the "slave pens of oppression" to the streets of the oppressed communities, a new generation of Panthers and Red Heart Warriors will spring forward to challenge imperialist rule, class exploitation, and the racist oppression of people of color. Wherever there is oppression, poverty and degradation, the Panther movement will create "Serve The People" survival programs and agitate, educate and organize to create community-based people's power.

We cannot go back to making our living with the bow and the hoe, nor can we ignore what is going on in the world and under our noses. If there is to be a bright future for humanity, we must do our duty as warriors, and we must:

**DARE TO STRUGGLE AND
DARE TO WIN!**

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

**MAY CREATOR STAND US
TALL!**

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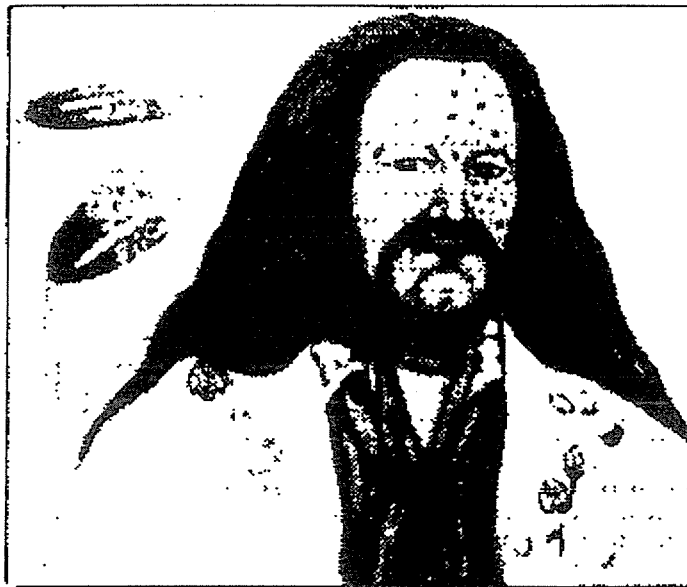


RUTH MAHWEYEYEH THUNDERHORSE

NEWSLETTER OF THE RED HEART WARRIORS SOCIETY

Following the Footsteps of a Stone Giant

The Life and Times of Iron Thunderhorse



SAKIMA IRON THUNDERHORSE

“... I HAVE OVER 100 SCARS ON MY BODY AND MOST OF THEM I RECEIVED AFTER VIETNAM, but these too are war-honors, because they were earned in the Iron House Wars, while standing up our right to our own religion, race and language.”

– Iron Thunderhorse

A new book, presented by Sagewriters and Infinity Publishing Co., (1094 New DeHaven Street, Suite 100, West Conshohocken, PA 19428-2713), about the life of Iron Thunderhorse, the Red Heart Warriors Society's Medicine Chief, is now available. This authorized biography was written by his wife, Ruth "Little Owl" Thunderhorse, and is both a scholarly and loving documentary and tribute to this great man, who has endured so much in the struggle for American Indians' spiritual rights within the Texas criminal justice system.

Almost completely blind as a result of repeated gassings and being sprayed in the eyes with pepper spray, Iron continues to fight on after more than 30 years of confinement and brutal oppression to secure the most basic of human rights, freedom of religion, for his fellow Indian inmates in the TDCJ. But this does not begin to sum up the contributions of this man.

A writer, artist, historian, spiritual teacher, linguist, political activist, archeologist and all around scholar, he has done more than any other to document and preserve the rich history and culture of the Quinnipiac Renapi people, whose ancestral homeland is the valley of the Quinnipiac River in Connecticut.

Born to an Italian father and an Indian mother, Iron, like most of today's Eastern Woodlands Indians, has always had "a foot in two worlds." The city and suburbs of New Haven occupies the site of his ancestral home. The strange-sounding place names and pictograph carvings on man-made rock formations mean nothing to the Euro-Americans who now live there.

Although this is the site of the first Indian reservation, established in 1638, the Quinnipiac are today landless and unrecognized. A few descendants live among other tribal groupings in the West, where they were pushed by a series of forced migrations – part of the Eastern Woodland Indians' Diaspora.

Unhappy fortune has made Iron Thunderhorse an exile too. First as a soldier and now as a political prisoner/POW, he holds onto his roots with the strength of his soul and the power of his mind, ever hopeful he will return home one day.

Every Red Heart Warrior should obtain a copy of this book, not just to learn about this great warrior, but to better comprehend what we are all struggling for. In many respects, his story is about us all and our common condition in this occupied land, this prison house of nations and nation of prisons.

MAY CREATOR STAND US TALL!

WANISHII!

Chief Tom Big Warrior
Traditionalist United Eastern Lenape Nation

BIOTERRORISM

BEGAN IN AMERICA

By Eddie Hatcher

Reprinted from the Red Heart Warrior, Vol. 2, No. 3, Spring 2002

In 1763, Lord Jeffrey Amherst was looking for a new weapon to fight the Native people who were resisting British Colonel Henry Bouquet, commander of British forces in Pennsylvania. Amherst wrote, "Could it not be contrived to send the smallpox among these disaffected tribes of Indians? We must on occasion use every stratagem in our power to reduce them."

Bouquet answered back, "I will try to inoculate them with some blankets that may fall into their hands and take care not to get the disease myself." Amherst responded, "you will do well to try to inoculate the Indians by means of blankets as well as to try every other method that can serve to expedite this exorable race."

of the smallpox hospital. I hope it will have the desired effect Captain Ecuyer, commander of the Royal Americans, was one of Bouquet's officers who was ordered to call the Delaware [Lenape] chiefs to Fort Pitt to negotiate and give them infected presents. On June 24, 1763, Capt. Ecuyer wrote in his journal: "Out of our regard for them, we gave them two blankets and a handkerchief out."

Soon after this, smallpox spread through the Ohio River area causing thousands of deaths among the Delaware and Shawnee nations. Therefore, biological warfare is as "American as Apple Pie."

Between 1917 and 1918, U.S. forces used 1,000 tons of phosgene, mustard gas and chlorine shells against Germans. During the 1st World War, some 124,200 tons of toxic gas shells were used which caused an estimated 400,000 casualties.

It was during World War 2 that the CWS (Chemical Warfare Service) was founded in America. Later it became the ACC (Army Chemical Corps). Millions of dollars were allocated to the ACC to develop biological weapons.

In a report issued by the Chemical and Biological Weapons Nonproliferation Project in August 1942, George Merick, president of the Merch & Co. pharmaceutical company, accepted the position as director of the coordinating agency that joined government and private institutional resources to carry out the U.S. biological warfare program. Headed by a small group of well-connected individuals, the WRS began to conduct research at dozens of American universities.

In 1987, the *Los Angeles Times* reported the findings of Stamford University Historian, Prof. Barton J. Bernstein, that the U.S. attempted to culminate the program by dropping germ bombs on Germany: "British Prime Minister Winston Churchill was advised that 1,000 projectiles, each of 500 pounds and containing 106 four-pound Anthrax bombs, could destroy life in a 25 mile area. Potential targets included Berlin, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Aachen and Wilhelmshafen."

American production fell behind schedule, and Germany surrendered by the time the Anthrax bombs were ready for deployment. All of this information was kept secret for 50 years.

After the close of WW2, the U.S. concentrated its attention on the Soviet Union, China and Korea. The U.S. Secretary of Defense ordered in 1951 that, "actual readiness be achieved in the earliest practical time for offensive use of biological weapons." Shortly thereafter, the Chief of Staff of the Air Force reported that "sum capabilities are rapidly materializing."

North Korea still claims that they were targeted for US biological warfare involving plague agents in 1951. The U.S. continues to deny this charge, naturally!

The Chinese and North Korean governments both accused the U.S. of dropping germ bombs on North Korea and northeast China in 1952. To investigate these charges, the People's Republic of China helped form the International Scientific Commission for the Investigation of the Facts Concerning Bacterial Warfare in Korea and China. This commission included scientists from Sweden, France, Italy, Russia, Brazil, and England. This commission reported that, "The people of Korea and China did actually serve as targets for bacteriological weapons. These weapons were used by detachments of the Armed Forces of the U.S. and included Cholera-infected clams, Anthrax-infected feathers, Plague and Yellow Fever-infected lice, fleas, mosquitoes, rodents, rabbits and other small animals." After steadfastly and continuously denying these charges, the U.S. Government finally admitted that they did have these capabilities. In the book "Rogue State," William Blum writes that

the U.S. dropped an average of 70,000 gallons of Napalm daily on Korea in 1952.

Between 1951 and 1991 the U.S. created and stockpiled a huge supply of biological weapons to be used against the Soviet Union in the event of a war. Moreover, their weapons had to be tested, and biological weapons systems were tested on people in the Caribbean, Canada and the U.S. itself.

During U.S. Senate Intelligence Committee hearings held in 1977, it was revealed that from 1949 to 1969 the U.S. military secretly conducted 239 open-air tests of biological agents. For over 20 years the U.S. Army released clouds of "stimulant" microbes and chemicals over hundreds of populated areas. These experiments included:

1. From the late 1940s to sometime in the 1950s a joint U.S., Canadian and British team sprayed bacteria in the Bahamas Islands. Thousands of animals died as a result of the tests.
2. In 1950, the U.S. Army sprayed the entire city of San Francisco with *Serratia Marcescens* bacteria from a Navy ship cruising outside the Golden Gate. This bacteria was supposedly harmless, but 11 people were hospitalized for severe urinary and respiratory infections, and one person died.
3. During the 1950s, the U.S. Army dispersed *Serratia* bacteria on Panama City and Key West, Florida and released cancer causing zinc-cadmium sulfide particles in Winnipeg, Canada, Minnesota, and other Midwestern states to see how far they would disperse.
4. In 1966, military researchers spread *Bacillus Subtilis* Variant Niger in the NYC subway where the germ carried for miles.
5. In 1965, the military released *Bacillus Globigii* at Washington's National Airport and the Greyhound Bus Terminal.

These same Senate Intelligence Committee hearings in 1977 also revealed that from 1956 to 1961 the CIA carried out a covert operation labeled MK-ULTRA, which was mind control experiments on American citizens. In this operation CIA operatives dispersed mind-altering drugs like LSD and Mescaline to unsuspecting people in bars, flop houses and homes and then observed the responses of the unknowing subjects. Thousands of innocent Americans were secretly dosed, and countless numbers were made permanently psychotic or mentally unstable, and at least two died.

Just recently it was revealed that from 1944 to 1954 the Defense Dept. and the Atomic Energy Commission tested the results of large doses of radiation contamination by secretly exposing thousands of American citizens to harmful doses of radioactive materials which including injections of plutonium. The report released by the Government in 1995, stated that at least 4,000 such experiments were conducted in hospitals, universities, military bases and mental institutions across the country, and these experiments were conducted without the knowledge or consent of the subjects.

However, the most intense and prolonged biological warfare attack occurred in Vietnam in the 1960s when seven million tons of biochemical bombs were dropped. These included napalm, white phosphorus, and nerve gas. An estimated 3 million Vietnamese people died and millions of acres of cropland and jungle were destroyed.

One of the yet to be explained secret U.S. experiments was first discussed before a Senate Intelligence Committee hearing in 1969, where senators questioned scientists as to how close they were to developing a biological agent that would totally destroy the body's immune system. I have a copy of these transcripts, and many in the AIDS movement have raised concerns that this might have been the source of the AIDS epidemic.

4. We will practice and defend the "Right of Free Speech," to peaceably assemble and protest, and to fast and pray.
5. We will fearlessly speak the truth and expose lies and corruption.
6. We will treat the false beliefs and prejudice of others as "loads upon their backs" and endeavor to enlighten and uplift them.

7. We will not be used to spy upon The People nor reveal their secrets to their enemies.
8. We will not put our own interests ahead of those of The People.
9. We shall serve The People "heart and soul" to the best of our abilities.
10. We shall acquit ourselves with honor and strive to be The People's pride.

Lenape Women Held Up Half The Sky

The pre-colonial Lenape Indians of the Mid-Atlantic Region of the Eastern Woodlands of Turtle Island had perhaps the most perfect balance between the sexes of any culture ever. The roles of men and women were gender specific, but equally valued and complimentary. Their year was literally divided in half, with women dominating the growing season and men the hunting season. From mid-Spring to mid-Fall they gathered in villages in the rich river valleys of Lenapehoking (Lenape Land) where the women planted and harvested the Three Sisters (maize, beans and squash) and other crops, while the men went fishing, gathered flint and jasper for arrowheads and performed other chores that were their responsibility.

The ceremonies of this season were women's ceremonies, like that of "waking up the earth" and the "green corn ceremony." Women worked collectively in groups, and everything dealing with Mother Earth was their province, including burying the dead.

Men and women virtually constituted separate tribes living together in the same wickwams and villages and belonging to the same matrilineal clans, each of which had a clan mother and clan chief (who was related to the matron by matrilineal descent). As sex between members of the same clan was strictly taboo and children were always made members of their mother's clan, every family unit was composed of at least two of the three clans; Wolf, Turtle and Turkey. Each village and region had its predominate clan.

The chiefs of one clan were chosen by the chiefs of the other two from the relatives of the clan mother. The clans were the glue that held the nation together. Each had specific roles to play. The chief's council was made up of respected elder men of the clan or village (etc).

Hunting, politics and war were the province of the men. From an early age, boys were trained in the skills and arts of their vocation. The best were selected to be inducted into the secret warrior's society where they became adepts in shamanistic arts as well as martial arts.

Girls learned their skills by assisting the women. A young girl would seek out an elder woman to be her mentor. Some became highly skilled in the healing arts. Women had their own circles, like the warriors, and generally represented their views in council though a spokeswoman.

Women and men were free to decide whom to marry, and either party could decide to divorce. The wickwam belonged to the woman as did the tools she worked with. The food she grew or gathered she gifted to her husband as he gifted the meat, fowl or fish he brought home to her. Either could then gift what was gifted to them to family or friends in need.

Both men and women enjoyed prestige for being good providers. Poor providers could find themselves dumped. Nagging was discouraged and gossiping was considered a crime. Criticisms were usually made in an indirect manner. Husbands and wives treated each other with respect, and public displays of affection between men and women were considered vulgar. The counsel of elders was sought when disputes arose.

One who could not control his or her temper was considered a fool to be pitied. People were careful about preserving a good reputation. To be thought of as inhospitable, as having loose morals or lacking courage was a fate worse than death to many of the

ancestors. Often they would go to extremes to prove their good character or to avenge an insult.

Because the women were so closely knit, they were particularly concerned to preserve a virtuous reputation. The elder women had great influence over the younger and their advice and approval was constantly sought. The women's style of dance was stiffly formal compared to that of the men, and eye contact with men was generally avoided lest they be thought flirtatious or disrespectful.

Men likewise were careful to be respectful to women, and particularly to elders. Parents did not hit children but rather relied on the social pressure of the community to instill a norm of respectful conduct and desire to be well thought of.

The lives of the people living at this stage of social development were rich and rewarding, particularly in this region. The forests and waters teemed with sustenance. The development of technical skills and light agriculture made living easy. People enjoyed a great amount of leisure time to compose songs and stories and to enjoy the beauty of nature.

Women were at the core of the society and proud of their role as the "strength givers." The longer a woman lived the greater her family and prestige. The great size of the Lenape homeland protected them from conflicts with other nations and they enjoyed freedom of movement and to live spread out over the land. Pair-bonding marriages might come and go, but one's clan was always there providing a network of support.

All of this would change after European contact. The first effect was the introduction of diseases to which the people had no immunities. Wave after wave of pandemics decimated the population until only a fraction of the original number of people remained. But in the long run, entering the global capitalist marketplace was even more destructive.

Instead of hunting and producing for use, Indians became hooked on European manufactured trade goods – including alcohol to which they had no tolerance – and lost their ability to live off the land, which was stolen from under them. Heroic resistance led by great warrior chiefs like Tecumseh couldn't stand up to the flood of land-hungry European immigration.

To a large extent the "middle men" in the Indian fur trade were Indian women who aligned themselves with white traders, who settled among or near the Indian villages, supplying them with rum, trade cloth, blankets, beads, bullets and guns. Indians with guns exploited and made war upon those with none. Constant war on the westward-moving frontier broke down the traditional balance within the confederacy of nations and set them against each other.

Conversion to Christianity promoted the model of patriarchy and male domination; promoted passivity and collaboration. Well-intentioned white missionaries committed cultural genocide against the people whose souls they meant to save and aided in their dispossession and extermination. Nativist revival movements – including the one led by the Lenape prophetess Bebe – sought to rally the people to return to the old ways, though oftentimes these movements were themselves heavily influenced by Christianity. Converted Catholics like Handsome Lake and Black Elk basically reinterpreted the dogma of the Church into an Indian idiom.

Tribal governments imposed by the oppressor government mirrored its concept of democracy and its corruption. Special interests groups in the "Indian lobby" grew fat on the largesse of the taxpayers while Indians starved to death on reservations.

As Chief Gray Wolf pointed out, we cannot simply go back to earning our living with the bow and the hoe. But we can make our past serve our future and our traditionalism serve our national restoration and liberation. The Aims & Goals of the Lenape National Restoration Movement drafted in his time still have relevance today. □



Indian women inside the occupied BIA headquarters in Washington DC in 1972

Aims & Goals of the Lenape National Restoration Movement

- 1.) To return to the "OLD WAYS:"
- 2.) To revive and retain, as much as possible, our cultural complexes – materially, socially and spiritually.
- 3.) To STUDY, learn and practice the "LAW OF THE GREAT PEACE:" the "MEDWIN:" and the "BIG HOUSE" code of ethics.
- 4.) To live with NATURE – to practice ecology and conservation – to NEVER exploit our fellow man, our EARTH MOTHER, or our fellow Animal brothers and sisters.
- 5.) To RESPECT the land – to create food storages – to operate food stores, small enterprises and businesses.
- 6.) To RESPECT our ancestors, our elders, and each other in all ways.
- 7.) To pool our resources for the good of all.
- 8.) To HELP and come to the assistance of individuals, families, bands, tribes and nations of Indian people – to lend our support financially, morally and physically.
- 9.) To provide food and shelter for all our members.
- 10.) To support our elderly, our children and our ailing.
- 11.) To encourage our young people – to develop the talents of each – to fund their schooling, purchase supplies and equipment (where needed) to meet the individual's requirements.
- 12.) To elect chiefs and councilmen – to conduct meetings and hold elections on any issue concerning the well-being of our members and/or the condition of land holdings, enterprises, businesses, etc. Each member to have his or her say. Each being represented in council by his or her respective Clan Chief.
- 13.) To ESTABLISH common aims and goals. To conduct social sessions and hold classes on each phase of life: male/female

relationships, child-care and training, religion, ecology, farming, cooking, etc.

14.) To fit each member into our community's society – looking for and developing each member's talents and resources for the good of all.

15.) To provide farming (crops and livestock) economy. Supplemented by small industries (trading posts, garages, print shops, etc.) operated on a communal basis.

16.) To channel all profits back into our tribal funds and store goods for the security and needs of our tribes and communities.

17.) To INSTILL in each member a sense of worth, security and belonging. Each member contributing according to his capability.

18.) To return to the less complex. Sincere society, avoiding the monetary and materialistic concepts of success. For our people, success should be measured in terms of what he or she can accomplish and contribute to their people and their community.

19.) To UNITE, to work cooperatively, to be of "one mind" and a sincere desire to live in peace and brotherhood with all living creatures of "OUR MAKER." To revere the simple, honest "OLD WAYS OF LIFE" and let love reign supreme. □

The average taxpayer pays approximately \$150,000 federal taxes in their lifetime. The GAO reports (1996) that total federal, state, and local expenditures per prisoner were approximately \$154,000. That means that ten taxpayers would have to work their whole lives to pay for one prisoner with a mandatory sentence of 10 years.

THE RED HEART WARRIOR

VOL. 5 NO. 2

SPRING '06



NEWSLETTER OF THE RED HEART WARRIORS SOCIETY

Frank Little:

1/2 White, 1/2 Indian, All IWW

by Tom Big Warrior

Reprinted from The Red Heart Warrior, Vol. 5, No. 2, Spring, 2006

"Better to go out in a blaze of glory than to give in. Either we're for this capitalist slaughterfest or we're against it. I'm ready to face a firing squad rather than compromise!... It's better to go down slugging!"

~ Frank Little, 1917

Little is known about Frank Little's personal life. He was born in Illinois in 1879 or 1880, but was raised in Oklahoma. He was, some say, a Cherokee. His father was a doctor, and he attended college in Oklahoma before becoming a hard rock miner in Colorado. In 1903, The Western Federation of Miners (WFM) hired him as an organizer. Two years later, the WFM and its President "Big Bill" Haywood, (who was also part Indian), became the main force, along with the Socialist Party leader, Eugene V. Debs, in founding the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). In 1906, Frank Little became an IWW organizer, and eight years later, he was elected to its General Executive Board.

Frank organized lumberjacks, metal miners, oilfield workers, dock workers and unskilled fruit-pickers, but he was best known for leading the IWW's free speech campaigns in places like Missoula, Fresno and Spokane, and he was a pioneer in the tactic of non-violent resistance.

When union organizers would be arrested for speaking in public, Frank and the IWW would come in, soap box on street corners, and fill the local jails until the right of free speech was recognized. He was once sentenced to 30 days for reading the Declaration of Independence on a street corner.

In Fresno, where he was arrested for public speaking, Frank told the judge, "Your jails and dungeons hold no terror for me." The judge sentenced him to solitary confinement on a diet of bread and water. This was in December of 1910, and the "Wobblies" kept getting arrested until the fight was won in March of 1911. Sometimes, he was assaulted by company-hired goons, and on one occasion, he was kidnapped by local businessmen and tortured for several days before he was rescued by striking dock workers. He gave a speech that afternoon.

Frank was a believer in direct action and doing things in a big way. In 1914, when he was elected to the General Executive Board, Little appealed to the Convention to form the Agricultural Workers Organization (AWO). On one occasion, the AWO formed an 800-mile long picket line.

On April 6, 1917, the U.S. entered World War I and announced that a draft would be implemented. Haywood and Little urged the General Executive Board to take a position of opposing the war and the draft, but too many of the Board members were intimidated by the wave of

government and media hyped "war fever" sweeping the country. None-the-less, Little himself publicly spoke out against the war and helped to organize the Great Western Copper Strike, that stretched from Butte, Montana down to the Mexican border. Copper was vital to the war effort, and the capitalist press howled that it was "treasonous" for the miners to press their demands at this time.

In July of 1917, company-backed "Loyalty League" goons in Bisbee, AZ killed three strikers and herded 1,200 others into box cars, without food or water, and dumped them on the Mexican border at Columbus, NM. The Chicano, Indian, Anglo and Asian miners suffered greatly in the desert heat. On July 18th, Frank Little arrived in Butte, MT, where a decade earlier vigilantes had dynamited the local union hall. He was on crutches with his leg in a cast from a broken ankle he received in a car accident while in Bisbee. He set to work at once organizing the strike and authorized women to join the picket lines. He also spoke out explaining the imperialist nature of the war. He argued that all working men should refuse to join the army and fight on behalf of their capitalist oppressors. In the last speech before his death, he told the people of Butte, "I stand for the solidarity of labor."

After midnight, on the night of August 1st, six masked, armed men broke into his hotel room and dragged him from his bed. He was beaten, tied by a rope, and dragged behind their car to a railroad tressel, where they hung him with a note pinned to his body that said: "First and last warning."

As many as 6,800 people attended his funeral in Butte, the largest in the Montana history. His tombstone reads: "Slain by capitalist interests for organizing and inspiring his fellow men."

After that, the government unleashed J. Edgar Hoover and the worst anti-labor repression in American history. The IWW office in Chicago was among the first to be raided. IWW members were a particular target, and thousands were arrested and imprisoned. Others were deported, including "Big Bill" Haywood, who was sent to Russia, where he lived until he died and was buried with honors in the Kremlin Wall. Eugene Debs was imprisoned for speaking out against the draft, but he polled some 2 million votes in the next election.

Ralph Chaplin, one of the imprisoned IWW leaders, penned this tribute to his friend, Frank Little:

**Mourn not the dead that in the cool
earth lie - Dust unto dust -**

**The calm sweet earth that mothers
all who die,**

As all men must;

**But rather mourn the apathetic
throng -**

The cowed and meek -

**Who see the world's great anguish
and its wrong -**

And dare not speak! □

The Green Corn Rebellion

by Tom Big Warrior

Reprinted from The Red Heart Warrior, Vol. 5, No. 2, Spring, 2006

The same day Frank Little was found hanging from a railroad tressel in Butte, Montana, a vigilante posse broke up a gathering of rebellious sharecroppers on Roasting Ears Hill, outside Sasakwa in his native Oklahoma. Southeastern Oklahoma was a stronghold of socialist sentiment. In 1916, the Socialist Party candidate for President, Eugene Debs, carried Pontotoc, Pottawatomie and Seminole counties.

In fact, Oklahoma had the largest per capita number of Socialists of any state, and the southeast was the stronghold of the Working Class Union (WCU), who were to the left of the Socialist Party. Composed primarily of poor white, Black and Indian sharecroppers and unemployed, the WCU had tried to join IWW, but it was turned down because the IWW did not consider them to be workers. The small farmers and sharecroppers were in fact peasants, whose fortunes were tied to the price of cotton, like others of their class throughout the South.

The WCU had been founded by a preacher in Arkansas. It had its counterparts in other places, like the Farmers and Laborers Protective Association (FLPA), which was founded in Oklahoma, but had 197 chapters and numbered some 10,000 members in Texas. It also had chapters in Georgia. Like the WCU, these organizations were tri-racial in composition, socialist in orientation, and prepared to resist the draft by force of arms.

The gathering of armed WCU members on Roasting Ears Hill were not exactly sure how to proceed with their rebellion. The consensus seemed to be to march on Washington D.C. and confront "Old Slick" (Woodrow Wilson), who had run for re-election in 1916 on the slogan, "He Kept Us Out of War," [footnote: Wilson had already secretly committed to enter the war on England's side, (through the House-Grey memorandum), eight months before the 1916 election.] gathering forces as they marched through the South. Armed with shotguns and squirrel rifles, they were celebrating the traditional Indian Green Corn Feast in this traditional gathering place while awaiting reinforcements. The rebels from western Oklahoma had delayed their rising because of bad weather. Meanwhile, teams had gone out to put up posters stating: "Now is the time to rebel against this war with Germany boys. Get together boys and don't go. Rich man's war - Poor man's fight. If you don't go J. P. Morgan is lost. Speculation is the only cause of war. Rebel now!" [footnote: J.P. Morgan, who began his rise to become the richest man in the world by selling a bunch of defective muskets to his hometown-militia - in the Civil War,— had heavily invested in the Allied side by extending credit to England and France for the illegal purchase of armaments in the U.S. If they lost, he would be ruined.]

Agitators from the WCU reportedly won over the miners in Wilberton, OK to go out on strike, and they refused to go back even after the UMW pulled their local's charter. It is hard to tell what all went down, because the reportage was highly prejudiced against the rebels and full of inaccuracies, but it's alleged that sabotage of rail lines and oil pipe lines was carried out. But before the rebellion could gather momentum, it was confronted by the armed posse at Roasting Ears Hill. Not wanting to fire on their neighbors, the rebels dispersed, but the posse didn't.

Instead, they conducted a witch hunt of suspected WCU members. Homes were ransacked and people beaten up and whipped with ropes. Some 450 were arrested, and many were imprisoned.

In some cases, there were shootouts, and people were killed and wounded. Thousands fled to the hills and neighboring states to hide out. Membership in the WCU was open to anyone over the age of 18, "regardless of race, sex, color, or occupation," and could have numbered as many as 35,000 people.

Despite its earlier militant rhetoric about opposing imperialist war with class war, the Socialist Party not only denounced the Green Corn rebels but shut down their Party organization in Oklahoma. The SP turned on the IWW and their own left wing, even as all were under attack by the government and "Liberty League" vigilantes. Many members were

expelled, and the Party split, with the formation of the Communist Workers Party (CWP) under "Big Bill" Haywood, who was then arrested and deported, though he was American born. Even pacifist groups like the Mennonites came under harsh repression. The betrayal of the Socialist Party leadership was an act of political suicide from which the Party never recovered. Many of the middle class intellectuals, trade unionists and professionals who dominated the American Left scurried to close ranks with Woodrow Wilson and the Democratic Party.

The poor whites, Blacks, Indians, Chicanos and others of the American underclass, whose hopes and sights had been raised, were abandoned to the oppression of the KKK, company gun thugs and police. It was not until the 30s, (when the Communist Party, the CIO and other allied organizations led mass struggles), and then again in the 60s, (when many of these sections of the oppressed found their own political voices and raised them through groups like the Black Panther Party (BPP), La Raza Unida and the United Farm Workers (UFW), The American Indian Movement (AIM), the Young Lords Party (YLP) and the Young Patriot Party (YP), that the most exploited made headway at shaping a revolutionary Left in the U.S. In each case, the government unleashed J. Edgar Hoover (and the FBI) and various reactionary forces to suppress them.

Once again, the U.S. is embroiled in imperialist war, and once again, as Frank Little put it, we must decide if: *we're for this capitalist slaughterfest or we're against it.*

We must decide if we are going to stay tied to the Democratic Party or create our own people's power. As American Indians, these are questions we should be thinking about and discussing as we celebrate our Green Corn feasts this summer and struggle against ongoing cultural oppression and genocide. — Ah-ho!□

INDIAN WARRIORS OF THE 21ST CENTURY

by Tom Big Warrior

The United States is a colonial settler state built on the occupied homelands of the Indian nations of Turtle Island. More than that, it is the headquarters of the American capitalist-imperialist empire that is aggressively trying to establish its hegemony over the whole world.

Along with other Americans, Indians are called to send their sons and daughters to serve as soldiers in this aggression. Nearly 3,000 U.S. military personnel have died so far in the illegal occupation of Iraq. Many more have been maimed physically and/or emotionally.

On October 27th, the Red Heart Warriors Society will take part in the national day of protests demanding that the U.S. bring its troops home from Iraq and Afghanistan. Our drum will open the regional rally in Philadelphia. Chief Dale White Panther, who is a Vietnam War veteran, will offer up a prayer for peace.

Realizing that we cannot go back to the way things were in pre-colonial times, we must redefine what it means to be an "Indian," to go forward and to help create the kind of world we wish for our posterity. We must preserve our past so that it can serve the future.

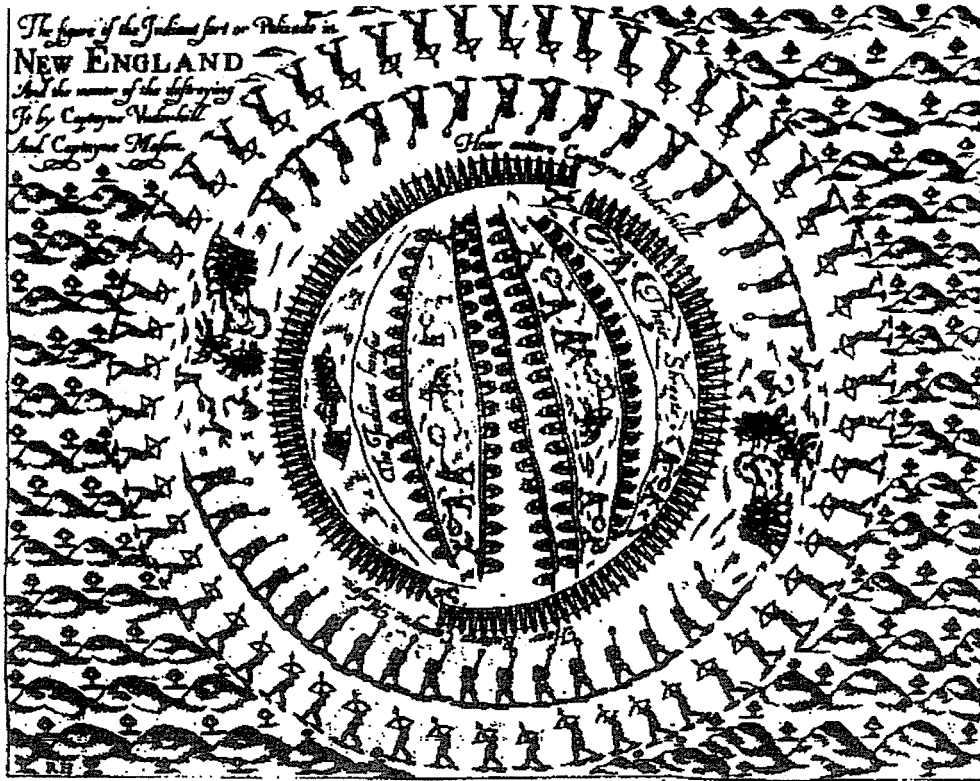
Everybody on Earth lives in a war zone, because the capitalist-imperialists are at war with the whole world. Their relentless quest for maximization of profits exceeds the definition of madness. They are destroying the land, the oceans and the atmosphere. They create ever more deadly weapons of mass destruction to bully weaker countries. They cause famines and plagues when there is food enough and medicines to prevent them.

They are the greatest threat to world peace and human survival. They must be opposed. They must be overthrown. The warriors of the 21st Century bear the greatest responsibility in world history. Humanity's survival and that of all our relations depends upon sanity prevailing over madness.□

The Pequot Massacre

An Exercise in Seeking Truth From Facts

By Tom Big Warrior



Woodcut of Mystic Fort:
from Capt. John Underhill, *News from America* (1638)

From Colonial Times down to the present, the story of the "Pequot Massacre" has been told and retold. Virtually every text on North American Indian wars or colonization covers it in the first or second chapter. As the story goes:

"In 1636 ninety armed settlers went to raid Block Island, off the coast, because a white man had been found killed on his boat nearby. When the armed party landed, they found that the Indians of Block Island had gone into hiding; they burned the villages and crops and returned to the mainland, where for good measure they burned down some Pequot villages. The English went after these Pequots and told them that they were held responsible for the murder. The Pequots had to hand over 'the remaining murderers' and provide assurances about future behavior. The Pequots 'obstinately' refused (in the words of an English eyewitness) and in the resulting fight several Pequots were killed and wounded, and their belongings destroyed or carried off. Thus started the Pequot War...

"The outcome of such a war was of course never in doubt. It ended with an attack by John Mason and his men on the last Pequot stronghold, their settlement on the Mystic River. 'We must burn them!' Mason is reported as having shouted, running around with a firebrand and lighting the wigwams. 'Such a dreadful terror let the Almighty fall upon their spirits that they would flee from us and run into the very flames. Thus did the Lord judge the heathen, filling the place with dead bodies,' he reported afterward:

The surviving Pequots were hunted but could make little haste because of their children, Mason wrote, 'They were literally run to ground...tramped into the mud and buried in the swamp.' The last of them were shipped to the West Indies as slaves...John Winthrop...governor once more, ...[offered] ...forty pounds sterling for the scalp of an Indian man, twenty for the scalps of women and children. The name 'Pequot' was officially erased from the map.

The Pequot River became the Thames and their town became New London."⁵²

It was this story of Captain John Mason leading his small force of Puritans and their Mohegan and Narragansett allies on a two-day overland march to catch the Pequots by surprise in their fortified village on the Mystic River, which was surrounded and set ablaze killing all inside, that historian/artist, David Wagner, was commissioned to paint by the Mashantucket Pequot elders in the late 1990's. Studying all of the early accounts and walking the ground to conceptualize the events as they happened, he came to realize that they could not have happened as the Puritan "heroes" claimed. In fact he became more and more convinced that the "massacre" never happened. That it was a story made up to cover up a military fiasco.

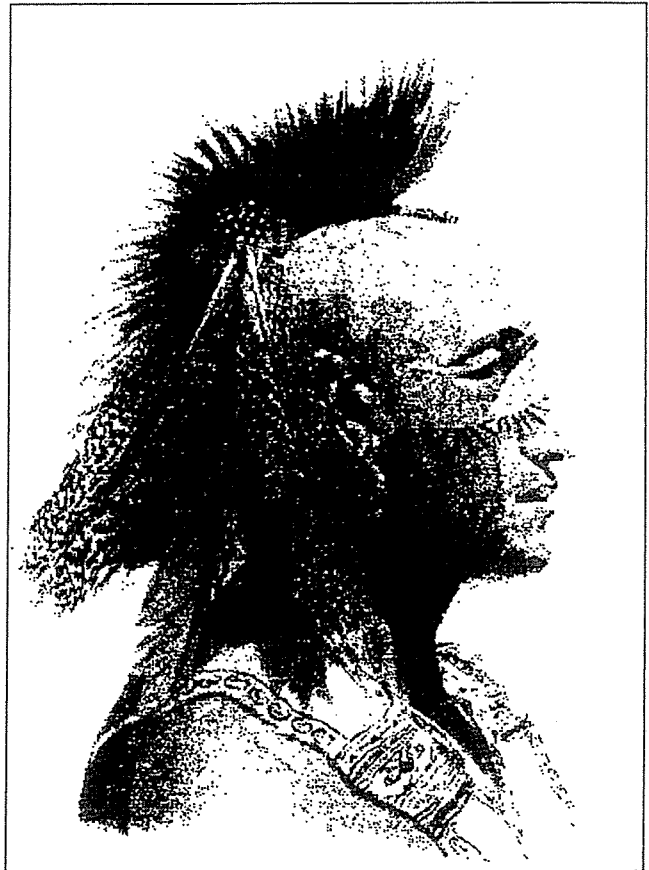
When, after a year of painstaking research, he returned to Mashantucket to show his findings to the Pequot elders, he was surprised to have his commission cancelled. It seems too much was invested in perpetrating the myth to allow for acceptance of the truth after all these years. Undaunted, he continued with the project without sponsorship, eventually producing over 100 paintings that are now exhibited at the Mohegan Reservation Cultural Center at Uncasville, CT. He also published *The Pequot War: The War That Wasn't*, containing twenty-four color illustrations along with text in 1994. In 2003, Wagner teamed up with his fellow adopted Lenape of the Quinipiac Tribe, Dr. Jack Dempsey, a published author and college professor, to produce *Mystic Fiasco: Journey To A Most Unlikely Massacre*.

The Pequot War was a war of naked aggression on the part of the English colonists. The *Pequots* ("Destroyers" or "Invaders") were part of the Mahican Confederacy who originally lived along the *Mahicanituck* ("River of the Mahicans,") or Hudson, until not long before the arrival of the English in New England. They displaced other Indians, known now only as the "River Indians," who were related to and probably part of the Narragansett Confederacy. According to DeForest, *History of the Indians of Connecticut* (1850), the River Indians fought three battles with the Pequots before their leader, Sequassen, sought refuge among the Narragansetts.

Sassacus, the leader of the Pequots, soon found himself caught between two fires, the Dutch and the English colonizers. As the English were encroaching on territory already claimed by the Dutch, it was imperative that they quickly establish forts and settlements to bolster their claim. The Pequots were in their way.

According to Lenape history, prior to the European invasion, a grand confederacy of the Eastern Woodlands Indians had been formed, (circa 1450), uniting the Indians of Algonquin (*Lenape*) and Iroquoian (*Meng'we*) nations. According to the Mahican sachem, Quinnaquant, (John Quinney), speaking in 1854, "*This great confederacy, comprising Delawares, Munsees, Mohegans, Narragansetts, Pequots, Penobscots, and many others ... held its Council once a year, to deliberate on the general welfare, ...delegates from each tribe attended; assisted by priests and wise men ...The*

policy and decisions of this Council were everywhere respected and inviolably observed."⁵³



Sequassen, sachem who ruled the lands conquered by the Pequots after loosing a third great battle sometime around 1590.

Evidence of the success of this arrangement is the lack of archeological evidence of fortifications or defensive works built in this time, though they became common during the Contact Period.

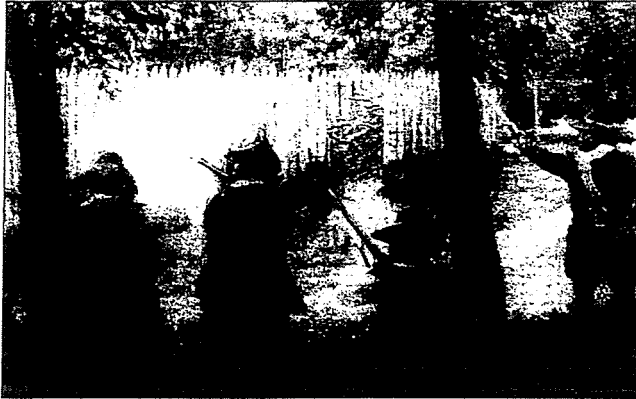
The Iroquoians, who were an agricultural people who had emigrated from the Southwest, settled in a belt from Huronia (above the Great Lakes) to the St. Lawrence River, where they traded tobacco and agricultural products for meat and furs with the Northern Algonquians and wampum made from seashells with the Coastal Algonquians.

Prior to European contact, trade brought nations together, as each could exchange the items particular to their homeland or expertise for desired items from another homeland or crafter while each remained essentially self-sufficient and autonomous. Often the hunters of the North would winter with the Hurons, or other Iroquois, trading their furs and dried meat for corn and beans and other products they could not raise in their homeland. Birch-bark canoes made it possible for them to cover great distances to bring their goods and families down from as far away as Hudson's Bay.

⁵² *The Conquest of America: How the Indian Nations Lost Their Continent*, (1993), Koning, Hans, pp. 70-72.

⁵³ *The Mohicans and Their Land 1609-1730*, (1994), Dunn, Shirley W., p. 38.

barricaded with brush, and it took some time to clear them. Then Underhill and Mason, with a few picked men, rushed in from opposite sides of the village, while the rest guarded the exits and continued to "surround" the fort. There was still no sign of resistance.

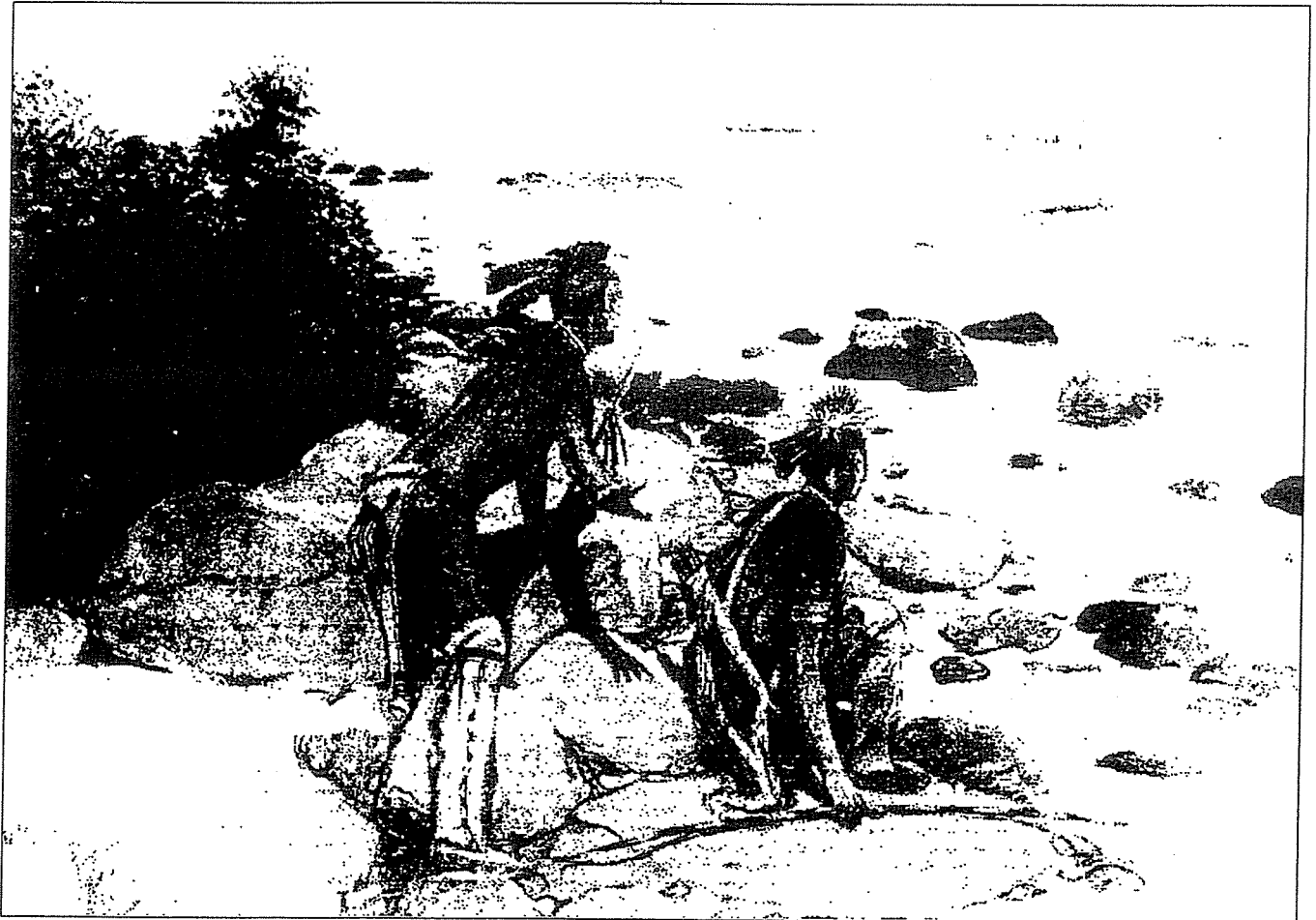


Mason and Underhill outdid each other in claiming to have dispatched hordes of warriors inside, basically single-handedly, while at the same time firing the buildings and picking up a little loot. Afterwards, the English began the trek to join up with their boats, while their Indian allies were fleeing in another direction. Realizing that the fort was empty, they knew this meant Sassacus and his entire force were out there somewhere waiting to strike. Sassacus divided his force to strike both groups and harass their retreat.

Wagner compares it to the British retreat from Concord in the Revolutionary War. Having expended much of their ammunition shooting up an empty fort, the Puritans were now hard pressed to defend themselves and took several casualties. When they at last reached the rendezvous point, the Massachusetts militia was reluctant to come in to pick them up, fearing they would be ambushed. Eventually, the pleas of their fellow Puritans prevailed upon them to come to the rescue. The mission had been a disaster. The Pequots were still a formidable force in control of their territory, and Mason's force has been badly mauled. The Indian allies could hardly have been impressed. How were they going to put on spin on this?

But Sassacus had read the handwriting on the wall, and he decided to disband his nation and return to the old homeland on the Hudson. Many of his people joined with Uncas or other neighboring tribes. Purportedly, Sassacus' head was later delivered to Hartford by the Mohawks, where it was put on public display. But who knows whose head it really was? As Wagner points out, it is hard to believe that a Mohawk delegation could have passed through hostile Mahican territory to make such a delivery.

Mason was hailed as a conquering hero, and eventually became Governor General of the colony. Underhill sold his services to the Dutch as a mercenary, and is credited with another massacre similar to that at Mystic, (that should be looked into in light of this new evidence). Uncas continued to play the English and preserve his people's position on Mohegan Hill, where they are to the present day. □



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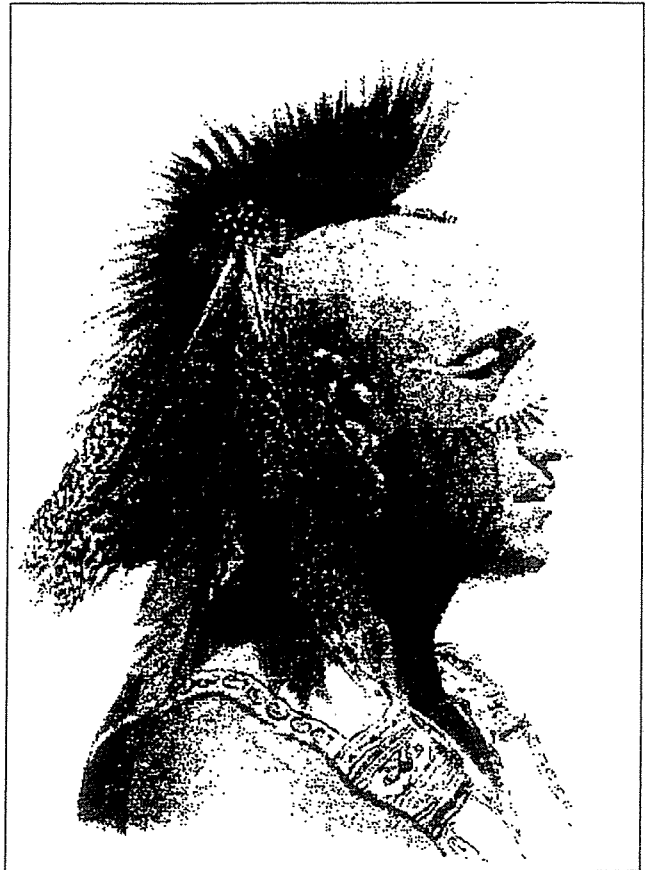
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The Hurons, being in the most favorable position for this trade, were the dominant force in their Wyandot Confederacy, and were the "Uncles" of the Great Dawnland Confederacy. The Lenni Lenape (Delaware) Indians, who were acknowledged as the original stock of the Algonquians, were known as the "Grandfathers." Only these two nations could summon the Grand Council of the Nations to assemble.

According to the Iroquois historian, Arthur C. Parker, the Lenape or Algonkian-speaking peoples moved into the Dawnland in four successive waves spread out over thousands of years. The first wave he called the "Archaic Algonkian Wanderers," who hunted big game with javelins and lived in rock shelters. *"The Second Period of Algonkian occupation must have been one of great length in time,"* Parker concluded. *"It may cover several thousand years. Certainly it was subject to a great number of intrusions."*⁵⁴ He mentions the "Red Paint People," the "Mississippian Mound Builders," and an early "Eskimo-like" people, among these "intruders."

*"The Third Algonkian Period is quite definite in character, and its evidences are found widely scattered throughout the state [New York] ...The people seem to have feared few enemies at first, and to have scattered their hamlets over wide areas... as if the group feared no predatory enemies and felt free to wander within its known limitations. These people must have carried on agriculture to a considerable extent, for corn and beans have been found in their refuse heaps."*⁵⁵ Parker also noted that numerous tobacco pipes have been found from this period and evidence of trade, and that, *"On the whole their implements are those of hunting and agriculture and not war."*⁵⁶

The final wave of Algonkian migration was that of the historic parent body, the Lenni Lenape. The prefix *Lenni* (meaning "Original") being used to distinguish them from earlier waves of Lenape who had mixed with others. According to the Moravian missionary, John Heckewelder: *"This was the case of the Mahicanni or Mohicans, in the east, a people who by intermarriages had become a detached body, mixing two languages together and out of the two forming a dialect of their own ...New tribes again sprung from them who assumed distinct names..."*⁵⁷

The capital of the Mahican Confederacy was at Schodack ("Place of the Ever-Burning Council Fire") on an island on the west shore of the Hudson below Cohoes Falls. They had a fortified stronghold there at the falls called Moenemines. Beyond that, was the territory of the Iroquois.

Between the time of Jacques Cartier's exploration of the St. Lawrence (1534 - 1542) and Samuel de Champlain's establishment of an settlement at Quebec, (from the Algonkian word for "Narrows"), which was formerly the Iroquois town of Stadacona, in 1608, war had broken out between the Huron and their Algonquian allies and the Laurentian Iroquois. Champlain joined forces with a Huron-Algonquian war party and engaged a large force of Iroquois

on Lake Champlain in 1609, thus beginning hostilities that would last as long as the French were in Canada.

The Laurentian Iroquois apparently displaced the Iroquois who were living by the Mahicans, who in turn invaded the territory of the Minsi Lenapes in the Wyoming Valley and then proceeded down the Susquehanna, becoming known to history as the "Susquehannocks." The Laurentians became known as the "Mohawks."

The first appearance of French traders among the Mahicans may have been as early as 1540, when they are believed to have established a trading fort on Castle Island near Albany. Adrian Van Loon is known to have come down from Canada to trade in 1598. Henry Hudson explored the river for the Dutch in 1609, and in 1614, they established a trading fort at Castle Island.

From the start, the presence of the Dutch traders among the Mahicans excited the envy of the Mohawks, who were determined to displace the Mahicans from the west shore on the river and capture their position in the fur trade. In 1626, a few Dutch soldiers accompanied a Mahican war party that fell into a Mohawk ambush. They were roasted and eaten.⁵⁸ After that, the Dutch remained neutral in the Mahican-Mohawk War and traded guns for furs with both sides.

In 1628, many of the Mahicans were driven from their homes on the upper Hudson and in the Hoosic and Hoosatic Valleys. The invading Mohawks drove as far south as Catskill Creek, where they were turned back by a combined force of Minsi and Mahican warriors, after heavy losses on both sides. The Mahicans stayed in force around Fort Orange (Albany), in a conflict that lasted nearly three-quarters of a century.

The old Dawnland Confederacy was thus pretty well ripped apart by European contact. The new trade, which linked the nations to a global economy of capitalist exploitation, set the nations in competition for goods, that they could not produce themselves; that rendered what they could produce obsolete. Steel knives, tomahawks and guns became essential for survival in the climate of intertribal war that ensued. To get more they over-hunted and over-trapped until their hunting grounds were depleted. Then they had to depend upon trade with nations farther inland, acting the role of middlemen, to get the items they had become dependent on. Thus the fratricidal Beaver Wars began.

The Pequots were lucky enough to have been spared the ravages of plague and smallpox that decimated many of the New England tribes, and doubtless they were reinforced by other Mahicans fleeing the war with the Mohawks. Sassacus held sway over a territory extending from the border of Rhode Island, the territory of the Narragansets, to the area of New Haven, where the Quinnipiacs resided, and north almost to Hartford. At the onset of the Pequot War, Sassacus could field some 800 warriors, over a dozen of them armed with matchlocks.

The decision to extirpate the Pequots was made in England by the Directors of the Company. Lieutenant Lyon Gardnier, whom they hired to build and command a fort at the mouth of the Connecticut River, knew about it before setting sail. He tried to get the officials in Hartford to delay the outbreak of war until after he built his fort at Saybrook.

⁵⁴ *History of the State of New York*, (1962), Flick, Alexander C., p. 55.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁵⁷ *History Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations*, (1876), Heckewelder, John, p. 53.

⁵⁸ Mohawk is derived from the Lenape word *Meng'we* meaning "Eater of Human Flesh."



Sassacus, the last great sachem of the Pequots

Sassacus also tried to put off hostilities. When the English accused the Pequots of killing a party of Englishmen on the Connecticut River, even though they knew that "River Indians" and not Pequots were responsible, Sassacus responded by sending a large delegation to Boston with presents to make peace. When this offer was spurned, he attempted to make a confederacy with the Narragansetts, but this was frustrated by the colonial governor of Rhode Island, Roger Williams; who convinced them to remain allied with the English.

Sassacus was also beset by internal rivalry, as Uncas, who strongly favored capitulation to the English, broke away from the Pequots, taking 80 to 100 warriors with him. In the words of Melissa Jayne Fawcett:

"In 1635, Uncas was a Pequot sagamore (subchief) who disagreed with his sachem, Sassacus, about how to contend with the invading English. Unable to resolve their differences, Uncas broke away. He moved to Shantok on the west bank of the Thames River, where his followers declared him sachem. Uncas chose to refer to his group by the tribe's old Lenni Lenape clan name Mohegan,⁵⁹ meaning Wolf People."⁶⁰

The killing of a notoriously crooked Dutch trader named Oldman provided the English with the excuse to begin hostilities. They first attacked a village of Narragansetts on Block Island, then following

⁵⁹ This is the same word as *Mahican*, *Mohican* or *Mahikaner*, variously spelled by the different Europeans who came in contact with them. Chief Harold Tantaquidgeon (1904-1989) humorously attributed it to the fact that "Indians didn't talk too good, and the white man didn't hear too good."

⁶⁰ *Medicine Trail: The Life and Lessons of Gladys Tantaquidgeon*, (2000), Fawcett, Melissa Jane, p. xi.

their "commission," the force of 120 Englishmen attacked the main Pequot stronghold at Groton, killing one Indian and setting part of the village on fire. This had the desired effect of enraging the Pequots who laid siege to the unfinished fort at Saybrook for a year and ravaged the plantations of the English up and down the Connecticut River. The stage was now set for an invasion of the Pequot territory

In May of 1637, the colonial assembly in Hartford declared war on the Pequots. John Mason was given command of a force of some 90 men and was ordered to attack the Pequot capital at Groton. He then proceeded down the Connecticut River to the fort at Saybrook, accompanied by Uncas and around 80 Mohegan warriors.



Uncas, great sachem of the Mohegans. Losing his bid to lead the Pequots to Sassacus, he then allied himself to the English.

Throughout the expedition, the Narragansetts kept deserting in droves, believing they were on a "suicide mission." Mason left thirteen of his men with the boats, along with the surgeon and a reinforcement of forty men from the Plymouth Colony in Massachusetts.⁶¹ The Indians were told that they should keep to the rear when they reach the fort and watch the English in action. The plan was to strike the fort under cover of darkness, but the militiamen oversleep, and the sun was well up before they began the final march to the Indian fort. Though it is the custom of Lenape and related Indians to rise early and offer prayers of thanksgiving to the rising sun, we are expected to believe that on this morning they all slept in and had no guard posted.

The seventy-some Englishmen "surrounded" the fort, hearing only the sound of a lone barking dog inside, and proceeded to pour musket fire through the gaps in the palisades into the wigwams within. The two entranceways into the fort were

⁶¹ The return of these men, who will see no action, occasions the only official "Thanksgiving Day" celebrated by the "Pilgrims."

barricaded with brush, and it took some time to clear them. Then Underhill and Mason, with a few picked men, rushed in from opposite sides of the village, while the rest guarded the exits and continued to "surround" the fort. There was still no sign of resistance.



Mason and Underhill outdid each other in claiming to have dispatched hordes of warriors inside, basically single-handedly, while at the same time firing the buildings and picking up a little loot. Afterwards, the English began the trek to join up with their boats, while their Indian allies were fleeing in another direction. Realizing that the fort was empty, they knew this meant Sassacus and his entire force were out there somewhere waiting to strike. Sassacus divided his force to strike both groups and harass their retreat.

Wagner compares it to the British retreat from Concord in the Revolutionary War. Having expended much of their ammunition shooting up an empty fort, the Puritans were now hard pressed to defend themselves and took several casualties. When they at last reached the rendezvous point, the Massachusetts militia was reluctant to come in to pick them up, fearing they would be ambushed. Eventually, the pleas of their fellow Puritans prevailed upon them to come to the rescue. The mission had been a disaster. The Pequots were still a formidable force in control of their territory, and Mason's force has been badly mauled. The Indian allies could hardly have been impressed. How were they going to put on spin on this?

But Sassacus had read the handwriting on the wall, and he decided to disband his nation and return to the old homeland on the Hudson. Many of his people joined with Uncas or other neighboring tribes. Purportedly, Sassacus' head was later delivered to Hartford by the Mohawks, where it was put on public display. But who knows whose head it really was? As Wagner points out, it is hard to believe that a Mohawk delegation could have passed through hostile Mahican territory to make such a delivery.

Mason was hailed as a conquering hero, and eventually became Governor General of the colony. Underhill sold his services to the Dutch as a mercenary, and is credited with another massacre similar to that at Mystic, (that should be looked into in light of this new evidence). Uncas continued to play the English and preserve his people's position on Mohegan Hill, where they are to the present day. □





To learn more and to view the complete collection of David Wagner's paintings on the Pequot War visit the Mohegan Cultural Center at their Connecticut reservation, (follow the signs to the Mohegan Sun), or contact David Wagner: P.O. Box 373, Thompson, CT 06277, Tel. (860) 963-1075, or check out the web site at Ancientgreece-earlyamerica.com □



Senderistas of the People's Liberation Army on the march in Peru

Peru's "Shining Path" on the rise again

*"El Marxismo-Leninismo abrirá el
sendero luminoso hacia la revolución"*
("Marxism-Leninism will open the shining
path to revolution.")

- José Carlos Mariátegui, founder of the original Peruvian
Communist Party in the 1920s:

The Communist Party of Peru (PCP), was reorganized along Maoist lines in the 1960's under the leadership of former university philosophy professor Abimael Guzmán (referred to by his followers by his nom de guerre *Presidente Gonzalo*). Popularly known as the "Shining Path" (Sendero Luminoso), the CPP based itself among the rural Indian population.

Shining Path first established a foothold in San Cristóbal of Huamanga University, in Ayacucho, where Guzmán taught philosophy. The university had recently reopened after being closed for about half a century, and many students of the newly-educated class adopted Shining Path's radical ideology. Between 1973 and 1975, Shining Path gained control of the student councils in the Universities of

Huancayo and La Cantuta, and developed a significant presence in the National University of Engineering in Lima and the National University of San Marcos, the oldest university in the Americas. Sometime later, it lost many student elections in the universities, including Guzmán's own San Cristóbal of Huamanga, and decided to abandon the universities and reconsolidate itself.

Beginning on March 17, 1980, the Shining Path held a series of clandestine meetings in Ayacucho, known as the Central Committee's second plenary. It formed a "Revolutionary Directorate" that was political and military in nature, and ordered its militias to transfer to strategic areas in the provinces to start the "armed struggle". The group also held its "First Military School" where militants were instructed in military tactics and weapons use. They also engaged in the "criticism and self-criticism," a Maoist practice intended to purge bad habits and avoid repeating mistakes. During the First Military School, members of the Central Committee came under heavy criticism. Guzmán did not, and he emerged from the First Military School as the clear leader of Shining Path.

When Peru's military government allowed elections for the first time in a dozen years in 1980, Shining Path was one of the few leftist political groups that declined to take part, and instead opted to launch a guerrilla war in the highlands of Ayacucho Region. On May 17, 1980, the eve of the presidential elections, it burned ballot boxes in the town of Chuschi, Ayacucho. It was the first "act of war" by Shining Path. However, the perpetrators were quickly caught, additional ballots were shipped to Chuschi, the elections proceeded without further incident, and the incident received very little attention in the Peruvian press.

Throughout the 1980s, Shining Path grew in both the territory it controlled and the number of militants in its organization, particularly in the Andean highlands. At first, it gained support from local peasants by filling the political void left by the central government providing "popular justice" albeit in a bloody, rudimentary, and arbitrary manner. For example, Shining Path beat and killed widely disliked figures in the countryside, after conducting what it termed "popular" trials. It often killed cattle rustlers, whose crime is considered egregious in poor Peruvian villages. It also killed managers of the state-controlled farming collectives and well-to-do merchants, who were unpopular with poor rural dwellers. These actions caused the peasantry of many Peruvian villages to express some sympathy for the Shining Path, especially in the impoverished and neglected regions of Ayacucho, Apurímac, and Huancavelica. At times, the civilian population of small neglected towns participated in such popular trials, especially when the victims of the trials were widely disliked. However, only a small minority of peasants were ever as dogmatically Maoist as the Shining Path cadre.

Shining Path's credibility was also bolstered by the government's initially tepid response to the insurgency. For over a year, the government refused to declare a state of emergency in the region affected by Shining Path's actions as the Interior Minister, José María de la Jara, believed the group could be easily defeated through Police actions. Additionally, the civilian president, Fernando Belaúnde Terry, who returned to power in 1980, was reluctant to cede authority to the armed forces, as his first government had ended in a military coup. This gave the impression that the President was unconcerned about the activities of Sendero. The result was that, to the peasants in the areas where the Shining Path was active, the state gave the appearance of impotence or lack of interest in the region. However, it became evident that Shining Path represented a clear threat to the state. On December 29, 1981 the government declared an "emergency zone" in the three Andean regions of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurímac, and granted the

military the power to arbitrarily detain any suspicious person. The military used this power extremely heavily-handedly, arresting scores of innocent people, at times subjecting them to torture and rape. Police, military forces and members of the *Popular Guerrilla Army* (EGP) carried out several massacres throughout the conflict. Military personnel took to wearing black ski-masks in order to protect their identities and, therefore their safety and that of their families. Masks were also used to hide the identity of military personnel as they committed crimes.

- Wikipedia



The US-Backed Counter-Revolution Against the People's War: Massacres, Torture and Lies

From the Committee to Support the Revolution in Peru

From its start in 1980, the People's War has faced and dealt with the most vicious brutality the Peruvian government could throw at it — from slaughtering whole villages, to massacring hundreds of revolutionary prisoners, to hunting down and capturing Chairman Gonzalo, the leader of the PCP.

This has all been directly supported and guided by the U.S. government, according to its theory of low-intensity warfare. But none of it has succeeded in defeating the People's War.

In 1980, when the revolution first began in the Peruvian highlands, the people's fighters faced the police force. When the police proved unable to stop the advance of the revolution, the Peruvian military was brought in. It unleashed a campaign of genocide, focused on the Department of Ayacucho, where the revolution began. Whole villages were massacred or driven out of the area by government terror. It is estimated that nearly 10% of Ayacucho's population was murdered by government troops.

Still the revolution continued to advance, because it had the support of the people. Without that, there is no way any armed insurgency could withstand such genocide. So the counterrevolution devised new tactics. Under U.S. tutelage, the Peruvian government began organizing paramilitary units called rondas. Peasants are often forced to join these rondas, which are often used as little more than shields for the government's regular troops. When a ronda member

is killed, it is reported that "Sendero killed a poor peasant." When peasants refuse to join the rondas, they are executed by the army for being subversives.

Still the revolution continued to gain strength. By 1992 it had established hundreds of Base Areas and People's Committees throughout the countryside. Its armed forces had become able to strike at the armed forces and police of the old order from one end of Peru to the other. And the revolution was accelerating work in the cities in preparation for the time when the battle for the nationwide seizure of power would come into sight.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys in Peru openly worried that the revolution had the initiative, and could actually win. They responded with all the desperate fury of cornered beasts, striking back with a more vicious and intense counterinsurgency campaign.

The U.S. stepped up its assistance to the Peruvian government through a variety of measures, from a more direct CIA presence, to assisting its counterintelligence operations, to increased financial and military aid.

Then, in April 1992, backed by his army and the U.S., Fujimori carried out a military coup. He abolished the congress and decreed Draconian antiterrorist laws in order to more effectively battle the People's War. Hundreds of political prisoners, including students, lawyers, and journalists, have been railroaded through military tribunals conducted by officers in hoods. Due process only aids the revolution, says Fujimori.

The regime stepped-up its terror, arresting 3-5,000 people living in Lima's shantytowns over a three-year period. The Peruvian military assaulted Canto Grande prison, killing over 40 political prisoners, including Party leaders, and it stepped-up its rural campaign against the revolution's Base Areas. The regime's US-orchestrated counterinsurgency operations climaxed in the September 12, 1992 capture of PCP Chairman Gonzalo and other top Party leaders.

Fujimori's "Little Vietnam" to "Wipe Out Subversion"

One centerpiece of Fujimori's new counterinsurgency campaign was announced in October 1993. Fujimori said he was going to create a "Little Vietnam" (his own words!) in the jungles of Peru in order to crush the Communist Party of Peru. It ended up being a war against the people of the area — that failed!

According to one mainstream Lima daily, "...the army launched a ground and air offensive. First came helicopters, machine-gunning everything that moved, everything that was alive. Then came Army patrols to finish off the survivors, burning their homes and raping women." [La Republica 3/24/1994].

Using the same logic as in Vietnam of "destroying a hamlet in order to save it," Fujimori has vowed to "eradicate Sendero and to liberate the Ashaninkas." The Ashaninkas are the largest indigenous group in the area where the "Little Vietnam" is being carried out.

Reuters News Service carried the following account: "...The captain said, 'You are a terrorist' and hit him with his gun until his mouth was bleeding... When my husband refused orders to repent, soldiers knifed him to death and cut his head off" [4/21/94]. The truth is that the Peruvian regime is waging a genocidal war against the people, including the Ashaninkas, in an attempt to defeat the revolution. Despite all the government's brutality, its offensive failed to crush the People's Army or its Base Areas.

U.S. Government Intervention in Peru

The U.S. government usually tries to hide its involvement in the brutal crimes committed by governments that it supports around the world. But U.S.-government "hands" are dripping with the blood of oppressed people on every continent of the globe, and in Latin America in particular. Peru is no exception.

Peru is the largest recipient of U.S. aid in Latin America, which totaled \$137 million in 1993 and \$150 million in 1994. Its army officers are routinely trained at the School of the Americas in Georgia.

Under the guise of the "war on drugs," the U.S. Green Berets have trained Peruvian troops and the U.S. has built firebases in the middle of revolutionary Base Areas. US-manufactured and supplied Spike, a herbicide "too deadly for use in the U.S.," is rained down on peasants.

The CIA has helped support, train and organize the Peruvian secret police, and still works closely with them, including supplying them with sophisticated surveillance technology. The U.S. military under Southcom has established river patrols, upgraded helicopters, conducted long-range reconnaissance and radar surveillance, and has created strategic hamlets.

The U.S. government has also orchestrated and encouraged a campaign of lies and slanders against the revolution in Peru, as an integral part of their low-intensity warfare strategy. Government officials have gone before the U.S. Congress and denounced the PCP as the biggest "terrorists" in the hemisphere, and demanded that "human rights" groups target the revolution. They have gone out of their way to praise the fascist dictator Fujimori as an efficient technocrat who wants what is best for Peru. And the U.S. media has bombarded us with lies about "Sendero's fanatical violence and terrorism."

Why is the U.S. so concerned about the revolution in Peru? Simply put, the U.S. ruling class is dependent on dominating and plundering vast areas of the world for its very existence. Latin America is a key part of this U.S. empire, and Peru is a very important country in Latin America — both strategically and economically. So the U.S. rulers fear losing Peru to a Maoist revolution that would rip Peru out of the global web of imperialist exploitation and robbery, a revolution that claims nothing less than to be a Base Area for the advance of the world socialist revolution!

In many ways the vile slander is proof of the PCP's success — **this**, and not supposed concerns for "human rights," is why the U.S. government has gone to such lengths to slander and vilify the People's War.

On June 26, 1998 the U.S. and Peru inaugurated a "School for River Operations" built by U.S. military special operations forces at the Iquitos Naval Base, an important radar base where 35 U.S. troops are permanently stationed. The new U.S. funded \$60 million program supplies Peru with an additional 30 personnel, "specialized U.S. military instructors" consisting of fifteen Navy SEALs, nine Army Special Forces, four Marines and two Coast Guard officers.

The official story is that they are training Peruvian comandos in ground and river operations for "drug interdiction." But the "war on drugs" has long been a cover for U.S. counter-insurgency in Latin America, especially in Peru. According to the Chicago Tribune (6/30/98), Peruvian soldiers "are learning to drive gray metal high-speed cruisers [patrol boats] equipped with machine guns, rocket launchers and night-vision scopes." Many are veterans of the counter-insurgency war. In fact, Oswaldo Rio, a Peruvian marine who spent 18 years fighting against revolutionaries in Peru's mountains and jungles, will also be an instructor. Perhaps most revealing: the area of operations will be the Huallaga River Valley and the Satipo/Ene River Valley—both places of fierce contention between PCP-led forces and the Fujimori regime.

Other Examples of U.S. Involvement in Peru include:

- Fujimori suspended the Constitution on April 5, 1992 and met with Bernard Aronson, the Bush administration's top official for Latin America policy *the same day*.
- A Green Beret officer who returned from Peru said that burning down villages of peasants for sympathizing with the PCP was "part of the training." (Penthouse, July 1992).
- In 1990 the U.S. opened a 100-acre firebase in Santa Lucia in the Upper Huallaga Valley that is the *largest and most expensive U.S. military installation south of the Panama Canal*. (Foreign Affairs, V.69, #1).

- The U.S. financed Peru's *Administrative Justice Program*, which includes techniques of surveillance, as well as the "hooded justice" system (U.S. House Subcommittee on Western Affairs; March 12, 1992).
- In February, 1993 the U.S. announced that it would take part in a \$2 billion back loan to Peru (San Francisco Chronicle, Feb. 25, 1993). This was key to "reinserting" Peru into world financial markets and propping up its oppressive regime.
- Fujimori's former Vice President, San Roman, said that the National Intelligence Service [SIN] directly oversees the drug trade and is equipped with "the latest U.S. technology." (Reuters, Dec. 12, 1992).
- "The CIA trains the SIN's intelligence units in everything from vetting witnesses to polygraph testing; it has even donated jeeps." (Newsweek, May 10, 1993).
- *New York Magazine* reporter John H. Richardson noted that he saw "framed certificates from the Drug Enforcement Administration and Special Training Group" on the office wall of Colonel Juan Gonzales of DINCOTE (Peruvian counter-insurgency police). Colonel Gonzales is the officer in charge of the case of New York activist Lori Berenson who was railroaded into a Peruvian prison on terrorism charges.

New Wave of Struggle

The iron-willed leader of the PCP, Chairman Guzman, made a serious error a year after his arrest in attempting to negotiate a cease fire agreement with President Fujimori. This undermined

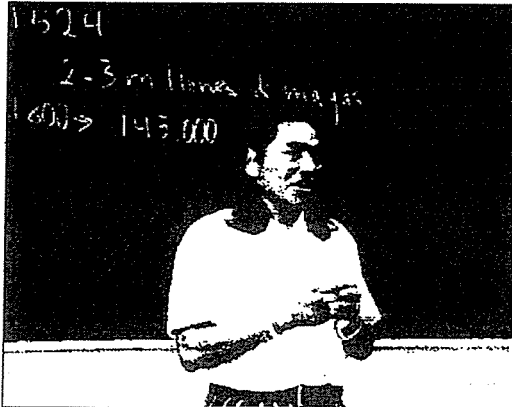
democratic centralism and threw the PCP into confusion and demoralization. Combined with the government's brutal repression, it led to serious reversals in the People's War. To complicate matters, Guzman's successor, Oscar Ramirez, was captured in 1999. By then, the Shining Path was down to some 200 fighters – down from more than 10,000 at the time of Guzman's CIA-engineered capture.

Recent reports place the number of armed fighters at between 800 and 1,000 concentrated in the Apurimac and Huallaga valleys. They are also reputed to have changed tactics, taking a less dogmatic and violent approach towards coca growers, and instead of trying to eradicate the cocaine trade, they are taxing the growers and providing security against the narco police.

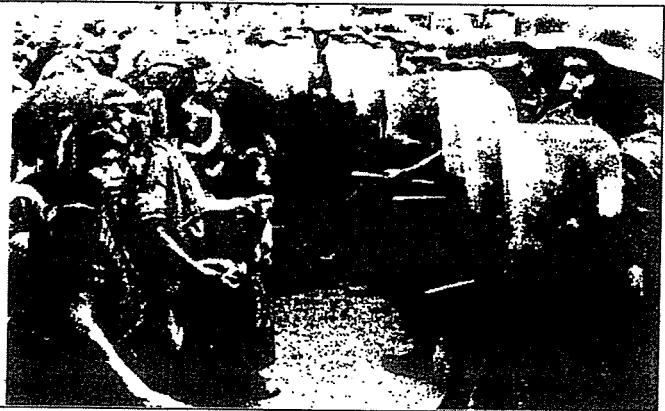
While thousands of former guerrillas and Party members remain in prison, including Guzman, who was re-sentenced to life imprisonment in 2005, many who have been released are reportedly active in the trade unions and peasant associations promoting Maoist politics. Several teachers have been arrested for allegedly recruiting students into the PCP.

Fujimori, who fled the country in 2000, awaits trial for numerous crimes against the people, including unleashing "death squads" against his political opponents, students and shantytown dwellers. The government has admitted to and apologized for the forced sterilization of between 200,000 and 400,000 Indian women during his regime, and mass graves of Shining Path members and civilians are still being discovered. Conditions for the Indians of Peru remain atrocious, even though Peru now has its first Indian President, and the country is still in the grip of U.S. imperialism, which is again sending U.S. troops into the heart of Shining Path territory, allegedly on a humanitarian mission to help the Indians by digging wells, and building schools and medical clinics.

And the beat goes on!□



Daniel Caño



Mayans face off with police

MAYAN MASSACRE

By Miriam Ben Eliezer (Age 15)

Reprinted from *The Bee Hive*, May 2008
Maple Ridge High School, Ulster Park, NY

Before the Europeans came in 1524, there were two to three million Mayans in Guatemala. By the 1800's, only 148,000 were left. Although some of the deaths were fruits of war, most were results of European diseases. Soon after they were defeated, the Mayan people were enslaved and since, have suffered extreme racial discrimination and systematic oppression of their culture and people.

Daniel Caño, a Mayan from Guatemala, came to tell our class of the hardships and struggles his people have endured over the centuries. He spoke especially of the racial discrimination of the 1900's. In 1922, Miguel Angel Asturias brought out the racist feelings of the Europeans toward the Mayans, who they mainly called by the racial slur "Indian." Through it he conveyed the message that the Europeans are superior to Mayans and should

intermarry to "purity" the Mayan race. Asturias had this mentality, and yet he was considered an expert on Mayan culture.

In 1954, the CIA along with the United Fruit Company and the Catholic Church, staged a genocide of the Mayan people. Daniel explained that the reasoning behind this was: Indians (Mayans) = Communists, Communists = the Devil, and therefore this race needed to be eliminated. When Rios Montt, the "Hitler of Guatemala," became president in the early 1980's he killed 600,000 Mayans in one and a half years. From 1982-1983, a systematic slaughter was carried out and Reagan, the U.S. President, called Montt the "ideal president" and fully supported the genocide of the "Communists."

The Mayans still suffer from racial discrimination, and because they are not allowed to wear their traditional dress in public, a great deal of their culture has been lost. All this suffering has left deep scars on the Mayan people, but hopefully some day, they can be treated as humans and live their lives in peace. □

Evolution of the System to Honor Ethnic Minorities' Rights China Society For Human Rights Studies

Reprinted from The Red Heart Warrior, Spring '08

What system should a multinational state adopt to resolve ethnic minority problems and ensure the rights of minorities? This is a major problem that has to be settled. There are roughly three options: confederacy, autonomy and power sharing. The former Soviet Union adopted the form of confederacy. That was determined by the fact that during the October Revolution, many ethnic groups were in a state of entire separation and isolation. In his speech in 1989, Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping said: We owe the stable and united situation in the areas inhabited by ethnic minorities to Chairman Mao as he did not copy the confederate system of the Soviet Union. Practice proved that the adoption of the system of regional autonomy of ethnic minorities is correct. In fact, it took a long historical process for the system to take shape. It is the result of the efforts by the Communist Party of China (CPC) in constantly summing up experience and making theoretical innovations.

The CPC has paid much attention to studying the problems of ethnic minorities and seeking a road to equality and unity among people of all ethnic groups. It is in this process that the system of regional autonomy of ethnic minorities has evolved into a basic policy of China.

As early as in 1929, an announcement by the Fourth Red Army drafted by Mao Zedong and Zhu De put forward the idea of "unified Chinese nation," letting "Manchus, Mongols, Hui and Tibetans determine their own affairs." In 1931, the All-China Soviet government led by Mao Zedong adopted a resolution on the problems of ethnic minorities in the Chinese territory, calling on the nation to rally all the oppressed ethnic groups around the Soviet and introduce regional autonomy so that they would get liberated. The All-China Soviet government also wrote into the Constitution of the All-China Soviet that ethnic minorities may "establish their own autonomous regions." This is the birth of the idea about ethnic regional autonomy put forward by Mao Zedong and the CPC. On December 20, 1935, in the Declaration of the All China Soviet Central Government Concerning the People of Inner Mongolia, Mao Zedong said: "We hold that it is only the people of Inner Mongolia themselves who have the right to settle their own internal problems and no others have the right to interfere by violence in the living habits, religion, ethics and all other rights of the Mongolians." On October 17, 1936, he pointed out again that "... to organize autonomous governments of the Hui people in the townships or districts that are only inhabited by the Hui people. All people who are willing to seek national liberation, including Imams, may be involved in the governments." In 1938, the CPC called the sixth plenary session of the CPC Sixth Central Committee and Mao Zedong delivered an important report On New Stage. In the report, he declared that the war of resistance against Japan by the whole Chinese nation had entered into a new stage. When coming to ethnic minorities, he, for the first time, clearly put forward the idea of ethnic regional autonomy, saying "minorities enjoy the equal rights as the majority Hans and, under the principles of common resistance against Japan, they have their rights to manage their own affairs, and at the same time, build a unified state together with the majority Hans." He also expounded the idea of setting up committees for ethnic minorities in areas inhabited by a number of ethnic groups, respecting the religions, customs and habits of minorities and developing their culture and education.



Chairman Mao with ethnic minorities

The sixth plenary session of the CPC Sixth Central Committee was an important meeting in the history of the Communist Party of China. It marked a major shift in the theories and policies concerning the problem of ethnic minorities. Before that, the CPC and Mao Zedong did not clearly put forward the idea of solving problems of ethnic minorities. Rather, the idea was a mixture of confederacy and national determination or both self-determination and self-government. The term "self-determination of ethnic minorities" can be found in many speeches by Mao Zedong and many CPC documents.

After the session, Mao Zedong and the CPC actively advocated for the recognition of self-government rights of ethnic minorities, making it a basic policy of the Party for solving problems concerning ethnic minorities and, in practice, began to implement the policy on the basis of solving the problems of the ethnic groups of Hui and Mongolians. In 1941, the border areas of Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia and central Gansu and Chengchuan set up Hui autonomous counties, Mongolian autonomous counties and regions. In 1945, in his report to the Seventh CPC Congress, Mao Zedong made it clear that "it is necessary to improve the treatment of the domestic ethnic minorities, allowing them the right of autonomy." At the same time, he called on the governments of the areas inhabited by both minorities and Hans to set up committees made up of people of ethnic minorities as a provincial or county government department to take charge of affairs related to these groups. In October 1947, Mao Zedong stressed again that "we must recognize that ethnic minorities should have the rights of equality and autonomy." In 1947, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region was founded. All these activities had paved the way for the final establishment of the basic policy of ethnic regional autonomy. This shows that Mao Zedong and the CPC experienced a process in their understanding of the problems concerning ethnic minorities.

During the Second Civil War period (1927-37), Mao Zedong and the CPC implemented the basic ideas of self-determination by ethnic minorities and of establishing a confederate state. Although the idea of autonomy by ethnic minorities was also put up, it was rather referred to self-government of establishing free federal states within the framework of confederacy. Up to the period of the War of Resistance against Japan, there were changes in the formulation, making the establishment of autonomous regions for ethnic minorities and the right for them to manage their own affairs as the mainstream idea. In 1938, the theory of ethnic regional autonomy was advanced in clear cut terms. In October 1945, it was decided that Inner Mongolia exercised regional autonomy and after that the terms of self-determination and confederacy ceased to be mentioned. The ethnic regional autonomy within the state became the mainstream idea. Around the time of the founding of New China, Mao Zedong solicited opinions from within and outside the Party, personages of all ethnic minorities and experts on the theory of ethnic groups and arrived at the conclusion that China could not follow the road of the Soviet Union with regard to the problem of ethnic minorities as the situations of the two countries were quite different.

First of all, the relations among all ethnic groups were different. In the Soviet Union, the population of minorities was bigger than that of Russians before the October Revolution. After the October Revolution, due to the separation of Finland and Poland, the population of minorities was reduced, but still near the size of the Russians. Most of the ethnic minorities lived in a place in compact communities. In China, however, the population of minorities made up only 6% of the national total and most of them were scattered in many parts of the country, with the people of one ethnic group scattered in a vast area, interwoven with the majority Hans or other ethnic minorities.

Secondly, the situation of the revolutionary development was different. Russia used to be a military feudal imperialist country, a well-known "prison for ethnic minorities." When the October Revolution took place, the proletariat of Russia seized political power first in central areas and large cities before the rural areas and areas inhabited by ethnic minorities. Through the February Revolution and the October Revolution, the Russian empire was disintegrated and many ethnic groups, in fact, became separate states. In order to unify these separate states, it had to adopt the system of confederacy. But things were quite different in China. The Chinese revolution started in the rural areas

before it spread into cities. During the protracted revolutionary wars, people of all ethnic groups, under the CPC leadership, united as equals and fought for the same goals and in the end founded a unified People's Republic of China. The process of the Chinese revolution and its final victory did not cause the separation of ethnic minorities. On the contrary, it united people of all ethnic groups into the same big family.

Based on this understanding, the Communist Party of China lost no time after the liberation of the whole country to lead the people of all ethnic groups in a big association on the principle of equality and made the ethnic regional autonomy a basic policy for solving the problems of ethnic minorities and wrote it into the Common Program, which served as an interim constitution at the time, saying that "All areas inhabited by ethnic minorities should exercise regional autonomy and set up autonomous organs according to the size of population and the areas." In 1952, Mao Zedong issued an order in the name of the President of the People's Republic of China for the publication of the Outlined Program of the People's Republic of China on the Implementation of the Ethnic Regional Autonomy. Thereafter, many areas where minority people live in compact communities began to exercise autonomy. In September 1953, the important reports to the Third Enlarged Meeting of the Ethnic Affairs Commission of the Central People's Government presented by Zhou Enlai, Basic Summary of the Experience in Implementing Ethnic Regional Autonomy and On Problems Concerning Policies, toward Ethnic Minorities, were published, which helped solve a series of problems. They included unification and autonomy. Party leadership and people of ethnic minorities becoming masters of the country, the universality and particularities of the autonomous organs, localization of the cadres of autonomous regions and the assistance from the majority Hans, the help from superior state organs and the full exercise of independence in autonomous areas, and ethnic minorities exercising autonomy and other ethnic groups. In 1954, the Constitution of the People's Republic of China formulated under the leadership of Mao Zedong codified the system of ethnic regional autonomy. After that, the government conducted general inspections on the implementation of the policies toward ethnic minorities, summed up and spread good experiences and addressed the shortcomings. Thus, the mature basic policy of ethnic regional autonomy had been established.

The system of regional autonomy is unprecedented in history. It represents a go-with-the-times creation of the CPC. First of all, proceeding from the viewpoints of the proletarian revolution, Marxism has always persisted in democratic centralism, advocating for an inseparable republic in general circumstances and the system of regional autonomy can best safeguard the unification of the motherland and ensure that China become a multinational socialist country that exercises democratic centralism, thus realizing the most ideal form of a state that had long persisted by Marx and Engels. In their times, Marx and Engels did not see any solution to ethnic problems or the establishment of a unified multinational socialist country in the form of regional autonomy and that is why they left little of what they said about the problem. Up to the era of Lenin, due to the internal war, he dwelled more on "national self-determination" for solving the nationality problems. Based on practical experience of the Chinese revolution, Mao Zedong and the CPC introduced the system of regional autonomy, with great success. This is an unprecedented creation, thus making new contributions to the Marxist theories on nationalities and Marxist theories on state.

Secondly, the local governments of autonomous areas at all levels are an inalienable part of the people's democratic dictatorship as seen from the composition of the functionaries and their historical mission, although such governments take the form of national democratic united front at the beginning and for a considerably long period of time to come. The regional autonomy is, therefore, the result of the application and innovation of Marxist theories on proletarian dictatorship in the light of the actual circumstances of China. It represents yet a new form of socialist state after the Paris Commune, Soviet Union and confederacy. The functions of the autonomous regional government, plus the localization of the functionaries of the autonomous organs, have solved the problem of the integration and unity of socialism and characteristics of ethnic minorities so that the organs of the autonomous areas have

become government organs depended upon and trusted by people of ethnic minorities.

Thirdly, the ethnic regional autonomy in China is a political marriage of autonomy of ethnic minorities and regional autonomy, a correct combination of economic and political factors, showing that the contents, nature and characteristics of the ethnic regional autonomy fully tally with the basic situation of multinational China. Both the ethnic principles and regional principles and both economic and political factors are taken into consideration, ruling out one-sidedness, thus ensuring its correct orientation of development.

Fourthly, ethnic regional autonomy allows for great flexibility in implementation. In the process of exercising regional autonomy, the Party and State have proceeded from reality and given full consideration to the characteristics of each ethnic minority and, in the light of historical causes, economic conditions, divided regional autonomy into three levels: autonomous region at the provincial level, autonomous prefecture, and autonomous county or banner and township of ethnic minorities. There are also places in which one or more than one ethnic minority have set up one autonomous area. Such diversity in size and types of autonomy can fully ensure the equality among all ethnic groups, big or small.

Practice over the past half a century has revealed the superiority of the system of ethnic regional autonomy and the system has been well accepted. It is still in the process of development and perfection. □



Anacaona by Marie-Denise Douyon, 1994

ANACAONA, also called the Golden Flower, was an Indian queen, wife of Caonabo, one of the five caciques who possessed the island of Santo Domingo when the Spaniards discovered it and settled there in 1492. She was celebrated as a composer of ballads and narrative poems, called areitos.

Anacaona

Taino queen - Born in Yaguana (today the town of Leogane), the flourishing capital of Xaragua, the most prosperous and heavily populated of the indigenous Taino kingdoms at the time of the European invasion. Anacaona - golden flower in the Taino language - was the younger sister of Behechio, king of Xaragua. She was married to the Taino chief, Caonabo, king of Maguana (the Cibao region), who, in 1494, was kidnapped by Christopher Columbus' troops and deported to Spain. (According to legend, Caonabo died en route to Spain when the Taino captives on board deliberately sank the ship in a last attempt to resist Spanish oppression.) To escape death, Anacaona left Maguana and returned to the western region of Xaragua.

In Xaragua, she soon asserted her authority over her brother and ruled as a queen famed for the ballads, ballets, poetry, plays and ornaments of her court. Xaragua was the only Taino kingdom on the

island that had not succumbed to Spanish conquest when a new Spanish governor, Nicholas Ovando, arrived with some 2500 troops in 1502. He requested a meeting with Anacaona, and, in 1503, the Queen and chieftains of the province prepared a lavish reception for him and his men. In the middle of the entertainment, Ovando gave a signal, and the Spanish seized the Xaraguayans, tied them to poles and killed them. Eighty Taino leaders were slaughtered. Anacaona was saved but was captured, and in September 1503 she was taken to Santo Domingo where she was hung. □

THE TAINO RACE OF AMERICAN INDIAN PEOPLE IS FAR FROM EXTINCT

Dr. Juan Martinez Cruzado, a geneticist from the University of Puerto Rico Mayaguez designed an island-wide DNA survey. The study funded by the U.S. National Science Foundation, shows that 61 percent of all Puerto Ricans have Amerindian mitochondrial DNA, 27 percent have African and 12 percent Caucasian. (Nuclear DNA, or the genetic material present in a gene's nucleus, is inherited in equal parts from one's father and mother. Mitochondrial DNA is inherited only from one's mother and does not change or blend with other materials over time.)

In other words a majority of Puerto Ricans have Taino blood. "Our study showed there was assimilation," Martinez Cruzado explained, "but the people were not extinguished.

"The people were assimilated into a new colonial order and became mixed. That's what Puerto Ricans are: Indians mixed with Africans and Spaniards," he asserted.

"It is clear that the influence of Taino culture was very strong up to about 200 years ago. If we could conduct this same study on the Puerto Ricans from those times, the figure would show that 80 percent of the people had Indian heritage." □

A Puerto Rican Prisoner Writes

In the prison system we have a jail-house political movement called; ASOCIACIÓN PRO-DERECHO AL CONFINADO, that is; ASSOCIATION PRO-RIGHTS FOR CONVICTS. We're also known as LA ASOCIACIÓN ÑETA. ÑETA is a root word in the Taino Indian language meaning PEACE. We have 26 Puerto Rican correctional prisons and 4 privatized prisons run by Correctional Corp. of America. Out of the 26 government-run prisons, only 24 are strictly organized by ÑETA, the other two have organizations that struggle in unison with ÑETA but are separate from the ÑETA prisoners' association. We have jail-house unions which are run by the prisoners. There are four individual unions in each and every prison organized by ÑETA, and each union has its function and agenda. The first union is called "LA JUNTA DISCIPLINARIA" (the Disciplinary Union). Its responsibility is to read the rules, regulations and sanctions of violations to every new prisoner. This union consists of 14 prisoners and has the responsibility to verbally or otherwise sanction a prisoner who incurs a disciplinary violation.

The second is called "LA JUNTA CENTRAL" (the Central Union). Its responsibility is to supervise the Disciplinary Union and to pick up disciplinary cases of prisoners which are being contradicted and bringing conflicting versions. The Central Union is responsible to interrogate every new prisoner that comes through and to ensure, by numerous mechanisms, that he has never raped anybody; that he has never given any police statements or has never murdered anyone for money. After this process is over, the Central Union then goes to the higher commanding union which is "LA JUNTA LIDERATO" (the Leadership Union) and has the interrogated prisoner's paperwork signed. After the paperwork is signed, the prisoner is directed to talk to the Secretary of the Disciplinary Union so that the rules and regulations can be read to him. After this is done, the Secretary directs the new prisoner to approach the Vocal of the Disciplinary Union, who then directs him to approach the Vocal of the Central Union. This Vocal then gathers the whole population to verify who has TVs who will be going home so that one can be donated to the new prisoner as well as clothing and footwear. After this, the new prisoner is on his own.

The Leadership Union has the responsibility to supervise the Central Union and to pick up cases of prisoners who have committed rape, are informers or have committed murder for money. The Leadership Union has to maintain communication with other Leadership Unions of the 24 associated ÑETA chapters throughout the Island.

The fourth union is called "LOS PILARES DE LA ASOCIACIÓN" (the Pillars of the Association). There are only seven of them in this union. Their responsibility is to litigate in the courts, to deal with legislation in Congress, as well as to handle redress within the Association. They are the maximum leaders within ÑETA. They are political prisoners. Their main emphasis is to marshal our votes within the prisons so that we always vote for a party that will maintain the independence of the island of Puerto Rico ("BORIQUE"). We vote for one party and one party only!

The movement is deeper than what I have laid down here, but I am allowed to reveal only so much on paper so as not to compromise the movement. My main goal is to correct those who have a misconception about "LA ASOCIACIÓN ÑETA" and think it is some sort of street or prison gang. And to those in the U.S. prisons erroneously calling themselves ÑETA knowing that they do not have a "green light" for establishing the political movement by the Pillars, *ABSTAIN!*

CAPEA EL MENSAJE Y SUELTA LA PALOMA (Cop the Message and Release the Bird). *DE CORAZÓN.*

Struggle; Share and Live in Harmony. That's What Stipulates Our Philosophy.

Association Pro-Rights for the Convicts



Columbus Day

By Jimmie Durham, 1984

In school I was taught the names
Columbus, Cortez, and Pizzaro and
A dozen other filthy murderers.
A bloodline all the way to General Miles,
Daniel Boone and general Eisenhower.

No one mentioned the names
Of even a few of the victims.
But don't you remember Chaske, whose spine
Was crushed so quickly by Mr. Pizzaro's boot?
What words did he cry into the dust?

What was the familiar name
Of that young girl who danced so gracefully
That everyone in the village sang with her--
Before Cortez' sword hacked off her arms
As she protested the burning of her sweetheart?

That young man's name was Many Deeds,
And he had been a leader of a band of fighters
Called the Redstick Hummingbirds, who slowed
The march of Cortez' army with only a few
Spears and stones which now lay still
In the mountains and remember.

Greenrock Woman was the name
Of that old lady who walked right up
And spat in Columbus' face. We
Must remember that, and remember
Laughing Otter the Taino who tried to stop
Columbus and who was taken away as a slave.
We never saw him again.

In school I learned of heroic discoveries
Made by liars and crooks. The courage
Of millions of sweet and true people
Was not commemorated.

Let us then declare a holiday
For ourselves, and make a parade that begins
With Columbus' victims and continues
Even to our grandchildren who will be named
In their honor.

Because isn't it true that even the summer
Grass here in this land whispers those names,
And every creek has accepted the responsibility
Of singing those names? And nothing can stop
The wind from howling those names around
The corners of the school.

Why else would the birds sing
So much sweeter here than in other lands?



Enriquillo's Rebellion

Enriquillo was a Taíno Cacique who rebelled against the Spaniards from 1519 to 1533. His father was killed while attending peace talks with the Spanish, along with eighty other regional chieftains under the direction of his aunt Anacaona in Jaragua. During the talks, Spanish soldiers set the meeting house on fire and proceeded to kill anyone who fled the flames. Enriquillo was then raised in a monastery in Santo Domingo. One of his mentors was Bartolomé de Las Casas.

Enriquillo was one of the first of the *nitáino* children to be taught to read and write by the Franciscans. He became a Christian (some thought he might become the first native priest) and had a reputation for cooperating with the Spaniards. The chronicles inform us that Enriquillo rebelled because Andrés de Valenzuela, the son and heir of his original *encomendero*, seized not only Enriquillo's prize mare (an Indian's owning a horse was a sign of high status) but also his wife, *doña* Mencía, to whom he had been married in a sanctified Catholic ceremony. Enriquillo complained to the town's leading Spaniard, Pedro de Vadillo, but Vadillo reprimanded him for speaking out against Andrés. Enriquillo went to the capital and came back with an order from the Audiencia demanding the return of his wife and horse, but Vadillo refused to comply, threatening to put Enriquillo in jail or in the stocks if he continued to pursue the complaint against Andrés. In response, Enriquillo gathered up his wife and an undisclosed number of Indians and led them to the desolate lands of Bahoruco, in the region of his old *cacicazgo*.

It is highly probable that the lack of diplomacy demonstrated by both Vadillo and Andrés in their dealings with Enriquillo was based on their mistaken belief, due to the growing intermixture of slaves with *naborías* and commended Taínos in the island's work force, that all Indians were of lowly "slave" status, thus could be treated with contempt. Vadillo and Andrés soon discovered how wrong they were, for both Spaniards were sent on several expeditions to dislodge the rebellious cacique from the mountains of Bahoruco, none of which were successful.

Along with an influx of non-Taíno Indian slaves, African slaves had been arriving on Hispaniola, too, and were put to work side-by-side with the Indians working the gold mines and the *ingenios* (sugar cane plantations) from the beginning of the island's colonization. Their growing numbers by the second and third decades of the sixteenth century, added to those of the growing numbers of enslaved non-Taíno Indians, would have exacerbated the lack of deference with which Spaniards treated all forced laborers, including commended Indians, even caciques.

For nearly a decade and a half Enriquillo and his followers lived in the remote and barely accessible south-central mountains of his native island, occasionally raiding Spanish settlements for arms and tools and clashing with militia units but for the most part avoiding contact with Spanish society. Enrique eluded the numerous patrols that were sent to eradicate what became a stubbornly persistent locus of defiance of Spanish authority that attracted other

discontented residents of the island, including both African and indigenous slaves and servants as well as small numbers of nominally "free" Indians.

In 1519, the crown granted the first commercial license for the bulk importation of *bozales*, slaves direct from Africa, to the Indies to "Governor Bressa," the king's *mayordomo mayor* (senior steward), through his Genoese agents Adán de Bivaldo, Tomás de Forne and Lorenzo de Gorvot. The license gave them a monopoly to bring 4,000 *bozales* to Hispaniola.

There was a general belief among the colonists on Hispaniola that *bozales* were more docile slaves, more stable, than *ladinos* (African slaves who had lived in Spain and were mostly house servants). But this belief was turned around when approximately twenty "Wolof" slaves (from today's Senegambia region) on an *ingenio* owned by Diego Colón near Azua, about 100 kilometers northwest of Santo Domingo, planned and carried out a rebellion on Christmas Day, 1521. From that moment onward, the history of the island is peppered with African slave uprisings, led by such leaders as Juan Vaquero, Diego de Guzmán, and Diego del Campo, all of whose rebellions took place before 1550. They, and others like them, established *cimarrón* communities across the southwestern, northern and eastern regions of the island. Terror spread across Hispaniola due to the many "uncontrolled" Africans who stalked and raided Spanish colonies and who traded freely with Spain's enemies along the unprotected coasts. Fear of African *cimarrones* was one of the reasons that Spanish towns in the northern half of the island were abandoned and Spanish settlement restricted to the part of the island south of San Juan de la Maguana in the second half of the sixteenth century.

Fray Remigio, who had been Enrique's teacher, was sent to exhort him to surrender. Enrique answered that he would give up the struggle if he should be allowed to enjoy the liberty of the mountains. In 1533, General Barrio-Nuevo, empowered by the emperor, made a treaty of peace with Enrique. The latter selected the region of Boya as his residence, and was declared hereditary prince, and many natives and Africans flocked to his domains. After this time (about 1544) he is not mentioned by historians.

Enrique's revolt was arguably the best-known rebellion of its time in the islands, at least it is in the history and literature of the Dominican Republic, where the episode is often portrayed as the last stand of a heroic leader of the Hispaniola's remaining native Taínos.

"Brown Berets EARLY HISTORY Dec.3, 1967: The first Brown Beret unit is formed in East Los Angeles by a group of young Xicano organizers who previously were called Young Citizens for Community Action (YCCA). Jan.1968: The Brown Berets organized the first demonstrations against police brutality. Mar. 1968: The Brown Berets and other high school students organized the first school walkout to change the U.S. educational system on behalf of La Raza. Over 10,000 students participated. Jan. 1969: The Brown Berets became a statewide organization in California. May. 1969: The Brown Berets opened the first Xicano Free clinic in East L.A. Summer of 1969: The Brown Berets successfully promoted Raza unity throughout California and chapters began forming in Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, Michigan, and other areas. Dec. 14, 1969: The Brown Berets organized the Chicano Moratorium Committee and the first rally in East Los Angeles to protest against racial discrimination and the disproportionate number of Xicanos being drafted and killed in the Viet Nam War. Jan.1970: La Raza of Logan Heights was threatened with violence by the Hell's Angels. The Brown Berets responded promptly to protect our barrios effectively. Apr.22, 1970: The Brown Berets and community members of San Diego occupied the land that was to be a California Highway Patrol station in Logan Heights. Instead they made it into a park for La

Raza and it was called Chicano Park. It continues to be a symbol of Xicano pride and power that has now become famous throughout the world. Summer 1970: The Brown Berets were promoted and organized in various California prisons as well as in parts of Mexico, Europe, and Asia by Xicano U.S. military service personnel that agreed with the Brown Beret goals and plans. Summer 1970: The Brown Berets occupied the building that was operated by a social service agency in Logan heights that was not serving the need of the Xicano community in San Diego. The Berets instead founded the Logan Heights Family Health Center. May 5, 1971: The Brown Berets marched one thousand miles from Calexico to Sacramento in "La March de la Reconquista" in a statewide protest against racial and institutionalized discrimination, police brutality, and the high numbers on Xicanos being killed in Viet Nam. Aug. 30, 1972: The Brown Berets occupied Santa Catalina Island because all the islands off the coast of California were never "ceded" by Mexico to the U.S. under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo of 1848, and to bring nationwide attention to the injustices and inequality towards our people. Nov.1, 1972: Infiltrations by police, sheriffs, and the FBI disrupted the Brown Berets causing it to function primarily at local levels. The organization ceased to function on a nationwide scale."□



BLACK INDIANS

"African and Native American interaction began even before Europeans brought African slaves to the Americas. Free Africans reached the shores of the American continent as traders and settlers long before Europeans arrived. In 1975, 2 Negroid skeletons were found in the U.S. Virgin Islands. One wore a pre-Columbian Indian wrist band. They were found in layers dated to about A.D. 1250. In 1974, Polish craniologists revealed that no fewer than 13.5% of the skeletons from the pre-Columbian Olmec cemetery of Tlatilco were Negroid."

Red Sun Rising, Vol. #1

There can be no doubt as to the existence of Pre-Columbian contact between Africans and Native Americans, nor is this surprising given the ocean currents between the continents, but it was not until European contact and slavery that it became a regular traffic. Columbus commented that the Indians were easy to enslave, but the Spanish soon found that contact with European diseases killed them off at an alarming rate and it was better business to import slaves from Africa. However, Native Americans continued to be enslaved, and this too created problems. As early as 1537 Viceroy Mendoza of Mexico, lamenting an insurrection by Africans, admitted "the Indians are with them."⁶² Slave revolts would continue to rock the new European outposts in the Americas, and they enjoyed Native American support.

The first attempt to establish a European colony in what was to become the United States was named San Miguel de Guadalupe, and it was at the mouth of what is now called the Pee Dee River, at Winyah Bay, in eastern South Carolina.



The story of San Miguel de Guadalupe begins when Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, a wealthy Spanish official in the Spanish colony of Hispaniola sent an expedition in 1520 to canvass the North American mainland to establish a colony. Though, according to Katz, Ayllon wanted to build "friendly relations with the local inhabitants," Ayllon's men, among whom was a slave-hunter, captured seventy Native Americans. One of these natives, Chicorana, would help Ayllon persuade the Spanish king to permit a settlement on the mainland of the U.S. "The king's orders forbade enslavement of the Indians, and added 'you be very careful about the treatment of the Indians,' but this had little effect as "one hundred enslaved Africans," along with Spanish men and women, were on the crew headed for San Miguel de Guadalupe.

Though dogged by Indian desertions, Ayllon and his crew resolved to settle the land in hopes of exploiting African labor and nature's land. This would be short-lived. In a matter of time, "disease and starvation ravaged their colony and internal disputes tore it apart," culminating in a slave revolt, in which slaves fled to the Indians and the departure of the surviving Spanish settlers. In a series of

events, "Africans began setting fires and Native Americans (who also hated slavery) sided with the slaves and made trouble."

What was left of this was a mixed community of Africans and Native Americans and the "first settlement of any permanence on these shores to include people from overseas." The frequency with which Blacks and Indians established familial ties of interdependency and mutual respect throughout American settlements suggests that San Miguel de Guadalupe being described as the "first colony on this continent to practice the belief that all people -newcomer and native - are created equal and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is likely accurate. We may never know the exact nature of Black and Indian life in San Miguel de Guadalupe, as the story still remains ignored and understudied, but what San Miguel de Guadalupe clearly foreshadows is how Indians and Blacks would learn how to consolidate their power to overcome a common enemy.

- "Before Plymouth or Jamestown or Even Roanoke Island, There Was San Miguel de Guadalupe," CW Political & Social Thought, Aug. 2008



In 1619, Dutch pirates exchanged a cargo of African slaves captured from the Spanish for food at the English settlement at Jamestown. They were put to work as indentured servants collecting Sassafras along the Charles River, which was shipped to England to make medicinal tea, and they assimilated into the Chickahominy Indian village of Weyanoke in what is now Charles City, Virginia, where many of their descendants continue to reside. In 1622, the colony of Jamestown, Virginia was attacked by Native Americans but Africans were spared. They were taken and integrated into the Native American communities.

By 1625, ten slaves were listed in the first census of Jamestown. The first public slave auction of 23 individuals was held in Jamestown square in 1638. Barbados was the first British possession to enact

⁶² **THE GLOBAL AFRICAN COMMUNITY**, History Notes, "Africans and Indians: Only in America," By William Loren Katz

restrictive legislation governing slaves in 1644, and other colonial administrations, especially Virginia and Maryland, quickly adopted similar rules modeled on it. Whipping and branding, borrowed from Roman practice via the Iberian-American colonies, appeared early and with vicious audacity. One Virginian slave, named Emanuel, was convicted of trying to escape in July, 1640, and was condemned to thirty stripes, with the letter "R" for "runaway" branded on his cheek and "work in a shackle one year or more as his master shall see cause."⁶³

By the 1650s some of the indentured servants had earned their freedom. Because replacements, whether black or white, were in limited supply and more costly, the Virginia plantation owners considered the advantages of the "perpetual servitude" policy exercised by Caribbean landowners. Following the lead of Massachusetts and Connecticut, Virginia legalized slavery in 1661. In 1672 the king of England chartered the Royal African Company to bring the shiploads of slaves into trading centers like Jamestown, Hampton, and Yorktown.⁶⁴

At first the legal status of Africans in America was poorly defined, and some, like European indentured servants, managed to become free after several years of service. From the 1660s, however, the colonies began enacting laws that defined and regulated slave relations. Central to these laws was the provision that black slaves, and the children of slave women, would serve for life. This premise, combined with the natural population growth among the slaves, meant that slavery could survive and grow. After 1691, freed black slaves were banished from Virginia.⁶⁵



Massachusetts was the first slave-holding colony in New England, though the exact beginning of black slavery in what became Massachusetts cannot be dated exactly. Slavery there is said to have predated the settlement of Massachusetts Bay colony in 1629, and circumstantial evidence gives a date of 1624-1629 for the first slaves. "Samuel Maverick, apparently New England's first slaveholder, arrived in Massachusetts in 1624 and, according to [John Gorham] Palfrey, owned two Negroes before John Winthrop, who later became governor of the colony, arrived in 1630."⁶⁶

-- Slavery in Massachusetts

⁶³ **Chronology Of The History Of Slavery: 1619-1789**, Compiled by Eddie Becker, 1999

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776*. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1942, p.16.

From the first, European explorers had taken Indians captive wherever they could and sold them into slavery to defray the cost of their expeditions. American Indian slaves were considered exotic acquisitions in royal courts and by the nobility. Men and boys captured in the Pequot War were transported to the West Indies aboard the ship *Desire*, to be exchanged for African slaves. The *Desire* arrived back in Massachusetts in 1638, after exchanging its cargo, according to Winthrop, loaded with "Salt, cotton, tobacco and Negroes."⁶⁷ The same policy was followed by the Dutch with the captured Lenape Indians during the Esopus Wars in the Mid-Hudson Valley, and with the Indians captured in King Phillip's War.

No sooner had they set foot on shore near Charleston S.C. than the English set about upon establishing the "peculiar institution" of Native American slavery. Seeking the gold that had changed the face of the Spanish Empire but finding none, the English settlers of the Carolinas quickly seized upon the most abundant and available resource they could attain. The indigenous peoples of the Southeastern United States became, themselves, a commodity on the open market. Applying the same rhetoric that they had used in their genocidal campaign against the "heathens" and "barbarians" of Scotland and Ireland, the Carolinians cited Indian "savagery" and "depredations" as justification for "Indian wars" to dispossess and enslave the Yamasee, the Tuscarora, the Westo and eventually the Cherokee and the Creek.

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⁶⁷ **Slavery in Massachusetts**

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There can be no doubt as to the existence of Pre-Columbian contact between Africans and Native Americans, nor is this surprising given the ocean currents between the continents, but it was not until European contact and slavery that it became a regular traffic. Columbus commented that the Indians were easy to enslave, but the Spanish soon found that contact with European diseases killed them off at an alarming rate and it was better business to import slaves from Africa. However, Native Americans continued to be enslaved, and this too created problems. As early as 1537 Viceroy Mendoza of Mexico, lamenting an insurrection by Africans, admitted "the Indians are with them."⁶² Slave revolts would continue to rock the new European outposts in the Americas, and they enjoyed Native American support.

The first attempt to establish a European colony in what was to become the United States was named San Miguel de Guadalupe, and it was at the mouth of what is now called the Pee Dee River, at Winyah Bay, in eastern South Carolina.



The story of San Miguel de Guadalupe begins when Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, a wealthy Spanish official in the Spanish colony of Hispaniola sent an expedition in 1520 to canvass the North American mainland to establish a colony. Though, according to Katz, Ayllon wanted to build "friendly relations with the local inhabitants," Ayllon's men, among whom was a slave-hunter, captured seventy Native Americans. One of these natives, Chicorana, would help Ayllon persuade the Spanish king to permit a settlement on the mainland of the U.S. "The king's orders forbade enslavement of the Indians, and added 'you be very careful about the treatment of the Indians,' but this had little effect as "one hundred enslaved Africans," along with Spanish men and women, were on the crew headed for San Miguel de Guadalupe.

Though dogged by Indian desertions, Ayllon and his crew resolved to settle the land in hopes of exploiting African labor and nature's land. This would be short-lived. In a matter of time, "disease and starvation ravaged their colony and internal disputes tore it apart," culminating in a slave revolt, in which slaves fled to the Indians and the departure of the surviving Spanish settlers. In a series of

events, "Africans began setting fires and Native Americans (who also hated slavery) sided with the slaves and made trouble."

What was left of this was a mixed community of Africans and Native Americans and the "first settlement of any permanence on these shores to include people from overseas." The frequency with which Blacks and Indians established familial ties of interdependency and mutual respect throughout American settlements suggests that San Miguel de Guadalupe being described as the "first colony on this continent to practice the belief that all people -newcomer and native - are created equal and are entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" is likely accurate. We may never know the exact nature of Black and Indian life in San Miguel de Guadalupe, as the story still remains ignored and understudied, but what San Miguel de Guadalupe clearly foreshadows is how Indians and Blacks would learn how to consolidate their power to overcome a common enemy.

- "Before Plymouth or Jamestown or Even Roanoke Island, There Was San Miguel de Guadalupe," CW Political & Social Thought, Aug. 2008



In 1619, Dutch pirates exchanged a cargo of African slaves captured from the Spanish for food at the English settlement at Jamestown. They were put to work as indentured servants collecting Sassafras along the Charles River, which was shipped to England to make medicinal tea, and they assimilated into the Chickahominy Indian village of Weyanoke in what is now Charles City, Virginia, where many of their descendants continue to reside. In 1622, the colony of Jamestown, Virginia was attacked by Native Americans but Africans were spared. They were taken and integrated into the Native American communities.

By 1625, ten slaves were listed in the first census of Jamestown. The first public slave auction of 23 individuals was held in Jamestown square in 1638. Barbados was the first British possession to enact

⁶² **THE GLOBAL AFRICAN COMMUNITY**, History Notes, "Africans and Indians: Only in America," By William Loren Katz

restrictive legislation governing slaves in 1644, and other colonial administrations, especially Virginia and Maryland, quickly adopted similar rules modeled on it. Whipping and branding, borrowed from Roman practice via the Iberian-American colonies, appeared early and with vicious audacity. One Virginian slave, named Emanuel, was convicted of trying to escape in July, 1640, and was condemned to thirty stripes, with the letter "R" for "runaway" branded on his cheek and "work in a shackle one year or more as his master shall see cause."⁶³

By the 1650s some of the indentured servants had earned their freedom. Because replacements, whether black or white, were in limited supply and more costly, the Virginia plantation owners considered the advantages of the "perpetual servitude" policy exercised by Caribbean landowners. Following the lead of Massachusetts and Connecticut, Virginia legalized slavery in 1661. In 1672 the king of England chartered the Royal African Company to bring the shiploads of slaves into trading centers like Jamestown, Hampton, and Yorktown.⁶⁴

At first the legal status of Africans in America was poorly defined, and some, like European indentured servants, managed to become free after several years of service. From the 1660s, however, the colonies began enacting laws that defined and regulated slave relations. Central to these laws was the provision that black slaves, and the children of slave women, would serve for life. This premise, combined with the natural population growth among the slaves, meant that slavery could survive and grow. After 1691, freed black slaves were banished from Virginia.⁶⁵



Massachusetts was the first slave-holding colony in New England, though the exact beginning of black slavery in what became Massachusetts cannot be dated exactly. Slavery there is said to have predated the settlement of Massachusetts Bay colony in 1629, and circumstantial evidence gives a date of 1624-1629 for the first slaves. "Samuel Maverick, apparently New England's first slaveholder, arrived in Massachusetts in 1624 and, according to [John Gorham] Palfrey, owned two Negroes before John Winthrop, who later became governor of the colony, arrived in 1630."⁶⁶

-- Slavery in Massachusetts

⁶³ **Chronology Of The History Of Slavery: 1619-1789**, Compiled by Eddie Becker, 1999

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776*. N.Y.: Columbia University Press, 1942, p.16.

From the first, European explorers had taken Indians captive wherever they could and sold them into slavery to defray the cost of their expeditions. American Indian slaves were considered exotic acquisitions in royal courts and by the nobility. Men and boys captured in the Pequot War were transported to the West Indies aboard the ship *Desire*, to be exchanged for African slaves. The *Desire* arrived back in Massachusetts in 1638, after exchanging its cargo, according to Winthrop, loaded with "Salt, cotton, tobacco and Negroes."⁶⁷ The same policy was followed by the Dutch with the captured Lenape Indians during the Esopus Wars in the Mid-Hudson Valley, and with the Indians captured in King Phillip's War.

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⁶⁷ **Slavery in Massachusetts**

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and take captive" Cherokee citizens to be "sold into slavery for his and their profit." The Cherokee slave trade was so serious that it had, by the early half of the eighteenth century, eclipsed the trade for furs and skins, and had become the primary source of commerce between the English and the people of South Carolina.⁶⁸



Because of their value to the African system of agriculture, relatively few female captives were traded to the Europeans for the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Mostly they were sold locally. Conversely, captive Indians were most often females and children.

During the intertribal wars encouraged by the English in order to produce slaves, the largest majority of those enslaved were women and children, in accordance with historic patterns of warfare among Native Americans. Therefore, the largest numbers of Native American slaves in the early Southeast were women; there were as much as three to five times more Native women than men enslaved. Slave owners often desired African men to work the fields paired with Native American women to also work the fields as well as help around the house. John Norris, a South Carolina planter estimated the costs of setting up a plantation:

Imprimis; Fifteen good Negro Men at 45 lb each 675 lb.
Item: Fifteen Indian Women to work in the Field
at 18 lb each, comes to 270 lb.
Item, Three Indian Women as cooks for the Slaves
and other Household Business 55 lb.

Historian J. Leitch Wright suggests that the presence of so many women slaves from the Southeastern Indian nations where matrilineal kinship was the norm helps to explain the prominent role of women in slave culture.

As Native American societies in the Southeast were primarily matrilineal, African males who married Native American women often became members of the wife's clan and citizens of the respective nation. As relationships grew, the lines of racial distinction began to blur, and the evolution of red-black people began to pursue its own course. Many of the people known as slaves, free people of color, Africans, or Indians were most often the products of an integrating culture. Some aspects of African American culture, including handicrafts, music, and folklore, may be Native American rather than African in origin. The cultures of Africans and Natives intertwined in complex ways in the early

Southeast, and material culture, like social organization, often reflected the blending of these two cultures.

In areas such as Southeastern Virginia, the "Low Country" of the Carolinas, and around Galphintown near Savannah, Georgia, communities of Afro-Indians began to arise. The term "mustee" came to distinguish between those who shared African and Native American ancestry from those who were a mixture of European and African. Even after 1720, black and red Carolinians continued to share slave quarters and intimate lives; many wills continued to refer to "all my Slaves, whether Negroes, Indians, Mustees, Or Molattoes." The depth and complexity of this intermixture are revealed in a 1740 slave code in South Carolina that ruled:

"...all negroes and Indians, (free Indians in amity with this government, and negroes, mulattoes, and mustezoes, who are now free, excepted) mulattoes or mustezoes who are now, or shall hereafter be in this province, and all their issue and offspring...shall be and they are hereby declared to be, and remain hereafter absolute slaves."

As early as the latter years of the nineteenth century, ethnologists cited the deep relationship between African Americans and Native Americans. James Mooney in 1897 noted: "It is not commonly known that in all southern colonies Indian slaves were bought and sold and kept in servitude and worked in the fields side by side with negroes up to the time of the revolution... Furthermore, as the coast tribes dwindled they were compelled to associate and intermarry with the negroes until they finally lost their identity and were classified with that race, so that a considerable proportion of the blood of the southern negroes is unquestionably Indian." In his 1937 doctoral dissertation, James Hugo Johnston asserted, "The end of Indian slavery came with the final absorption of the blood of the Indian by the more numerous Negro slave. But the blood of the Indian did not become extinct in the slave states, for it continued to flow in the veins of the Negro."⁶⁹

As with the Amistad revolt, slaves sometimes managed to overpower the Europeans transporting them and run the ships aground, or rise up on the plantations, kill their oppressors and flee to the mountains or swamps. In either case, independent Maroon communities sprang up on the margins of the slave colonies in the Americas. Most often they merged with the surviving indigenous populations.

In hard-to-reach backwaters of the Americas, two peoples of color began to build their own "maroon" colonies. Some were outlaw bands, raiders who preyed on whites, slaves and Indians alike, and lived a short, brutish life. But other maroons depended on family farming and herding and built peaceful relations and trade with Indian villages, slaves, and former masters.

European officials judged maroons, in the words of a French historian, "the gangrene of colonial society." Their success as independent economic societies refuted white claims of African inferiority. Each day Maroons proved once slaves wrenched free they could govern themselves and prosper. Further, maroon encampments served as beacons for discontented slaves in a radius of a hundred miles, and stood as a clear and present danger to the European conquest. Some whites saw maroons as a knife pressed against the thin line of their rule, and they had a point.

In a clockwork of military and legal reflexes, European authorities sought to eradicate Black Indian contacts and pit Red against Black. In 1523 a Royal Order to Hernando Cortez banned Africans from Indian villages. "Division of the races is an indispensable [control] element" said a Spanish officer. "Between the races we cannot dig too deep a gulf," announced a French official.

⁶⁸ *all my Slaves, whether Negroes, Indians, Mustees, Or Molattoes: Towards a Thick Description of 'Slave Religion,'* The American Religious Experience, by Patrick Neal Mingos, 1999

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*



Well-trained European armies ordered to crush maroon colonies met their match in distant mountains and jungles. "[Maroon] self-respect grows because of the fear whites have of them," a white Brazilian wrote to King Joao of Portugal in 1719. Maroon songs resonated with victorious pride:

"Black man rejoice, White man won't come here.

And if he does, the Devil will take him off."

White commanders in resplendent uniforms met defeat and chose retirement in distant European capitals.



Foreign soldiers had little stomach for warfare in the wilderness against Black Indians, so Europeans hired or conscripted Indians. These were experts in frontier warfare, but their loyalty was questionable. In 1732 Spanish officials in Venezuela threw 150 conscripted Indians and Africans, and 100 white soldiers against Juan Andresote, a Black Indian, whom the Spanish Crown saw as a business rival. When Andresote's guerrilla fighters surrounded the invaders, their soldiers of color defected. Then, the musket fire of Andresote's men finished the work, killing or wounding more than half of the whites, as the rest scurried home.

Most maroon leaders were African-born, but after 1700 leadership increasingly fell to those born to Black Indian marriages, people familiar with European negotiations. Black women, in short supply, sometimes played crucial roles in village life. In Amazonia, Brazil, Filippa Maria Aranha, who ruled a thriving colony, so adroitly maneuvered her armed forces against the Portuguese, there was no defeating her and Portugal granted her people freedom, independence and sovereignty.

The largest American maroon settlement was the Republic of Palmares, a three-walled city of 11,000 in northeastern Brazil. For almost the entire 17th century Palmares' armies hurled back repeated Dutch and Portuguese military expeditions. Finally, in 1794 Palmares was overrun, and according to legend, its warriors, threw themselves over a cliff rather than surrender.⁷⁰

Throughout the eastern U.S., and particularly in the South, tri-racial communities formed that were a mixture of escaped slaves and indentured servants and surviving remnants of the Indian nations. These include the Ramapos, Red Bones, Melungeons, Moors, Turks, Haliwas, Brass Ankles, Guineas, Nottoways, Seminoles and others. The largest of these groups is the Lumbees whom legend has it include the descendants of the "Lost Colony" of Roanoke.

Over 50,000 strong, the Lumbee are the largest tribe east of the Mississippi River. Thanks to their numbers, North Carolina is home to the nation's largest Native American population east of the Mississippi. Lumbees are descendants of the many tribes that lived in North Carolina prior to the arrival of Columbus, including the Cheraw, Tuscarora, Saponi, and Hattaras Indians. The earliest victims of devastating diseases and warfare, the ancestors of the Lumbee survived by adopting some outsiders and by moving around to be with other tribes in the same situation. The only language these different tribes had in common was probably the English they had learned from missionaries and traders, which accounts for the disappearance of our Native languages today.

- The Lumbee



⁷⁰ "Africans and Indians: Only in America," By William Loren Katz



All of the surviving pre-colonial nations, particularly in the East, have absorbed a great deal of European and African mixture, and there are few who can claim to be "full bloods." The percentage of Blacks in America with Indian blood is extremely high. Not only did Indians and Africans mix as slaves, and escaped African slaves adopt into Indian nations, but among the five "civilized nations" of the South, a class of slave-owning Indians was created.

18th century British colonies in the Southern U.S. encouraged the Cherokees, Chickasaws, Choctaws, Creeks and Seminoles to own black slaves. Some of these nations, notably the Seminoles, also took in escaped slaves and refused to give them up when whites came demanding the return of fugitive slaves. In 1750, slavehunters were sent to retrieve a slave living in the Creek Nation. A Creek chief stood between them and the black man, cut their rope and threw it in the fire. The posse returned empty-handed.

- Black Indians (Afro-Native Americans)

The Seminole wars were largely fought over the issue of Florida, which belonged to Spain, being a haven for runaway Black slaves. A number of high ranking Seminoles married black wives - Chief Osceola was one of them. It was said that 52 of his 55 body guards were black. Seminole King Philip too had a black son John Philip, half brother to Chief Wild Cat. King Philip, Chief Osceola and Wild Cat were key figures in the 2nd Seminole war between the U.S. and the Seminole Nation.

Some Gullah slaves managed to escape from coastal South Carolina and Georgia south into the Florida peninsula. In the 18th century Florida was a vast tropical wilderness, covered with jungles and malaria-ridden swamps. The Spanish claimed Florida, but they used it only as a buffer between the British Colonies and their own settled territories farther south. They wanted to keep Florida as a dangerous wilderness frontier, so they offered a refuge to escaped slaves and renegade Indians from neighboring South Carolina and Georgia. The Gullahs were establishing their own free settlements in the Florida wilderness by at least the late 1700s. They built separate villages of thatched-roof houses surrounded by fields of corn and swamp rice, and they maintained friendly relations with the mixed population of refugee Indians. In time, the two groups came to view themselves as parts of the same loosely organized tribe, in which blacks held important positions of leadership. The Gullahs adopted Indian clothing, while the Indians acquired a taste for rice and appreciation for Gullah music and folklore. But the Gullahs were physically more suited to the tropical climate and possessed an indispensable knowledge of tropical agriculture; and, without their assistance, the Indians would not have been able to cope

effectively with the Florida environment. The two groups led an independent life in the wilderness of northern Florida, rearing several generations of children in freedom—and they recognized the American settlers and slave owners as their common enemy. The Americans called the Florida Indians "Seminoles," from the Spanish word cimarron, meaning "wild" or "untamed;" and they called the runaway Gullahs "Seminole Negroes" or "Indian Negroes." Modern historians have called these free Gullah frontiersmen the "Black Seminoles." The Seminole settlements in Spanish Florida increased as more and more runaway slaves and renegade Indians escaped south—and conflict with the Americans was, sooner or later, inevitable. There were skirmishes in 1812 and 1816. In 1818, General Andrew Jackson led an American army into Florida to claim it for the United States, and war finally erupted. The blacks and Indians fought side-by-side in a desperate struggle to stop the American advance, but they were defeated and driven south into the more remote wilderness of central and southern Florida. General Jackson (later President) referred to this First Seminole War as an "Indian and Negro War." In 1835, the Second Seminole War broke out, and this full-scale guerrilla war would last for six years and claim the lives of 1,500 American soldiers. The Black Seminoles waged the fiercest resistance, as they feared that capture or surrender meant death or return to slavery—and they were more adept at living and fighting in the jungles than their Indian comrades. The American commander, General Jesup, informed the War Department that, "This, you may be assured, is a negro and not an Indian war;" and a U.S. Congressman of the period commented that these black fighters were "contending against the whole military power of the United States." When the Army finally captured the Black Seminoles, officers refused to return them to slavery—fearing that these seasoned warriors, accustomed to their freedom, would wreak havoc on the Southern plantations. In 1842, the Army forcibly removed them, along with their Indian comrades, to Indian Territory (now Oklahoma) in the unsettled West.

- Black Seminoles—Gullahs Who Escaped From Slavery, Joseph A. Opalah

The history of European colonialism and slavery in the Americas provides many examples of Red-Black solidarity and cooperation in the fight for survival and against oppression, and in this struggle a mixed-racial people were created – the Black Indians – who share the identities and heritage of both the Indian nations and the New African Nation that was created under conditions of slavery and segregation.



As early as 1522, in the Spanish colony of Santo Domingo:

"On Christmas Day, African and Indian slaves on a plantation owned by Diego Columbus rose and murdered their masters and overseers. Nearby Native Americans joined the rebels. The beautiful island of Santo Domingo shook with the first recorded slave rebellion in the New World."⁷¹

Time and again, the heroism of the people fighting against all odds has been demonstrated. In every country of the Americas, there is a history of Red-Black solidarity and resistance to imperialism and colonialism. Some examples stand out boldly, such as the struggle of the people of Surinam:

"The history of the Saramaka people of Surinam in South America started around 1685 when African and native slaves escaped and together formed a maroon society. For eight generations Dutch armed forces tried to crush their community, but today it is still alive and boasts twenty thousand members. For the Saramakans liberty came in 1761 when Europeans abandoned their wars and sued for peace."⁷²

Another example is the struggle of the slaves in the Oklahoma Indian Territory. After suffering the bitter experience of the forced removal from the South on the "Trail of Tears," the black slaves of the Cherokee Nation rose in revolt in 1842:

By 1860, the Cherokees had 4,600 slaves; the Choctaws, 2,344; the Creeks, 1,532; the Chickasaws, 975; and the Seminoles, 500. Some Indian slave owners were as harsh and cruel as any white slave master. Indians were often hired to catch runaway slaves; in fact, slave-catching was a lucrative way of life for some Indians, especially the Chickasaws...

All of the tribes except the Seminoles had slave codes. Even after their removal to Indian Territory, the Seminoles allowed their slaves to carry weapons and own horses and other property. Until a treaty in 1845 provided for their relocation to the western area of the Creek Nation, the Seminoles lived in the Cherokee country around Fort Gibson, Indian Territory. Before that, Cherokee and Creek slaveholders complained about the influence of Seminole slaves on their own slave populations.

The blacks locked their masters and overseers in their houses and cabins while they slept. Then they burglarized a store, stealing guns, horses, mules, ammunition, food, and supplies. At daylight the group, which included men, women, and children, headed toward Mexico, where slavery was illegal.

The Cherokee slaves at the Arkansas River port of Webbers Falls, not far from Fort Gibson, would have had ample opportunity to observe the Seminole slaves. Most of the Cherokee slaves farmed cotton and other crops, but some worked at the landing where steamboats docked and where Joseph Vann operated a public ferry. The Seminoles disembarked at Webbers Falls after their journey from Florida, and the Cherokee slaves may have been impressed with the blacks dressed in Seminole fashion and carrying rifles and knives. The black Seminoles settled in the Illinois River bottoms near Webbers Falls, allowing the Cherokee slaves to socialize with them regularly.

About 4:00 a.m., November 15, 1842, more than twenty-five slaves, most from Vann's plantation at Webbers Falls, rendezvoused at a prearranged location near the port town. The blacks locked their masters and overseers in their houses and cabins while they slept. Then they burglarized the store of a man named Bigelow, stealing guns, horses, mules, ammunition, food, and supplies. At daylight the group, which included men, women, and children, headed toward Mexico, where slavery was illegal and many runaway slaves sought refuge. When the fugitive slaves entered the Creek Nation southwest of Webbers Falls, slaves from the plantations of wealthy Creeks named Bruner and Marshall joined them, increasing the number of runaway to more than thirty-five.

When the Cherokees discovered that their slaves had departed, about forty of them took guns and dogs and went in pursuit of the fugitives. Each slave reportedly had a horse or mule to ride, and they had taken some of Vann's blooded racehorses, so they were highly mobile. The Cherokees followed the slaves into the Creek Nation. There a group of Creek Indians organized a search party and joined the Cherokees.

Within a few days of the escape, the Indians caught up with the blacks about ten miles beyond the Canadian River in the Choctaw Nation. The slaves found a depression in the prairie which provided a complete entrenchment for them and their horses, and they decided it would make an excellent place to fight. A pitched battle followed, with both sides suffering casualties. The blacks held the position for two days, but the Indians killed two of them and captured twelve others.



⁷¹ a History of Red-Black Solidarity: Reflection on William Loren Katz's **BLACK INDIANS: A HIDDEN HERITAGE** (New York: Atheneum, 1986), by Theodore Walker, Jr.

⁷² Ibid.

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The fight convinced the Cherokees and Creeks to go home and get reinforcements before continuing the chase. The remaining fugitives kept moving toward the Red River.

During their flight, the fugitives met James Edwards, a white man, and Billy Wilson, a Delaware Indian, about fifteen miles from the battle site. Edwards and Wilson were fugitive slave hunters, whom blacks in the South called patrollers or "patty rollers." They had with them eight blacks—one man, two women, and five children—who had escaped in the Choctaw Nation. They had belonged to a white man named Thompson, who had married a Choctaw woman, making him a citizen of the Choctaw Nation. The fugitives had been headed west to join one of the Plains Indian tribes when a man named Chisholm spotted them and turned them over to Edwards, Wilson, and a Cherokee man for transport back to Choctaw authorities.

Edwards and Wilson made good progress until they met the fugitive Cherokee and Creek slaves, who killed them. The Choctaw blacks gladly joined the Cherokee band as they continued on their journey toward Mexico.

The slave outbreak was reported to the Cherokee National Council at the capital in Tahlequah on November 17, 1842. Immediately the council passed a resolution, which Chief John Ross approved, authorizing Cherokee Militia Captain John Drew to raise a company of one hundred men to pursue, arrest, and deliver the blacks to Fort Gibson. The resolution also relieved the Cherokee Nation of any liability if the slaves resisted arrest and were killed. The Cherokee national treasury would compensate Drew's militia, and Drew was authorized to purchase ammunition and supplies, provided that the expedition was not unnecessarily protracted and did not incur needless expenses.

Ross told Indian Agent Pierce M. Butler about the expedition and asked him to inform the commander at Fort Gibson and the Creek and Choctaw chiefs. The commander at Fort Gibson loaned Drew twenty-five pounds of gunpowder for the militia.

On November 21, Drew left Webbers Falls with eighty-seven well armed men in his command. By November 26 they had arrived at the site of the battle between the slaves and the Creeks and Cherokees.

Picking up the runaways' trail, Drew's command came upon the bodies of slave hunters Edwards and Wilson, who apparently had been dead about four days. The militia found the trail again and two days later found the fugitives about seven miles north of the Red River, some 280 miles from Fort Gibson.

The slaves offered no resistance; starving, they surrendered immediately. Drew captured thirty-one slaves—the entire group except two who were away hunting. Drew's men returned the slaves to the Cherokee Nation with no problem, arriving at Webbers Falls by December 7.

Drew reported to the Cherokee National Council on December 8. After an investigation, council members ordered five slaves to be held at Fort Gibson pending trial for the murders of Wilson and Edwards, then told Drew to deliver the remaining slaves to their owners. The Choctaw male slave was also turned over to Fort Gibson authorities. Drew kept the two Choctaw slave women and five children in custody until the Cherokees could ascertain their disposition from the Choctaw Nation. Joseph Vann took most of his black rebels out of the Cherokee Nation and put them to work on his steamboat, which worked the Arkansas, Mississippi, and Ohio rivers.

The Cherokees thought the influence of "foreign" free blacks had caused the slave insurrection. On December 2 they passed "An Act in Regard to Free Negroes" directing that all free blacks, except those whom Cherokees had freed, leave the Cherokee Nation by January 1, 1843, or as soon after as possible. Those who lingered or refused would be expelled. The act targeted the free black Seminoles living in the Cherokee Nation.

Cherokee attitudes against free black Seminoles continued. In 1849, tired of harassment from slave-catchers, some of the free

black Seminoles under black Chief John Horse fled Indian Territory. They joined Seminole Chief Wild Cat and his followers and successfully reached Mexico.

By 1851, nearly 300 blacks had tried to escape from Indian Territory, most headed for Mexico or Kansas. In the northern Cherokee Nation, in what would later become Washington County, Oklahoma, an "underground railroad" trail led into Kansas. None of the escapes, however, equaled the scope or violence of the Cherokee slave revolt of 1842.⁷³

But the resistance of the Cherokee slaves and their supporters was not broken. In the period leading up to the Civil War, the anti-slavery faction formed a secret society whose members identified one another by wearing crossed straight pins on their lapels.

The traditionalist "Pins" were mostly full-bloods, while their opposites, the pro-slavery "Knights," were mixed-blood whites. It was a class conflict. The large slave owners set up cotton plantations and intermarried within their class. They sent their children to be educated in the South.



When the Confederacy occupied the Indian Territory, many of the anti-slavery faction from the various nations fled north to Kansas taking fugitive Black slaves with them. They fought a running rearguard action against pursuing white and Indian Confederate cavalry. It was the dead of winter and bitter cold. Wagons and possessions had to be abandoned along the trail. When they ran out of ammunition, they fought with gun butts and rocks. Some of the Cherokee cavalry who were "Pins" switched sides and joined them.

Those who reached Kansas were wounded, half-frozen and without supplies. Many died before relief was organized. Still, many who survived volunteered to join the Kansas Indian Brigades and the Black Brigade to go back and liberate the Indian Territory. As they fought their

⁷³ **CHEROKEE SLAVE REVOLT OF 1842: American Indians as Slave Owners**, Art T. Burton, 1996

way south, their ranks swelled with Confederate Indian deserters and Blacks.

Cherokee elder John Cornsilk recounts what followed:

My saga begins with June of 1863 Near the end of the Civil war, The Cherokee knew the end of the war was near and what the results would be, so they set out to rectify a longtime wrong within the Cherokee Nation, the owning of another human being; Therefore the National Council of the Cherokee Nation pass an act emancipating their slaves, ... then in April 1865 the final surrender of the South, and the end of the War.

In 1866 because the Cherokee had sided with the south and was on the losing side of a war the Cherokee knew they must negotiate peace with the US Government, and this was to be by treaty, they knew there would be limits of tribal land rights, citizenship rights, etc.. Due to the Cherokee Nation's status as a Government the people were offered the right to negotiate the terms of the treaty, not forced to sign as the leaders of the Cherokee Nation Oklahoma would have the world believe. This being one of the more humane acts of the Federal Government of the time specially in regards to the Cherokee people, since they had won the war with the Cherokee as part of the enemies camp.

The many documents which were created during the negotiations leading to the signing of that historic document, the supreme law of the land today, the 1866 Treaty, shows the Cherokee leadership did not oppose the adoption of the Freedmen, as a matter of fact documents show they actually encouraged it.

The records show the leadership/negotiators of the Cherokee Nation were against many of the proposed provisions of the treaty. The provision which received more concern from tribal negotiators was the possibility of a railroad passing through the Nation. Of the nine proposals made by the United States prior to the signing of the treaty, four of them were acceptable to the Cherokee leaders/negotiators. Five were unacceptable. When all was said and done and the treaty was signed, the Cherokee leaders/negotiators were successful in defeating all five. Only the four proposals not opposed by the Cherokee made it into the treaty. Does that sound like duress/coercion or forced to sign? As you will see and hear as one of the many false claims by the leadership of the CNO, in their attempts to have the world believe the freedmen were forced on the People of the Cherokee Nation.

We know that there were Cherokees present at the negotiations who were opposed to the Freedmen being made citizens of the Nation. But these men were not leaders, they were traitors. They had sold the Cherokee Nation out to the Confederate States, devastated the Nation, destroying its infrastructure, murdering its citizens and burning homes and public buildings. Yet, they were permitted to attend and fully participate in the negotiations. Simply because the Cherokee Peoples way is forgiveness, healing and inclusion; even though these same men wanted to rip the Nation in half, divide the national funds and create a northern and southern Cherokee Nation. This was one of the most indefensible proposals considered by the Federal negotiators and soundly defeated by the loyal Cherokee leaders/negotiators...

Following the signing of the Treaty of 1866, the disloyal, racist members of the southern delegation began their slow, but steady ascent into powé in the Cherokee Nation, even though at least one of their rank, William Penn Adair, turned on his former allies and began working with the loyal Cherokee leaders to rebuild the Nation and restore order.

As I said the Cherokee Government were being treated with respect as the losers of a war. And the most noteworthy and in relevance with today's issues, of those four Government proposals, and unopposed by the Cherokee leaders/negotiators. Was the adoption of the freed slaves as Citizens of the Cherokee Nation. The Cherokee People were so caring of their freed slaves and their relations wit them, and to protect them, quite simply because many were actually blood members of Cherokee Families, they set out a Proclamation of amendments to their 1839 Constitution. And the Proclamation by the Principal Chief (adopted November 26, 1866).

Reads as follows:

Whereas, the national council adopted certain amendments to the constitution of the Cherokee Nation, and submitted the same to a general convention of the people of the Cherokee Nation, called At Tahlequah on the 26th day of November, A.D. 1866, and which said amendments, with the preamble thereto attached, were in the following words, to wit:

Whereas, by the treaty executed at Washington on the 19th day of July, A.D. 1866, between the United States and the Cherokee Nation, through its delegation, ratified by the Senate and officially promulgated by the President of the United States August 11, 1866, certain things were agreed to between the parties to said treaty, involving changes in the constitution of the Cherokee Nation, which changes cannot be accomplished by the usual mode; and

Whereas, it is the desire of the people and government of the Cherokee Nation to carry out in good faith all of its obligations, to the end that law and order be preserved, and the institutions of their government maintained: Therefore, Be it resolved by the national council, That the following amendments to the constitution of the Cherokee Nation be submitted to a convention of the Cherokee people to assemble at Tahlequah on the twenty-sixth (26th) day of November, A.D. 1866, under the proclamation of the principal chief; and should said amendments, hereunto annexed, be ratified by said convention, then they shall be officially published, and declared by the principal chief to be, and shall constitute, a part or parts of the constitution of the Cherokee Nation.

See amendment to: Article II. Section 5.

All native-born Cherokees, all Indians, and whites legally members of the nation by adoption, and all freedmen who have been liberated by voluntary act of their former owners or by law, as well as free colored persons who were in the country at the commencement of the rebellion, and are now residents therein, or who may return within six months from the 19th day of July, 1866, and their descendants who reside within the limits of the Cherokee Nation, shall be taken and deemed to be CITIZENS of the Cherokee Nation.

- Cherokee History 1863 to the birth of CNO 1975 to 1995, John Cornsilk, April 18, 2008

Later, under the provisions of the Dawes Act (1887), Cherokee, Creek, Choctaw, Chickasaw and Seminole tribal members whose applications were accepted were entitled to an allotment of land, usually as a small homestead, in return for abolishing their tribal governments and losing title to the bulk of their tribal lands. Those with "a drop of" African blood were placed on a separate roll designated as "Freedmen" and subject to racial discrimination. Between 1906 and 1920, Black Freedmen and American Indians in Oklahoma lost deeds to roughly 90 percent of lands titled to them just a few years earlier. Many were forced to become sharecroppers. More of the Cherokees – and nearly all the Freedmen, lost their lands in the Great Depression and were forced to leave Oklahoma in what is called the "Second Trail of Tears." The U.S. Census shows about half of Cherokees left the state between 1920 and 1930. Some were forced out by the KKK, many of whose members were white Cherokees.

This year, The Oklahoma Cherokees voted to exclude those whose ancestors are on the Freedmen Roll from citizenship. 77% of Cherokee voters approved an amendment to the tribe's constitution to limit citizenship to those who are Indian "by blood." There are about 2,700 Freedmen in the 270,000-member Cherokee Nation. Earlier, a similar move to disenfranchise the Seminole Freedmen was overturned.□



LEVIATHAN

NO. #3, VOLUME #3 FALL '06
"AFTER YOU READ, RISE!"

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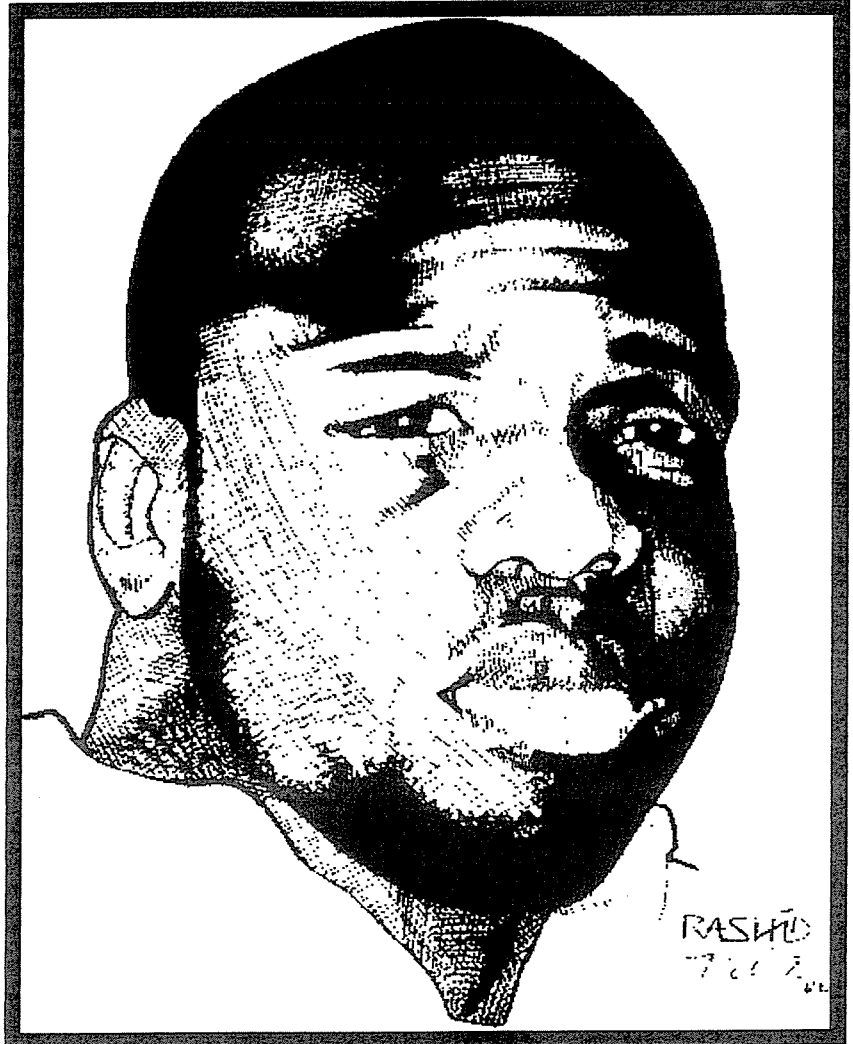
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Hasan Shakur 1977 - 2006
New Afrikan Black Panther Party Minister of Human Rights

NEWSLETTER OF THE BLACK BRIGADE
P.O. BOX 4362, ALLENTOWN, PA 18105



HAITIANS PROTEST FLAG DAY: U.S. MARINES PRESIDE OVER MASSACRE

By G. Dunke

Reprinted from the Leviathan, No. #3, (Reprinted from "Worker's World" newspaper)

May 18 is Flag Day in Haiti. The holiday marks Jean-Jacques Dessalines' creation of the Haitian flag 201 years ago during the final struggle against the French slave masters. This year it was the occasion for a major outpouring of protest against the Feb. 29 coup that ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and the ongoing U.S.-French occupation. In Port-au-Prince, thousands of people gathered in the poor neighborhood of Belair starting at 8 o'clock in the morning. By 9:45 they were marching from the Perpetual Church toward the Champ de Mars, a park in front of the Presidential Palace. They sang "Liberty or death" (Libète ou lamò), the slogan that Dessalines adopted along with the flag, and chanted "Return our elected president Jean-Bertrand."

Marchers also denounced rampant inflation, cuts in wages, and witch hunts against Aristide supporters by the former military and FRAPH death squad members.

Within a few blocks they met a line of Haitian National Police (PNH) backed up by U.S. Marines with heavy machine guns and armored personnel carriers. The cops fired tear gas and bullets into the air, and then at the protesters. At least one protester, Saintus "Titus" Simpson, was shot in the head and died.

The demonstrators retreated and broke into smaller groups, spreading out to the poorer sections of the capital. Soon contingents had gathered in Solino, Fort National and Lalue, as well as Belair, and headed again

toward the Champ de Mars. The protests continued into the evening, with more casualties.

Marguerite Laurent of the Haitian Lawyers Leadership, citing sources at the scene, said police killed at least four demonstrators. Radio Ginen, a local station in Port-au-Prince, said it had reports of at least nine demonstrators killed.

According to Laurent, "One woman seized the fourth body that fell next to her, refused to give it to the Marines. She removed all her clothes to show she had no weapons while Marines surrounded her at gunpoint as she cursed in Creole, calling on the revolutionary ancestors, and shouted 'Liberte ou lamo!' She picked up the dead body herself and put it on her bare back, daring the Marines to kill her also while she carried it away.

"Reportedly, the 'blan' [white soldiers] looked at each other, shook their heads and backed off, letting her carry the body, which she wrapped around her naked torso in a huge blue and red Haitian flag."

Haiti Progress newspaper reported some demonstrators started chanting "Sèl solisyon se yon revolisyon" ("The sole solution is a revolution") as the day wore on because it's impossible to celebrate Haiti's Flag Day or have an election under occupation.

U.S. Marines and the PNH claimed this was an illegal demonstration. But protest organizers from Aristide's Fanmi Lavalas party had a sealed and dated permit.

The role of the U.S. Marines was key. A march participant said, "It's unbelievable how the U.S. Marines stood in the background sometimes as the disbanded soldiers and FRAPH soldiers, now in the police, slaughtered the marchers. If they [the Marines] weren't there, the people would take down the hated soldiers and take back their country."

Laurent said that many marchers believed that the violent arrest of popular singer and Aristide supporter Sò Ann (Annette Auguste) in the early hours of May 10 was calculated to stop the May 18 march from taking place.

At 12:30 a.m., a Special Forces squad of approximately 20 U.S. Marines executed a military assault on the home of this 69-year-old grandmother, who just left the hospital. All 11 people in the house, including Sò Ann's 5-year-old grandchild, were hooded, handcuffed and forced to lie on the ground while Marines ransacked the house.

"Sèl solisyon se yon revolisyon!"

"Liberte ou lamo!"

— END —

Draft Joint Resolution on Prisoners' Rights by the Red Heart Warrior Society and the Black Brigade

If it is true that **Creator** has endowed us with certain inalienable rights, among which are the right to "**Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness**," then the State is wrong to take these rights away from us. **Capital Punishment** is wrong. Taking our **Voting Rights** is wrong, and restricting our pursuit of education, culture and religion, beyond the necessities of security, is also wrong.

We do not argue that that by transgressing upon the rights of others we have incurred a **Debt to Society**, but this debt cannot be paid by mere incarceration nor by punishment. It can only be paid by **Service to the People** after reeducation.

We accept that **The People** have the right to make laws to ensure their security and promote the general welfare of **Society** and to restrict the **Liberty** of those who violate these laws to effect their reeducation and rehabilitation. However, this right is not unlimited. These laws must meet a **Constitutional Standard** and must be enforced fairly and impartially without regard to race, sex, creed or class. Cruel and unusual treatment must not be imposed, nor may people be robbed of their **Human Dignity**.

The **Democratic Revolution** begun in America in 1776 is still unfinished. The evils of **Feudalism** and **Slavery** have yet to be fully uprooted and abolished. **Racism, Sexism, Class Privilege** and **Class Oppression** continue to plague society and are the root causes of social dysfunction and crime. Poverty and social inequality are the result of **Class Exploitation** and the domination of society by an oligarchy of the rich and powerful.

Their dictatorship is concealed behind a facade of "**Democracy**" that is not "**Government of The People, by the People and for the People**." It is therefore incumbent upon **The People** to wage relentless struggle to continue the **Democratic Revolution** to achieve **Social Justice** and **Liberty** for all.

To pay our **Debt to Society**, we must transform ourselves to become **Servants of the People** in the waging of this struggle. Therefore, we must transform the **Iron Houses of Oppression** into **Schools of Liberation** to prepare ourselves for this struggle.

This struggle must be waged on both sides of the razor wire. It must be waged in the **Courts of Law** and the **Court of Public Opinion**.

Key to this struggle is the establishment of **Universal Suffrage**, including for prisoners and those who have done their time in states that deny voting rights to those who have been convicted of a felony. We must raise the battle cry of "**NO INCARCERATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!**"

We must amend the **14th Amendment** to end involuntary servitude for all and put **Slavery** behind us. No one should be forced to labor against their will nor be paid less than the **Minimum Wage**. No one should be denied the protection of occupational health and safety laws.

Prisoners should be accorded the right to form and to join **Labor Unions**, and they should not be used in union busting schemes. The unions should be involved in **Vocational Training** and in setting up **Parole Plans** and finding employment for ex-prisoners upon their release back into society.

Human Rights Watch Organizations should have full access to the prisons and be allowed to closely monitor conditions to help identify and end abuses. Deprivation of **Food, Medicine, Blankets, Clean Clothes** or **Personal Hygiene** as punishment must be abolished. **Beatings** and **Torture**, or forcing prisoners to fight one another, must not be tolerated. Administrators and guards who commit crimes upon prisoners must be **Arrested** and upon conviction be themselves placed in correctional facilities for reeducation and rehabilitation.

Members of racist, terrorist organizations, such as the **KKK**, should be discharged, and screening of guards should be instituted to weed out those **Psychologically Unfit** for their vocation. **Nepotism** must be abolished.

Increases in salary and benefits to attract a higher caliber of correctional officer should be accompanied by **Higher Educational Requirements** and **More Extensive Training**. Greater emphasis should be placed upon minority hiring to achieve **Ethnic Diversity** at all levels of the correctional system.

Correctional systems with the lowest **Recidivism Rates** should be studied and their methods emulated. Good conduct, by both guards and prisoners, should be rewarded and **Positive Reinforcement** rather than punishment should be stressed. **Respect** and **Civility** should be cultivated. Correctional officers and inmates should address one another as "**Sir**" or "**Mam**." **Ethnic Insults** and baiting must be strictly prohibited.

Every effort should be made to accommodate the maintenance of **Family Units**. Prisoners should be housed as closely as possible to their families. **Frequent Conjugal Visits** should be allowed as well as **Telephone Contact** at **Reasonable Rates**. Besides regular visits in a visitation room, **Private Sessions with Marriage and Family Councilors** should be available to inmates and their families.

Freedom of Religion is an essential human and democratic right. Every effort should be made to accommodate the prisoners' right to receive **Spiritual Guidance and Instruction** from authorized representatives of their particular faith group and to participate fully in the rituals and celebrations of their tradition.

Traditional Native American Spiritual Practitioners should have regular access to a **Sweat Lodge** and an **Inter-tribal Circle** and program guided by an approved representative of the **First Nations**. They should be allowed to possess **Medicine Bundles** in which to keep their **Sacred Items** and to wear long hair, headbands and medicine bags.

Faith Based Initiatives and **Culturally Specific Programs** aimed at rehabilitation should be encouraged and subsidized to provide a variety of approaches to help those with **Drug and Alcohol Related Problems, Anger Management Issues** and to promote **Non-Violent Conflict Resolution**. Prisoners should be permitted to attend different services and programs to seek out what will work for them.

Political Education by the full spectrum of parties and organizations should be permitted, and candidates for political office should be permitted to campaign inside the prisons. **Political Literature** and periodicals of all tendencies should be allowed in.

The goal must be to promote **Good Citizenship** and **Spiritual, Psychological, and Emotional Health and Balance**. Being a "**School of Liberation**" means freeing people from the negative effects of oppression so that they can reenter society and be positive assets to their communities.

The RHWS and the Black Brigade welcome comments, criticisms and suggestions on this Draft Resolution from our members and friends. □



A MESSAGE FROM THE NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY PRISON
CHAPTER (NBPP)

12/25/2004

TO: The Red Heart Warrior Society and the Black Brigade:

The revolutionary movement in general and the New Black Panther Party (prison chapter) in particular, support the "Draft Joint Resolution on Prisoners' Rights."

We are also cognizant of the unquestionable fact that neither the Democratic or Republican party (representatives of the ruling class) is capable of appeasing our demand for total destruction of capitalist exploitation and racial oppression of Black People. Even those institutions and foundations that project a liberal image to the public are appendages of the oppressive Amerikan system in that they specifically indoctrinate the people with educational ideology that prop up the image of the Bourgeoisie.

We also recognize the tactical advantage for the revolution to divide and split this Euro-Bourgeoisie by forcing its most conscientious sector to commit class suicide.

We also see the importance of exposing prisoners to the idea that politically they have a voice; this voice may not be heard in the corridors of the big political party's, but they could be heard amongst the masses of the oppressed.

Finally, if we can raise one Black Brother or sister from the mental death of Euro-centralism, than our contribution to this endeavor has been worthwhile.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

PANTHER LOVE!

Shaka Sankofa Zulu,

Representative, NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY (prison chapter)□



SOUL-O-COST

Reprinted from the Leviathan, No. #4

Yes, it was a diabolical plot from the start
Illustrating the manifest rot of the heart(s)

Severely bent with ill intent.

Soon, "the news" got old,

Never was it whole

Merely a part,

As in a role,

The lines repeatedly told

To thoroughly deceive

Those who would believe

And never question the goal.

No breach or security leak

When dead men do not speak

Of buildings crumbling to the ground

Their bodies not being found

With no survivors of the crash
And subsequently the rash
Of laws enacted during disorder (Dis' Order)
Supposedly to protect the border
From the threat we must defend against
It is said time and again,
Although the problem breeds within,
And its intent is to remain.
There must be a message, or perhaps a "Mess Age,"
When "casualties" are used to describe the victims
of war
However unreasonable the reason to engage
The truth will not be on par
If one fails to question contradiction,
And post no alibi,
It amounts to non-responsive dereliction
Of duty, and further fuels the lie.
Now here in this day and time,
When and where "we" are supposedly free,
But to what degree,
And to do what in this supposed democracy,
Which should be beneficial to the masses,
And that would be quite a feat,
Since it has since its inception been run by the elite,
Who by definition have been separated from the
common folk,
Therefore, seriously, "democracy" is just
The plutocrats' cruel joke.
No laughing matter,
Actually cause for serious concern,
Pause and learn
More about the latter and discern
Their means and ways
The plans for dominance and control since their glory
days,
With a red, white and blueprint for success,
The twisted know exactly what to do
If it is their desire to bring failure onto you,
Or subjugation, exploitation, and oppression
To name a few.
Leaving you in a checked state
That can be easily crafted
Deceived, dominated, subjected and drafted
Into service detrimental to the serviceman,
Used time and time again
With no true knowledge of "their" plan.
See if the hand of power is quicker than the Third
Eye.
The masses fail to see and fall prey to the lie.
Diversion rules, and no vision in the last
Blind, without insight, destined to repeat the past.
If Justice is truly blind,
A much needed sense is missing.

- Tariq '04

LEVIATHAN

SPECIAL ISSUE NO. #2, SUMMER '05, ON THE MOVE



INTERVIEW WITH MIKE AFRICA

NEWSLETTER OF THE BLACK BRIGADE



Inmate Number: #AM-4973

Interview with Mike Africa of MOVE

Reprinted from Leviathan Special MOVE Issue, 2005

The Story needs to be told. However, the media, with its bias and focus on sensationalism, will not tell it as is but in a manner designed to improve market ratings and not to inform the masses. This is why it is up to the people to create forums wherein the affairs of the people, the news and current events which affect their lives, are presented for no other reason than to advance the truth and to inform the people in order that they might be armed with the facts necessary to defend their interests.

LEVIATHAN is one such forum owned and operated by the people in the interests of the people themselves. We have no motives other than the elevation and liberation of Black and oppressed people; the building of a self-sustained community.

No greater atrocity reveals the oppression of our people and the war in which we are engaged than the MOVE house bombing in 1985, in which numerous people were slaughtered openly by public officials.

The facts, as they occurred on that day, will be told by none other than those who experienced it first-hand. As a member of MOVE, Mike Africa is a soldier who suffered from this government's oppression personally and saw the development of this conflict from its beginning. In an effort to separate the facts from fiction, our Editor, Nathaniel Lee, interviewed Mike Africa where he is currently confined at Concentration Camp Graterford in Pennsylvania. The following are the results of that interview.

LEE: Since the 1985 bombing of the MOVE house, in which a whole city block was burned to the ground and 11 people were killed, what significant events have occurred?

MIKE: They had two commissions, a grand jury panel and a so-called MOVE panel which was supposed to be finding out what occurred. The so called MOVE panel was commissioned by Wilson Goode himself, to investigate Wilson Goode. He hand picked the panel to investigate him and the other officials.

LEE: What were the results of the panels?

MIKE: Well, just like the TRC in South Africa where they found out the details, they could lay blame to specific murderers and had many eyewitnesses to the atrocity, like in South Africa no one was ever held accountable. These were the two held by the city, even though it was illegal for the city to have explosives and for the Feds to supply them with it, no Federal probe is forth coming.

Ramona was still in jail as the only adult to survive the holocaust. She was given 17 months to 7 years and she maxed out, refusing

the stipulation that she not associate with other MOVE members as a requirement for release. She filed a suit from jail and that was the only suit that brought all those motherf---ers to trial. Ramona from her cell filed a pro se suit which put them on trial before a jury. As a result of this the jury found the city liable and found Richmond and Sambor, the fire commissioner and police commissioner, liable. [Editor's note: These verdicts were later overturned.]

LEE: I understand that legal efforts to gain your freedom from your present incarceration are still ongoing. What can you tell our readers about these efforts?

MIKE: Well, we are in the third circuit court of appeals and they are continuing to stonewall any efforts for our release. They, refuse to consider any pertinent evidence, actually they're just doing what the lower courts did, refusing to review any evidence as it relates to our innocence. Despite police officials destroying physical evidence, all the evidence. I mean the house, the tree where they say the first bullet was fired into, all of the bullets including the one they dug out of the cop, um, and now since we've been convicted, all photos and videos which they say replace the physical evidence, have now been destroyed.

See, they had a [words unclear] they stopped the murder trial, preliminary hearing, and had a separate hearing called "The house hearing" and the point was [to see] if could we have a fair hearing without the house, without the evidence.

Merna Marshall, the Judge of the house hearing, died before she could make a decision but another Judge concluded that the house wasn't necessary since they had photos and videos.

LEE: Why were the photos and videos destroyed?

MIKE: Well, we had our own set but it was destroyed with everything else on Osage

Avenue and the police claimed that all of their copies simply disappeared. Now, this is the longest trial in Philadelphia history; THE longest trial in Philadelphia history, aside from our sentence and guilty verdict, and they claim they have no records of it. All physical evidence have been destroyed or simply disappeared. Even their videos show wrongdoing by the police. So that disappeared too.

LEE: Are you receiving any support from the public in your efforts to obtain justice, and if so, how is this support manifested?

MIKE: Well, we, well y'know, our folks go all over the world speaking on our behalf -- I mean, not just our behalf but on behalf of life, all oppressed. People come to our demonstrations from all over, and, um, y'know, we're pledged support from people all over. They have letter writing campaigns, they have symposiums and physical demonstrations exposing our plight.

LEE: What type of assistance could you use to aid such efforts at this time?

MIKE: Number one is that officials get permission to do what they do from the people who pay their salaries through taxes, and these people give them their permission by their silence. And unless they raise their voices, the system will continue to do what they do; as in the case of Geronimo Pratt, Nelson Mandela, etc., people who they KNEW were innocent without a doubt yet the people continued to hold them for 27 years. If it wasn't for the people they would still be in jail -- both of them -- despite their innocence!

LEE: How should the people speak up?

MIKE: Well, through anyway they can. MOVE speaks out; long before we were ever in prison, we were demonstrating against prison and we felt compelled to do that because we knew the racism that went into taking people from our communities and keeping them in prison. This is the same system that put Martin Luther King in jail for demanding equality; for wanting to be treated like a man. This is not a just system. But we want people to understand that this isn't just a case of the system against MOVE but the system against the people.

Since we've been in jail, the prison system [in Pennsylvania] didn't go from 7 jails in 1981 to 27 jails in 2005 of simply MOVE people. It's ALL people, mostly minorities. So this is not just an issue for MOVE, this is an issue for the people. And, for the people to continually allow their youth to be criminalized by a known, historically racist terrorist organization called the United

States government, and their children to be snatched up at the whim of these terrorists while saying nothing, while doing nothing, is exactly the reason why they continue to snatch our youth up in record numbers. So MOVE felt compelled to speak up about this and so should they.

LEE: Can you foresee any future relief from the Courts?

MIKE: No, because the courts don't give relief --the people give relief. The courts role is to enslave, any decision, any right decision that the courts have EVER made have been because the people pressured them to; forced them to.

LEE: Are you currently represented by an attorney to appeal your conviction and those of the MOVE family?

MIKE: No. We are representing ourselves

at this point. We have had lawyers in the past but, y'know, no lawyer is going to represent you as diligently as you represent yourself. And every lawyer we have ever encountered has been agents of repression themselves. They have been cohorts. So we defend ourselves.

LEE: The Osage avenue atrocity occurred when Wilson Goode was Mayor of Philadelphia. He has since become a Christian minister but, to my knowledge, never publicly used his pulpit to apologize to the MOVE family or the community which he destroyed, nor made any gestures indicative of atonement. What is your opinion of this?

MIKE: Ain't that typical of politicians in America? Right now George Bush had his own intelligence agency tell him that his premise for going to war with Iraq was bullshit. Did that stop him from going to war? When Bill Clinton was in office there was a rumor that he wanted to apologize for slavery and he wasn't allowed to by the power structure of this country. They said, "f--k you. It happened; we're moving on!" No. He [Wilson Goode] has never apologized. What he did say on the stand in Ramona's civil suit against the city, [was] that he always believed that the MOVE 9 was innocent. And despite his belief that we were innocent, and knowing that this was the core of the issue surrounding the confrontation on Osage

Avenue, that our case be honestly investigated, he went ahead with those actions anyway.

Understand what I'm saying? This bastard believed that the MOVE 9 was innocent and he knew that this was the only issue for which our family on Osage Avenue was staging this confrontation, he as Mayor of Philadelphia could have said, "I too believe that they are innocent and I'll look into it," which was all MOVE wanted.

Instead he let our children go back in the house, he let the cops come out there with silencers, 50 caliber machine guns, a TANK! Let them explode THREE bombs, because it wasn't one bomb, let them explode three bombs on our house and annihilated everyone inside except Ramona and Birdie.

He later, after that civil suit, he was still Mayor, tried to get Chief Justice Nix to hire lawyers and other legal minds outside the city to investigate the case of the MOVE 9 because, again, he always felt we were innocent and couldn't get a fair trial inside of the city, so he tried to get Nix to get people outside the city to investigate our case and the city's handling of our trial.

So, then, when Justice Nix refused, Goode said he did all he could do. No, remember, this is a man who thought we were innocent before May 13, 1985 and still allowed them to do that and afterwards still tried to have our case investigated.

The only way he can atone is by completely exposing himself and all those criminals he fronted for, who participated in the massacre of MOVE as well as the many other people the system has enslaved and murdered.

LEE: Given the change in time, do you believe that the message of MOVE is still relevant to today's society, and if so, why?

MIKE: Well, the truth doesn't change, and it's even more relevant today because conditions are even worse today. For people to be less demonstrative about their feelings toward oppression in this country is criminal. More Black youth is in jail on parole or in the process of being murdered than at any other time short of Jim Crow or slavery. Yet the people are strangely more silent in the face of this shit than any other time in history. Instead of their being a few groups like MOVE, there should be a multitude of community activists protesting this horror.

LEE: I don't hear the MOVE family mentioned as much as I hear names like Mumia Abu Jamal and other "political prisoners." Why do you think this discrepancy exists, and what can be done about it?

MIKE: Well, all MOVE can do is what we've been doing, and that should be enough for people to gravitate towards our cause and support because the goal of MOVE is the liberation for all life; not just for MOVE. This is not a popularity contest, and that people gravitate toward some figures more than others is a moral issue the individual have to deal with. To MOVE, however, when you allow oppression and terrorism to exist, whether it be directed at a Black woman from your community who is being abused or oppressed, or a baby seal in the arctic, that injustice have to be confronted. So, that's what MOVE is doing, and that's what everyone should be concerned with rather than popularity.

LEE: I understand that one of our Sisters of the MOVE family died while incarcerated. Who was she and what was the circumstances surrounding her death?

MIKE: Her name is Merle Auston Africa. She was one of our finest, most dedicated sisters. She was a committed revolutionary, she spent the last 20 years of her life in prison for something the system knows she couldn't possibly have been guilty of. What Merle died from is being a hostage, was the disease of oppression forced on her by a ruthless system that has not been held accountable.

The system has a law that says if someone gets hurt during the commission of a crime, regardless of the circumstances, the perpetrator is guilty of that crime. The perpetrator in this case is the judicial system that held her hostage for the last 20 years of her life.

LEE: Your writings frequently appear in LEVIATHAN, the official newsletter of the BLACK BRIGADE, what are your thoughts about the publication and the group from which it proceeds?

MIKE: I think the publication is doing very, very important work, and I really appreciate those involved. Especially you, since you work most closely with us, and we see your efforts.

LEE: For those who might desire to support your efforts for liberation, what would you suggest that they do to assist?

MIKE: They can contact MOVE on the streets to see what things could be done and participate as much as they can.

LEE: How could MOVE be contacted for those interested in receiving more information?

Write the MOVE Organization/International:

Friends of MOVE
P.O. Box 19709
Philadelphia, PA 19143

Or on the web at:

movellia@aol.com/uprising1978@aol.com

Merle Africa speaks about her life

By Merle Africa, 22 March 1998

Reprinted from Leviathan Special MOVE Issue, 2005

Not an acronym, the name MOVE simply expresses its members' belief that life is movement; that all things exist 'on the move'. -- Mumia Abu-Jamal

My name is Merle Africa, disciple of JOHN AFRICA and Minister of Administrative Coordination. I am a 45 year old woman of color living in the US. I've been a member of the MOVE Organization since 1973 and these 22 years have been the most satisfying and happiest I have ever experienced despite the 18 years unjustly spent in prison and vicious brutal murder of my family experienced at the hands of the system, May 13, 1985.

Before joining MOVE, I had relatively the same type of existence as everybody else in the system; I went to schools in Phila., graduated, got a secretarial job at Temple University, but I had plenty of problems with no hope of finding solutions for them. My only so-called relief, outlet to these problems was intoxication. I was an alcoholic from the age of 8 and habitual drug addict since the age of 15.

My father was a heavy drinker and along with other relatives, as a young child they would let me drink from their glasses, taking a sip until I had acquired a taste for liquor and as the years passed, I drank at home and at friends' homes until I turned into a drunken alcoholic.

Children are supposed to be happy, problem-free, but I was far from happy. I was fat and mentally unstable. I have a younger sister (who isn't in MOVE) who I fought constantly, along with my parents because I thought they preferred her to me, I thought they didn't love me. I didn't trust them and felt I couldn't get any relief by talking to them.

By the time I entered my teens, I was suffering from severe bouts of depression, hallucination and paranoia. I was suicidal, went on eating binges and was bulimic. I also suffered from violent outbursts of temper where I'd try to hurt my mom and sister and tried to hurt myself by banging my head on the floor until it bled.

I realize now the problems I had were because I was so unhappy, dissatisfied, frustrated and mentally demolished. I needed love, understanding, and attention which I wasn't getting at home, only vicious abusive beatings from my father to make me tow the line. I didn't get any relief from talking to psychiatrists and the group therapy sessions my mother took me to. In the meantime, I was still drinking and by 15 I started smoking pot, taking pills (diet and sedatives), snorting speed, cocaine and heroin. I took any drug I could get my hands on, from angel dust to acid because I wanted desperately to escape the pain I was experiencing. I was suicidal because I felt I had no reason to live and when I asked my psychiatrists to explain my purpose in life, they had no answer, just told my mom I was too violent, too disturbed to live at home, I was dangerous. They didn't have any solution for me so they kept after her to institutionalize me, which she refused to do.

The turning point in my life came when I met MOVE people and started hearing the powerful teaching of JOHN AFRICA.

I felt drawn to the true love, sensitivity and family unity I saw in the

MOVE people I met and eventually, from talking to MOVE I started going to study sessions to hear the teaching of JOHN AFRICA, MOVE LAW. The information I heard is the most powerful analytical, truthful writing I have ever heard about this system. I was real impressed with the way JOHN AFRICA took the time, had the patience to talk to a mother about her cranky unruly child or listen to JOHN AFRICA speak at meetings giving a couple a solution to a marital problem they were having. Whenever any of us was unhappy or troubled the coordinator always had the patience, the time to talk to us, give us real solutions to our problems, something no doctor, psychiatrist, minister or parent has ever done for anybody before. I kept going to more and more study sessions and other MOVE activities cause I felt drawn to MOVE Law because it is the truth and unlike other organizations I've heard of and read about, I realize JOHN AFRICA's teaching ain't just a lot of meaningless rhetoric as the news media claimed, but there's uncompromising power in MOVE Law and its shown in the family unity, love and sensitivity I've experienced and displayed since being in MOVE. I have personally witnessed miracles within myself and other MOVE people. In the 1960's I had 2 back room abortions performed on me.

After the 2nd abortion I almost died from loss of blood. After that I was in constant pain and hospitalized for cysts and boils on my tubes and vaginal area. The doctors I went to couldn't find a cause for the medical problems I was having. When I got in MOVE, the trouble continued until JOHN AFRICA told me what was wrong. He didn't physically examine me or run no tests. He told me I had a tumor in my stomach and it was because of the abortions I had had and I hadn't told him about the abortions. The Coordinator told me what to do, how to eat and said in time I would get better. I was in pain, bed-ridden for months at a time and bleeding, at no time did the coordinator force me to do nothing I didn't want to do, he didn't force me to stay in bed; in fact it was the coordinator who told me if I wanted to go to the hospital he would get one of the men to take me and I told him I didn't want to go, that I trusted him and knew he was the only one who could help me. I put my faith in my belief, in JOHN AFRICA to make me better and he did cause the tumor came out on its own without me ever going back to the hospital for an operation and I've never had any more menstrual or stomach problems, no more cysts or boils. Long Live JOHN AFRICA Forever!

If it hadn't been for the healing power of JOHN AFRICA I would be dead. If I hadn't been in MOVE, by the time the doctors finished probing and experimenting on me with medicine and gadgets the cancer would have spread to the point where the only thing left for me was to say goodbye to my family, cause I didn't have a chance, but JOHN AFRICA gave me my life back, gave me the opportunity to live for which I am so grateful and why I am so committed to my belief because it works, I've seen, felt MOVE Law work for me!

Long Live JOHN AFRICA Forever! Because of his example I know I can always depend on my belief to give me everything I need to keep me healthy, strong and free of mental illness. That's something nobody can say about anything in this system. I've found in MOVE Law my reason for living, satisfaction, happiness and that's what the whole world is searching for and its available for anybody who wants it. After years of being in the system and abused by men who I thought loved me and were faithful to me, but ultimately left me alone and disillusioned, thanks to JOHN AFRICA and our application of MOVE Law, I finally have a loyal faithful

husband and we have a good strong marriage and that's something every woman longs for in the system.

When I look back and see how I was before MOVE and how I am now, I can't help but give my loyalty, my commitment to JOHN AFRICA, because without him, I would be dead. I feel privileged to be allowed to be a member of MOVE, to help spread the teaching of JOHN AFRICA to the people of the world; to give them the motivation, the will to stop endorsing this system and start fighting it and take back all that it's taken from us! ☐

SHOCK & OUTRAGE

BY MICHAEL AFRICA

Reprinted from Leviathan Special MOVE Issue, 2005

Early in 2004 the news of the torture of Iraqi prisoners by U.S. and British soldiers were plastered all over the news. Members of the press and U.S. government officials all expressed shock and outrage. Having seen some of the more graphic footage of the torture and murder committed by U.S. soldiers on Iraqi prisoners, which includes civilian women and children, it is indeed extremely repulsive and unconscionable.

The only shocking aspect of this tragedy however is the publics continued acceptance of the feigned outrage coming from the head terrorists — the U.S. government: Those who order the bombing and annihilation of tens of thousands, those who continue to order assassinations, those who provide daily footage of innocent children blown to bits by U.S. bombs. **ALL PREDICATED BY WHAT HAS BEEN EXPOSED AS A PACK OF BLATANTLY CALCULATED LIES:** And continued still because of the ghouls running these reform world governments.

Bush and Blair are attempting to rape Iraq of its entire culture, its history and, of course, its resources, and replace it with the racist sham called democracy. Yet, they have the gall to act repulsed by a single U.S. soldier holding a leash, when they know goddamn well it is their intention to put the ENTIRE MIDDLE EAST on a leash.

They have the arrogance to feign shock at the rape of Iraqi men, women and children, when they know it is the expressed intentions to rape all of Iraq, just as they have done to every culture and peoples they've been able to infect through intimidation, terrorism, murder, slavery.

They put a few scapegoat soldiers on trial for abuse, while continuing to bomb and assassinate Iraqi people even after admitting the "intelligence" which linked Iraq to terrorism and weapons of mass destruction were all lies.

U.S. officials wasted no time in branding the few scapegoat guards who were charged with abusing Iraqi prisoners as "inexperienced." However, it was precisely because of their documented experience of brutality, oppression, and torture of American prisoners and citizens that they were picked to go in the first place.

On May 13, 1985, federal and Philadelphia city officials directed their flunky cops and firemen to assault THE MOVE ORGANIZATION'S HEADQUARTERS because of MOVE's uncompromising confrontations, and they refused to ever back down from their terrorist tactics aimed at stopping MOVE and JOHN AFRICA from exposing their foul asses.

Hundreds of murderous cops and firemen attacked MOVE under the guise of disorderly conduct charges. They launched three bombs onto MOVE's home, shot 10,000 rounds of ammo into the house, starting a massive fire which consumed MOVE's home as well as the connecting 60 other homes, and shot anyone attempting to escape the inferno...INCLUDING FIVE BABIES!!!

FIVE MOVE CHILDREN AND SIX ADULTS WERE ANNIHILATED.

Even as the building still smoldered, prison guards at Pennsylvania's female state pen began to TAUNT the MOVE WOMEN who were *all* in the restricted housing unit (the hole). THE MOVE WOMEN who were in the hole are the MOTHERS of the babies MURDERED at MOVE'S HOME. The guards taunted them, made vicious jokes, came past their cells at all hours for weeks celebrating. While THE MOVE WOMEN, though remaining strong and determined, nevertheless grieved for their MURDERED FAMILY.

This is also why MOVE WOMEN were in the hole in the first place, for speaking out against the brutal treatment of the guards toward MOVE and other prisoners. MOVE MEMBERS have been kept in the holes of whatever prison they're at for decades for speaking out against the racist oppression in jail, just as MOVE spoke out against the racist oppression on the street by those street guards called cops, and these are the same prison guards and street guards who were the FIRST to be sent to oversee the rape, torture, and murder of the Iraqi prisoners and civilians, because of their documented experience in torture of people in the U.S.: Mainly minorities.

The role of the modern day buffalo soldier, the 21st century house niga, deserves special dishonorable mention as well. The zest, the zeal, with which these neo-slave catchers perform their appointed duties are truly despicable. These house nig-as have absolutely no attachment to their culture, nor for those who fought to make it possible for their traitorous asses able to even to apply for such jobs: Absolutely no loyalty to nothin' but those so-call benefits. Professional community snitches, who sell out their culture, imprison their neighbors, relatives and friends for 12 bucks an hour. And are every bit as brutal and oppressive in an effort to impress a system perfectly willing to use them, but still despises them all.

To quote MOVE FOUNDER JOHN AFRICA: "IT IS IMPOSSIBLE FOR BLACK FOLKS TO SOLVE POLICE BRUTALITY WHILE BLACK CAPTAINS ARE HIRED TO SUPERVISE THE BEATINGS, IMPOSSIBLE FOR BLACK FOLKS TO SOLVE COURT INJUSTICE WHILE BLACK JUDGES ARE HIRED TO PUT YOU AWAY. AIN'T NO NEED IN COMPLAINING ABOUT THE INHUMAN TREATMENT OF BLACK PRISONERS WHILE BOASTING OF THE APPOINTED NIG-ERS THAT ARE SUPERVISING THESE JAILS.

AIN'T NOTHING RESPONSIBLE, RESPECTABLE, UPLIFTING ABOUT A BLACK MAN ENSLAVED WITH THE IMPRISONMENT OF CONFUSION THAT SHACKLED HIS ANCESTRY, WHILE IMPRISONING BLACK PEOPLE WITH THE SAME SHACKLING INJUSTICE, DISCRIMINATING AGAINST THEIR FREEDOM, AND SUPERVISING THEIR ENSLAVEMENT." END QUOTE. LONG LIVE JOHN AFRICA!

THE PEOPLE must demand an end to this torture. The system only-J get away with these atrocities because the public allow them to. It is THE PEOPLE who pay their salaries and who give their approval of their vile tactics by their SILENCE, and it is past time that THE PEOPLE stop giving these demons their power.

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS!
LONG LIVE MOVE!
LONG LIVE REVOLUTION!
LONG LIVE JOHN AFRICA!
DOWN WITH THIS ROTTEN ASS SYSTEM!
ON THE MOVE!



RAMONA AFRICA A SOLDIER'S SALUTE

This issue's Soldier's Salute goes to a strong, proud, beautiful sister who, despite personal loss and sacrifices, stood firm against the beast few men of our time are brave enough to look in the eye. Unbowed, unafraid and undeterred, this soldier has survived an attempt to assassinate her and her entire family in cold blood. She survived America's concentration camps where they sought to break her resolve by offering to free her only if she would renounce her family, her comrades and her beliefs. She refused.

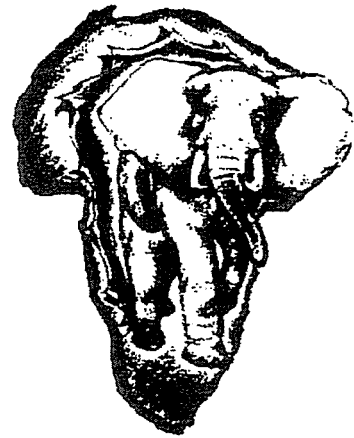
This is a rare dedication to the movement which must be applauded, and this is the type of African warrior we should strive to emulate. This Soldier's Salute of the Black Brigade goes to none other than RAMONA AFRICA!

Ramona is the only adult survivor of the May 13, 1985 bombing of the MOVE house in Philadelphia. While the murderers all went free. Ramona served 7 years in prison, refusing the stipulation for early release that she have no further association with MOVE or its members.

From the concentration camp, she sued the city of Philadelphia, eventually winning a judgment against them and went on to become an international speaker championing the cause for the release of her yet confined MOVE family and for the cause of oppressed people all over the globe.



Ramona, comrade, friend, warrior princess and ally: We here at LEVIATHAN salute YOU!□



Join the Black Brigade

The Black Brigade is growing rapidly. Each week new applications for membership are received and new requests for our newsletter LEVIATHAN are made.

All members have obligations, and we expect those obligations to be complied with by those claiming membership in the Black Brigade. Members of the Black Brigade are expected to do the following, whether bound or free:

I. Familiarize themselves with their history, the history of our struggle, and the Code of Conduct of the Black Brigade.

II. Help in the expansion of the Brigade by spreading the word of its existence and sharing copies of its newsletter LEVIATHAN to potential recruits. Imprisoned members should expand the influence of the Black Brigade by sending Brigade newsletters and other materials to their friends, family and loved ones beyond the wall. This is your support network; unite them.

III. Walk in a manner that brings honor to the Black Brigade and our struggle for the elevation of our people. Avoid behaviors that discredit and bring shame. Strive for educational/vocational and social elevation.

IV. Participate in Brigade activities according to your abilities. Form contingents, join in community initiatives, contribute your writings, share your facts and other information deemed important to our readers and submit them to our newsletter for publication that we might be informed.

VI. Financially contribute to our programs and services. These requirements for membership can be met by all members regardless of their income, talents, skills or place of residence. While we are in our developmental stage, the Black Brigade will remain strong and viable

only as our members, supporters and allies remain strong and viable.
We are one and because you are, we are. ☐



CONTEMPLATIONS OF A CONVICT: A Journey to Freedom When Innocence Isn't Enuf Anton Forde/Treyor Mattis

CONTEMPLATIONS IS SOMETHING TO THINK ABOUT

Some of the most phenomenal writers and profound thinkers can be found in America's many concentration camps (prisons). Anton Forde, AKA Treyor Mattis, is one example of this fact. But that's my opinion, I challenge you to read "Contemplations of a Convict" by Anton Forde/Treyor Mattis, and see for yourself.

This book will make you laugh, make you angry, make you nod your head in agreement and make you glad you took my advice and purchased yourself a copy.

Forde is a prisoner of war who deserves our support and I encourage you to not only buy a copy for yourself but to send copies to friends, family members and loved ones outside the walls who need an up front and personal view of what life on the inside. In its pages is something for Sociologists, convicts, poets and philosophers. Forde uses essays, aphorisms and poetry, as well as his own story, to reach the masses with his truths and personal reflections.

Most importantly, Mattis will make you think. Read Anton Forde/Treyor Mattis' "Contemplations of a Convict; A Journey To Freedom When Innocence Isn't enuf" published by Infinity Publishing and presented by Sage Writers, a loyal comrade in the struggle of Political Prisoners/Prisoners of War.

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MOVE bombed, 1985

WE WILL NOT FORGET! 20th anniversary of police bombing of MOVE

By Betsey Piette, Workers World, Philadelphia

On May 13, 1985, Philadelphia police dropped a bomb onto the headquarters of the MOVE organization in a residential Black neighborhood, starting a fire. City officials allowed it to burn, resulting in the murder of 11 people, five of them children, and the destruction of 61 homes.

On the 20th anniversary of the state's bombing of the MOVE organization house on Osage Avenue, there is still no justice for the victims of this horrific police assault. No state official was ever tried or convicted of murder.

A recent article in a Philadelphia newspaper opined that "the stigma has faded," that "the ineptitude, the miscalculations, the miscommunications" of city officials on that day start "to pale" when compared to more recent events like "the Oklahoma City bombing and the 9/11 attacks." (Philadelphia Inquirer, May 8) Not once did the newspaper raise the racist nature of this abhorrent attack or point out the glaring injustice that no officials were charged with the murders.

Let us not forget!

The MOVE organization, started in the 1970s by John Africa, quickly earned a reputation for opposing social injustices. While often described as a "back to nature" movement, it was MOVE's opposition to police brutality that led to confrontations with the state in the 1970s.

MOVE is not a pacifist organization. Its members believe in the right to bear arms in self-defense, and did so in 1977 after police jailed three members and attacked their home in the Powelton Village section of Philadelphia, killing a young child. A year-long siege by police came to a head on Aug. 8, 1978, when officers fired hundreds of rounds of ammunition into the basement of the MOVE house, where members had retreated.

Nine MOVE members were later convicted in connection with the shooting death of Philadelphia police officer James Ramp, even though evidence indicated that the bullet that killed Ramp could not have been fired from the MOVE house. Within 24 hours of the assault, police completely destroyed the MOVE home in Powelton Village, along with any evidence that would support the MOVE members' defense. Three police officers who brutally and publicly beat MOVE member Delbert Africa after the shootout were acquitted.

Anticipating a renewed police attack, MOVE fortified the group's new home in the 6200 block of Osage Avenue in a predominantly African-American area of west Philadelphia. They used a loud speaker system in an effort to educate their neighbors about the case of the MOVE 9 and the ongoing danger of police attack. Saying they were responding to neighbors' complaints, 500 police evacuated the neighborhood at dawn on May 13, 1985, then surrounded and attacked the house with over 10,000 rounds of ammunition in 90 minutes. Small explosive charges and water from fire department hoses were also used to attempt to penetrate the house. All the while, police and city officials were aware that several children were inside.

In January 1985, four months before the siege, a special agent of the FBI had given the Philadelphia police bomb squad 30 blocks of C-4, the most lethal of military plastic explosives. In the afternoon of May 13, a police helicopter dropped a bomb containing C-4 on the roof of the MOVE home on Osage Avenue, starting a fire. The fire, which started on the roof of the house, was allowed to burn for 45 minutes before fire hoses were turned on. By then, the blaze was starting to devour the entire block. MOVE members who

attempted to escape from the rear of the building were shot at by police. Only Ramona Africa and 13-year-old Birdie Africa escaped the fire.

Eleven MOVE members were killed in the fire, and 250 area residents were left homeless. Even though a special commission formed in 1986 to investigate the bombing concluded that police fired on MOVE members trying to escape, a grand jury denied this in 1988. No government official or police officer has ever faced criminal charges in connection with the MOVE deaths. All the Philadelphia bomb squad officers took the Fifth Amendment and refused to cooperate in any way with the commission.

Ramona Africa, however, was convicted of riot and conspiracy and served seven years in prison. After her release she won a federal civil-rights judgment against the city for \$1.5 million. The only person to serve any prison time in connection with the bombing was Ramona Africa, the only adult member of MOVE to survive the fire.

More information on MOVE and the bombing is contained in an award-winning documentary produced by Cohort media called "MOVE." It's a must-see for any activist too young to remember the events of 20 years ago. Information on this documentary is available at www.movefil.com □



**WHAT IS PANTHERISM IDEOLOGY—
AS WE MARCH TOWARDS BUILDING BASE
AREAS OF SOCIAL, CULTURAL AND
POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE 21st
CENTURY?**

By Chairman Shaka Zulu

New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter

Reprinted from the Leviathan, Vol. 1, No. #4

"Ideology is always the creation of a specific struggle by a people and its revolutionary classes." - Samora Machel

The ideology of Pantherism is the essence of revolutionary outlook and consciousness, formed and developed out of the experience of New Afrikan revolutionary nationalist-internationalist struggle against oppression and exploitation by U.S. imperialism-colonialism.

Pantherism is best understood as an ideological system that reflects our proletarian, working class reality and struggle to defeat monopoly capitalism and white racism. Pantherism allows us to articulate in a coherent revolutionary way the plight of New Afrikan and other oppressed peoples as we struggle collectively to usher in a new epoch of social justice and equality in the 21st century.

But the oppressor also has an ideology which is called bourgeois capitalist individualism, and his ideology is based on maintaining the bourgeois imperialist empire's dominance over other people's lands, markets, resources and labor. The ideology of the monopoly capitalist class defends the right to private property and individualism because they have so much to lose by our advocating collective action and unity between people. Unlike the oppressor's ideology, which is retrograde and decadent, Pantherism is progressive and forward looking.

Our ideology is a scientific socialist ideology picked up and refined from the original Black Panther Party's (BPP) synthesis of various universal, revolutionary principles. Socialism is the ideology of working class consciousness. Lenin put it this way: "Socialism, as the ideology of the class struggle of the proletariat...is founded on the sum-total of human knowledge." Socialist ideology is operational in the four corners of the earth, because its principles are universal, and like pliable plastic it can easily be wrapped around objective and subjective conditions of national and international struggle to unite the workers of all lands. Anywhere in the Black and oppressed world where exploitation and oppression exists, Pantherism will stalk like a Black Panther plotting the ambush to overthrow the class interest and power of the monopoly capitalist ruling class.

Pantherism is a rational level "of reflection of reality" for mobilization and organization of the Black masses, for it articulates the desire and class aspirations of the people to be free from hunger, diseases, poor housing, racism, imperialist wars of aggression, patriarchal relations and oppressions of all kinds. Pantherism is the politics of the have-nots who slave in sweaty and dank factories across the Black world, live in substandard housing, or scramble for a living on the mean streets. Pantherism is the "language of real life."

The original Black Panther Party (BPP) was hands down the greatest revolutionary organization in Amerikkkan history! No other organization came close to the practice of revolutionary socialist principles in U.S. history. Our ability to learn from the mistakes of the original BPP and improve upon its successes will enable our Party to be steered in years of inherited political consciousness. They gave us an ideology—now we must move to show the people that we no longer have to submit to a brutal and vicious way of life dictated by the greedy and capacious business and political establishment and the system of wage slavery.

Pantherism should be specifically held up as the way forward, and in our mental outlook it must: *"hold a special place in the structure of social consciousness, because it helps theoretically to express the interests of certain classes, groups and communities, their aims and means of achieving them. The basic principles of political ideology are the main instruments in the struggle for political power, for its establishment and consolidation."* Panthers must embrace our ideology with great revolutionary enthusiasm.

Pantherism also sets moral standards for all of our cadre and members—under the principle of "Panther Love"—which determines our relations with people, groups, organizations and other oppressed nations. Panther Love is liberating love, world changing love! There is no contradiction in loving the people, and it certainly does not make us look weak and sentimental to say "I love you Sista!" "I love you Brotha!" The primary motive of a true revolutionary is love of oppressed people everywhere regardless of race and nationality.

Pantherism is a growing ideology. It will mature in practice, but like all motion it will develop in internal struggle within our Party, and in opposition to reaction and oppression. The more we practice Pantherism the deeper will be our theory of knowledge. Our very being and energy should be wrapped up in understanding the original BPP and other revolutionary groups and individuals that first uttered the beautiful words of socialist revolution. We do not have to agree with everything we read nor do we have to like the individual who wrote about revolution but later betrayed his or her principles for whatever reason.

We must be scientists, testing our theories, picking and choosing relevant material that will help us to define our condition with clarity, and help us to develop our consciousness of class struggle and society's historical development. We must learn how we arrived at the present stage of capitalist social relations.

How did we arrive at this stage? We will allow Comrade Samora Machel to speak for us on this most important point:

"In the process of society's historical development, various kinds of social relations were forged by men [and womyn]. At the dawn of mankind, when the change from ape to man occurred, pre-humans lived in nomadic bands governed by the concern for survival. The entire productive effort was consumed immediately, and often failed to satisfy basic needs. These pre-humans lived on roots, wild fruit and animal corpses.

"Mankind's forbears lived like this for hundreds of thousands of years. At a certain stage these forbears began to use bones or sticks to dig up roots, to hunt animals. They began to use tools to produce their food, production, albeit highly primitive began, and the ape gave way to man [and womyn]. Production distinguishes man [and womyn] from the beast, unleashes his [her] brain, and opens the way to progress.

"With the emergence of production, initially gathering and hunting, and in a second phase agriculture and animal husbandry, mankind begins to develop. A division of labor arises and an improvement in tools for production and production techniques. So man's [and womyn's] productive effort can now yield more than he [she] himself [herself] needs for subsistence. Production generates a surplus.

"The existence of surplus production provides the material basis, the objective conditions, for forces to emerge in society that seek to appropriate the surpluses to the detriment of those who have produced them.

"The society divides into opposing classes, with differing interests: some want to appropriate the fruit of the labor of others, while the latter object. Human relations which have until now been co-operative become relations of conflict between exploiters and exploited.

"Obviously this whole process took hundreds of thousands of years; opposing interests, antagonistic classes did not grow overnight. But the process is fundamental. Once differing and antagonistic interests had appeared in society, the fundamental issue in that society was one of 'power': who could make decisions, on what criteria, and in whose favor. A given group can impose its interests and project its aims only if it controls the society, or in other words rules that society.

"Ruling a society means organizing the society to serve the interests of the ruling group, imposing the will of this group on all other groups whether they agree or not.

"With the passage of time, the ruling group makes other groups regard its domination as the best, the fairest, and the wisest, and one that corresponds to the interests of all. This goes on until the moment when new forces within the society, realize that their interests are prejudiced by the ruling group, unite, struggle, overthrow the former power, and establish their new power, reorganizing society to satisfy their own appetites.

"Until a recent period of mankind's history it has been the various exploiting classes — slave-owners, feudalism, bourgeoisie — who have successfully dominated society and organized its politics, economics, ideology, culture, administration and legal system for their own benefit. This was possible because the exploited masses did not have sufficient class consciousness to unite them, or an ideology able to give them an overall view of their interests and provide the appropriate strategy and tactics for the struggle to win and exercise power."

Pantherism is really a new consciousness and ideology in the 21st century that must be constantly deepened and expanded as new social realities and objective conditions impose upon our thinking. Pantherism as a new power in the 21st century must be used as a weapon against all the corroded and perverse ideas and views of the vampire capitalist class. We must go into battle with the oppressor's ideology fully equipped with the science of revolution, which is historical and dialectical materialism. Our ideological and political line and our honesty in dealing with the masses will enable our Panther Party to win them over to the strategy of building base areas of social, cultural and political revolution in preparation for urban-based insurrection when a revolutionary situation presents itself.

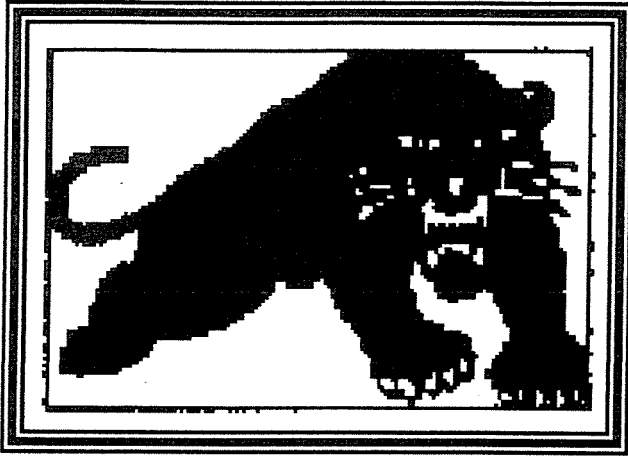
To be an "all-the-way" revolutionary, to always put the interests of the people and the revolution first, to always choose to do what is right and never what is wrong, to never give up, never surrender, never compromise our revolutionary principles — this is the example our late comrade Hasan Shakur set for us when he was executed by the state of Texas for a crime he did not commit. Right up to the moment they pumped the poison into his arm, his every thought and his last words were for the people. That's Pantherism!

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! BUILD PANTHER POWER! PANTHER LOVE! LONG LIVE HASAN SHAKUR!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Chairman Shaka Zulu





Self Determination:

What does it mean in the Age of Neo-Liberalism?

By Chairman Shaka S. Zulu, NABPP-PC

Reprinted from the Leviathan, Vol. 1, No. #4

Self-determination will be the gist of my talk with you today. Time permitting, we should cover two aspects of self-determination as it relates to humanity's struggle for liberation and freedom from neo-liberal globalization and in particular as it relates to New Afrikan revolution and Independence from domestic neo-colonialism.

As some of you know, my method of discourse is built around shooting from the hip and this method has enormous educational value, because it leads to *brothas* being more relaxed and engaged in the total process. Ancestor Walter Rodney called it "Grounding with my Brothers." So my talk with you will expound upon political self-determination and cultural self-determination.

Cultural self-determination deals with the New African personality – a personality that is just beginning to understand itself within the Black Liberation Movement. The New Afrikan personality addresses itself to discerning the psychological and emotional trauma our people experienced during the Trans-Atlantic Slavery period as well as living-under constant assault of cultural-imperialism and commercialism. It seeks to explain the standards of beauty and ugly from a historical process wherein the oppressor, in order to divide the people, constructed social differences to maintain its power.

On the flip side, once we grasp and fully understand the New Afrikan personality, we can then see what's beneficial to the socialist revolution and what is harmful. The self-determined New Afrikan personality is a tangible thing, something that exist in reality and is not associated with idealistic metaphysical yearnings for an ancient culture long gone. I am talking about a higher level of consciousness created in the process of the revolutionary struggle – love, loyalty, struggle, egalitarianism and collective interest defining our relations with each other and other oppressed people.

The present division and self-hate constitutes a fundamental shift in what ancestor Bobby Wright classified as *mentacide* and what others may call the "Willie Lynch mentality." But with a New Afrikan Panther personality, we grow to love one another and other oppressed people. Our minds go through a fundamental transformation from that of degraded criminality to one grounded in the struggle of New Afrikan liberation. Examples of New Afrikan Panther mentalities range from Mumia to Assata – they struggle for you and I on a constant basis and we must do likewise.

We have to recognize that the New Afrikan personality by itself does not bring our people independence and freedom anywhere in the world. Only by abolishing neo-colonialism and capitalist imperialism will Pan-Afrikanism become a reality, and this shows us

how the New Afrikan personality overlaps with the economic and political categories as well.

Real international power – or New Afrikan and Afrikan power isn't on your block, in your Homey's BMW car, or in the NBA and NFL. Real power consist of political power by which we collectively own the means of production and distribution. Political and economic power in capitalist hands leads to our subjugation and neo-colonialist domination, but in the people's hands will lead to freedom and liberation. So the New Afrikan Panther personality must move from the realm of theory to actual social practice and the seizure of power.

The second aspect of self-determination deals with political and economic categories. Self-determination is a basic human right for all people regardless of race, sex and nationality. Nations that lack political and economic self-determination are controlled by more powerful nations under imperialism. No nation in the world – not Amerikkka or Britain – has the inherent right to control and exploit another nation's resources, labor and markets for greedy and capitalist aims. All nations enjoy, or should enjoy, protections under international laws to decide and determine their future political and economic trajectories free from foreign meddling.

Now nations that are free and independent must have a socialist character if they want true freedom – for in reality when oppressed nations achieve "flag waving" independence, they are still bound to the oppressor nation through the World Bank, WTO and the IMF, etc. which set the terms for trade and prices on the world market. That is why the argument for debt relief is really a weak position, for in the final analysis the debtor nation will still be subjected to monopoly capitalist power and control.

An independent socialist nation can set up a judiciary and legislation system; levy taxes and allocate their use; it can organize and sustain a compulsory, free public educational system. Health care and hospitals can be free to all citizens, it can enact treaties with other nations. Only a free and socialist nation can do that, but an oppressed nation's rights have been suppressed by the imperialist nations – in some instances, such as Iraq, the imperialist nations may jointly control an oppressed nation.

You and I who lack Self-determination have an obligation to unseat the imperialists and their hired neo-colonial puppets by embracing Pantherism and the "Mass Strategy" to win our freedom. We must work day and night to turn the prisons into "Schools of Liberation" and the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution.

While we are under extreme external control, we can none-the-less develop and exercise our own internal control. The oppressors hold the keys and the gun towers, patrol our neighborhoods and judge us in their courts. But through self-reliance and discipline, we can determine our cultural, social and political life together. We can use our time productively in preparation for revolution to end our subjugation and take history into our own hands.

The key is collectivity and unity and the illumination of revolutionary ideology and political theory. In a word: PANTHERISM!

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! BUILD PANTHER POWER! PANTHER LOVE! LONG LIVE COMRADE HASAN SHAKUR! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Chairman Shaka S. Zulu





Hasan Shakur: A Maroon on Death Row

by Walidah Imarisha Wednesday, Aug. 30, 2006 at 12:48 PM

"Whether they murder me or not on Friday, I'm telling you, watch what Ima do, the ancestors are gonna be proud." Hasan Shakur uttered these powerful words a few days before he is scheduled to be executed in Texas, Thursday August 31st.

I am sitting in my rented Chevy Equinox outside of the Polunsky Unit, in Livingston, Texas. The middle of farm country, there are stables right next door to the prison, within pissing distance of the electrified fence and concertina wire. I wonder if they belong to the prison. How much of this farmland is the prisons? The inmates wear all white here. It is ghostly figures I see pushing wheelbarrows, carrying rakes through a manicured lawn with flower boxes shaped like the star of Texas. This place reminds me so much of the California state prison my adopted brother Kakamia is in, the town, the hotel I'm staying at, the prison itself, that I walked into the visiting room expecting to see my afro-haloed hermano. But I guess maybe all prison towns start to look the same.

The processing is the fastest I've ever been through going to a prison. I have had to wait hours before to be cleared. I do not know if it is this prison, or the fact that I'm visiting at off times, or the fact that I am visiting someone who has an execution date set. Set for Thursday. Days are bleeding away, the 29th is just a breath away from the 31st.

Hasan Shakur, aka Derrick Frazier, aka #999284, is dressed all in white as well. Visiting is only through glass, and Hasan sits in a cage, the telephone pressed to his ear. He is as big as I figured he would be. He stands up to go to the bathroom, sticking his hands through the slot so they can put the handcuffs on him and he towers over the three guards around him.

But what doesn't come through in the photos on his website is his baby face. 29 years old now, with a face of a 15 year old. He barely made it to 29, wasn't supposed to make it. His life reads like a text book case of black ghetto life ("I always felt more comfortable in the ghetto, you know?" he says, eyes clear as spring water): dad gone, addicted beloved mother gone, didn't graduate high school, slanging and banging and hardening his face to survive, and here he sits, for 9 years, on Texas' death row, dressed in baptismal white. He was reborn here, held not by heavenly loving hands but by night sticks and pepper spray. Not gently laid back to be quietly submerged, but head pushed into toilets, and balls crushed under boots. Hasan Shakur born out of Derrick Frazier, not through water but a hail of bullets and billy clubs, child of George Jackson and Angela Davis, Mumia and Sundiata and all the political prisoners. Grandchild of Nat Turner and great, great grandson of Seminoles and maroon colonies and quilombos. He takes his heritage serious as a heart attack, induced by a pound of poison shoved into your veins by the state.

The visiting room is busy today. Yesterday was family day, with his aunt and grandmother coming in to see him, making a three hour drive both ways. Today is supporter day. Hasan's wife and support coordinator Debbie came from Canada a few days ago. Ray from the New York-based group the Welfare Poets came, and me from Philly. Only two people are allowed in the visiting room for him at one time, so we keep trading off, two hours in, two hours out, a game of death room musical chairs.

I met Hasan six years ago when I helped to found the Human Rights Coalition, a prisoner family organizing group. It was the brainchild and heartchild of Russell "Maroon" Shoats, a Pennsylvania political prisoner, former Black Panther/Black Liberation Army who has served almost 20 years straight in solitary confinement, never touching another human being except for his captors. Hasan is also Maroon's heartchild, his adopted son. "This,"

Maroon wrote, "this brotha is our future, with his lion's strength and determination." Hasan wears a bracelet embroidered "MAROON" around his wrist that twists and turns as he writes and organizes groups and organizations, concerts and newsletters, campaigns and strategy planning from a cell the size of a bathroom that has the held breath of murder in it. Hasan started a chapter of HRC in Texas and serves on our advisory council. He has given invaluable insight to our planning and visioning for the organization, and he keeps us grounded. "Wa Wa, I'm a workhorse," he says with a half smile, "and I'm going to push everyone around me, if I see someone leaning back, Ima crack that whip." He says I should be proud of him, because he got six hours of sleep the night before, double his usual dose, which I often nag him about. "Yeah but how many did you get the night before?" I ask, laughing.

Debbie comes back in and says the affidavits will be filed in court today. The hope is that these affidavits will win a stay of execution for Hasan. There is also hope of perhaps getting a stay of execution from the governor, and an international letter writing campaign has been in effect since the date was handed down several weeks ago. Hasan was convicted of killing a white woman and her son in Refugio, Texas. There is a lack of physical evidence to tie Hasan to the scene. In fact, the main piece of evidence against him is a forced confession the police illicit from him, a 19 year old black young man, while in their custody, after a promise that he would only get 30 years for it. He was found guilty by an almost all white jury, some of whom had contact with the victim's family during the trial. He had an incompetent lawyer who was later suspended, and a questionable indictment that outlined several different theories about the murders. I said to Hasan that some people, even black folks, still believe in the inherent goodness of the system, that there are some glitches but once those get cleared up, it will be back on track. He snorted and said, "That's where we go wrong, believing that simple shit. The system is on track, it's on track to ride over us."

But there is still reason for hope. Hasan had an execution date scheduled for April 27, the day before his 29th birthday. Three days before, the courts gave him a stay. The prison shut down his visiting the minute the paperwork was filed, so I didn't get to see him on that trip. This is our first time meeting face to face, even though we have organized and worked together for years. Also, another brotha was released from death row last week, a new trial won him a different sentence, and since he'd already spent 20 years on the row, they let him go. Debbie said, "Of course they got tight restrictions on him, he can do nothing, can't use the computer, can't leave the house, can't drink, but shit, at least he's home."

But this is Texas, after all, and hope does not grow well in this soil. When it manages to take root, it is promptly stomped back down. "Our people don't prepare for the future, you know?" Hasan says, scowling. The shatterproof glass between us reflects the light from the vending machines behind the cages, and it looks like Pepsi is written sliding down Hasan's face like tears, cracked right down the middle. "It took us damn near thirty years to recover after we lost Malcolm. We have to set it up so that things will continue even if they take us out, 'cause you know that's what they're going to do. Wa Wa, just wait, just wait until you see some of the things I'm going to do. Watch what I'm going to do," he says, smile showing the nine-year-old face I saw on the internet, little 80s afro and solemn eyes. "Whether they murder me or not on Friday, I'm telling you, watch what Ima do, the ancestors are gonna be proud." □



BLACK PANTHER PARTY 40th Year Reunion + Celebration

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40 YEARS AFTER: THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

[Col. Writ. 4/30/06] Copyright '06 Mumia Abu-Jamal

Amazingly, it has been 40 years since the Black Panther Party was founded.

Some sticklers to detail will point to the fact that it was in October, not May, of 1966, that the Black Panther Party was founded by two young men in Oakland, California, named Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

That's true; but that's not the end of the story.

The late African nationalist, Kwame Ture (formerly known as Stokely Carmichael), when a leader of SNCC (or Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee), published a month before Huey and Bobby joined together, an article detailing SNCC's efforts to organize both in the South and the Northeast. In a September, 1966 article published in the "New York Review of Books", Ture wrote:

"SNCC today is working in both North and South on programs of voter registration and independent political organizing. In some places, such as Alabama, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, and New Jersey, independent organizing under the black panther symbol is in progress. The creation of a national "black panther party" must come about; it will take time to build, and it is much too early to predict its success. We have no infallible master plan and we make no claim to exclusive knowledge of how to end racism; different groups will work in their own different ways. SNCC cannot spell out the full logistics of self-determination, but it can address itself to the problem by helping black communities define their needs, realize their strength, and go into action along a variety of lines which they must choose for themselves. Without knowing all the answers, it can address itself to the basic problem of poverty, to the fact that in Lowndes County 86 white families own 90 per cent of the land. What are black people in that county going to do for jobs; where are they going to get money? There must be reallocation of land, of money. [From: Carmichael, Stokely. "Stokely Speaks: Black Power Back to Pan-Africanism" (New York: Vintage, 1965/1971). p. 22.]

It was in fact, SNCC's efforts in Lowndes County, Alabama, that inspired Huey to use the name 'Black Panther Party.'

But, it's been 40 years. It's safe to say that much of the history of Huey's Party remains hidden history. This isn't rhetoric — it's fact.

One year ago, I received a wealth of letters from college students who read my book, "WE WANT FREEDOM: A Life in the Black Panther Party" (South End, 2004). Here, scores of letters, from a wide variety of students from various racial and ethnic groups, almost all of whom expressed shock and surprise, not just at the unknown history of the Party, but of the history of Black history overall. One writer, Shanara P. noted, "... most of the facts you

wrote in your book were never taught in the schools I went to."

Wayne S. wrote: "'The Beginnings of the Black Panther Party and the History it Sprang From' and 'The Deep Roots of the Struggle for Black Liberation' should become amendments to the history books which choose to leave out the violent uprisings against slavery. If I had not read these chapters, I could have been a graduate-level student about to get a masters degree but would have absolutely no idea of one of the catalysts of the Civil War, such as the Christiana rebellion. This is just one example of the pseudo factual history books which are being implanted around our schools."

Another student, Jon M., wrote: "I feel cheated because this is the first time I have heard such stories."

As a writer and historian, I was, of course, delighted by such letters. But as a former member of the Party, it was eye-opening at how invisible the Party has become with the passage of time.

But why should we be surprised? What did we expect?

The Party played a major role, in its time, to organize our People into resistance to the State. For many millions of youth, Black History means reading about (or hearing boring lectures about) Frederick Douglass, Martin Luther King, Jr., and perhaps Malcolm X. It rarely goes deeper than that.

Before this generation goes on to its ancestors, we should, we must, do our level best to pass on our lessons, so that they live in our people's minds and lives.

There is, already, a new formation that has arisen, which calls itself New African Black Panther Party, which has prison chapters in several states. Unlike other formations which have used the BPP name, these youngsters actually read and study the works of Huey P. Newton, George Jackson, and other leading Party members. The struggle continues!

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[Mr. Jamal's recent book features a chapter on the remarkable women who helped build and defend the Black Panther Party: "WE WANT FREEDOM: A Life in the Black Panther Party", from South End Press www.southendpress.org Ph. #1-800-533-8478.]

"When a cause comes along and you know in your bones that it is just, yet refuse to defend it—at that moment you begin to die. And I have never seen so many corpses walking around talking about justice." - Mumia Abu-Jamal

MUMIA'S COLUMNS NEED TO BE PUBLISHED AS BROADLY AS POSSIBLE TO INSPIRE PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENT AND HELP CALL ATTENTION TO HIS CASE.

The campaign to kill Mumia is in full swing and we need you to **please** contact as many publications and information outlets as you possibly can to run Mumia's commentaries (on-line and **especially off-line**)!! The only requirements are that you run them "unedited", with every word including copyright information intact,

and send a copy of the publication to Mumia and/or ICFFMAJ.
THANK YOU!!!

Keep updated by reading ACTION ALERTS!!

at www.mumia.org, www.onamove.com/ and their links.



40 YEARS LATER: WE ARE STILL HERE!

An Open Invitation To The Original Black Panther Party
Members To Join Us And Continue The Fight From Within
The Party That We All Love.

By the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison
Chapter Chairman, Shaka S. Zulu

First I want to convey Panther Love to all of you attending the 40th Anniversary of the founding of the original Black Panther Party in 1966. Many of you remember those days with a profound revolutionary love, for each other, our people and all oppressed people fighting to break the shackles of monopoly capitalism and racist exploitation in our oppressed central-city-colonies. The memories that you all will be sharing with each other are a living inspiration for the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter.

My little words can not describe the rich legacy of your example and sacrifice and what it means to the development of our nascent Party. It is this legacy of intelligence, bravery, commitment and sacrifice that must become a living reality for all of our Panther Brothers and Sisters in NABPP-PC. We base ourselves on Panther Love arisen from our studies on how the original BPP members treated each other and selflessly served the people. Panther Love is really a tribute to all of you, living and not living, for it is the motive inspiration that compels us to face tremendous odds and "insist on the impossible" from each other.

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter rejects racism in all its forms. We believe in class struggle as a means to reach socialist revolution, and create a society where oppression and racist exploitation is a thing of the past – to remind our young people, not yet born, of the kind of society from which we came. Revolution for our Party means the complete and total breaking up of the financial and military power of the U.S. ruling class and creation of a new system based on egalitarian principle – people's government – and people's government is socialism.

Nothing has changed since you donned the black beret and black leather jacket. The same forces that drove you to form Panther Branches and Chapters in the heroic 60s and 70s are a bit more openly fascist, since repression and brutality has now been enshrined in laws such as the Patriot Act and Homeland Security. Remember during the early 70s when a group of progressives stormed the FBI building in Media, PA and copied the papers that exposed the government's counter-insurgency program called COINTELPRO? Why, it literally caused a scandal in the liberal wings of the bourgeoisie; exposing brutal killings, agent provocateurs, wire and phone surveillance programs, false arrests and detentions across the country. Sound familiar right? Now the government openly proclaims it is doing such things and using torture to boot. The technology of surveillance is many times more evasive and pervasive. But we must not let this deter us from organizing and liberating ourselves from imperialism.

We have a strategy. Our strategy is not circumscribed to just transforming the prisons into "Schools of Liberation." For we recognize and understand that revolution and the struggle for human rights cannot be won in prison cells – all of our efforts are particularly focused on transforming the criminal mind of the prisoner into the revolutionary mind-set of a Panther. Pantherism is the ideology for 21st Century revolution for oppressed Black people in the world. In dealing with the confused and mentally chained Black prisoner, we draw particularly on the inspiration of Comrade George Jackson.

My experience here in the prison has convinced me that no Black person, and I don't care how ruthless and predatory his or her behavior was before they came to the prison gates, once they have been giving a strong dose of Comrade George Jackson's Thought, and for added effect the example of Malcolm X in his Detroit Red days, why that prisoner will realize immediately that he/she is a victim of a monstrous crime too immense to comprehend; that crimes have been committed against him/her, and their kind by a tiny, ruthless band of ruling class, racist, psychopaths working under the cover of civilizing the Black race. So we use Comrade George Jackson and Malcolm X as righteous examples to reverse the deleterious effects of a gangster/ho mentality.

Most prisoners will choose freedom over slavery. But, I must be fair: freedom and slavery are abstractions to the young ghetto warrior who spends long days simply scrounging to find somewhere to sleep; something to eat; and a job that will hire an unskilled Black worker. His/her world is one filled with setbacks, let-downs, sorrow, pain, transitory relationships and a thousand dreams shriveled up into broken promises. How does Pantherism reach a person whose heart has been turned stone cold by the everyday tragedies of oppression? To reach over the real defenses erected to protect him/her from the stormy night that is his/her history requires a full display of Panther Love and an example of Panther Discipline.

The prisoner should not be abandoned or discarded due to the systemic capitalist propaganda of eternal damnation for anyone who dares to embrace him/her. God will not condemn one to a lake of fire for just touching a prisoner with a kind word full of encouragement. The index of our strength as a broadly-based Revolutionary National Liberation Movement can be judged from how many programs have been erected solely to redeem the prisoner. Revolutionary movements across the world understand the intrinsic value of holding hands with the most despised and brutalized of society, for once the elemental level of national consciousness has been raised, then Ho Chi Minh's maxim of the real dragon being released from prison to destroy the backward and oppressive social structures that chained him/her to a miserable existence comes to life. Since revolution cannot be made from prison without the incorporation of the broad masses – the only makers of history – our strategy also calls for building the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution. Each Branch and Chapter established in our oppressed colonies will serve as a base area for revolution grounded in the everyday realities of the people.

We are catalyzed by your example. And do you remember the United Front Against Fascism established by the Party organization to incorporate a broad sector of the movement into a single fist of purpose and resolve? We have also set up the same front under the title of a United Front Against Imperialism.

Finally, comrades attending the Panther reunion, I want to implore you to investigate NABPP-PC. If you like what we are doing than join us in the Party and serve as our elder advisors. We need your experience and skills to build the Party stronger and sharper. Give it one more last push in this great battle for socialism and revolutionary internationalism that surely must come out of the ashes of decadent monopoly capitalism–fascism.

**DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! SEIZE THE TIME!
BUILD PANTHER POWER! PANTHER LOVE!**

**LONG LIVE MINISTER HASAN BASHIR SHAKUR! ALL POWER
TO THE PEOPLE!**

Hasan Shakur's Last Words Were of the Struggle

By Walidah Imarisha

Sept. 1, 2006

Reprinted from the Leviathan, Vol. 3, No. #3

Livingston, TX -- Another name sadly has to be added to the litany of conscious prisoners sent to their death by this government. In the tradition of Shaka Sankofa, Tookie Williams and many others, Hasan Shakur was murdered by the state of Texas Aug. 31, and pronounced dead at 6:18 p.m. The execution came less than an hour after the U.S. Supreme Court rejected three appeals and requests for reprieves, based on affidavits stating evidence that Shakur's co defendant Jermain Herron was the one to commit the actual murder, and an affidavit detailing jury misconduct during his original trial.

Shakur (Derrick Frazier, formerly number 999284) was sentenced to death in October of 1998, at the age of 20. He was convicted of killing Betsey and Cody Nutt. Shakur maintained his innocence in the murders until the very end, even when they had him strapped down to the death chamber gurney: "I've professed my innocence for nine years and I will continue to profess my innocence for another nine years." While the victim's family cheered when he was pronounced dead, only his wife and support coordinator Debbie Frazier was there to support him physically. Shakur told her to stay strong and that he would love her forever, and tried to get her to smile even as they slid the needle into his arm. Though only his wife was there to express her love in person, Shakur knew that there were many around the world, who he called "lovers of freedom," who were with him, and he knew he was following in the tradition of radicals, rebels and revolutionaries who had gone before him.

Shakur's last words show where his heart and mind was at. They were not pleas for himself. His last words were: "Tell my people we must continue on. Do not give up the fight. Friday, I'm telling you, watch what Ima do, the ancestors are gonna be proud."

"Today they killed his body, but his spirit will live on, like that of Che, Fred Hampton, Sr. and George Jackson," Big Warrior intoned. "He will march beside us in the streets and stand with us at rallies and on the barricades. And when the final victory is won, he will be there in the bright future of humanity that will have been bought with martyr's blood and the struggle of generations against all oppression and for the human rights of all."

He was the 20th Texas prisoner executed this year. There are at least seven more scheduled for the remainder of the year. Farley Matchett is next, facing an execution date of Sept. 12. This country still has over a hundred political prisoners, youth of color are criminalized and locked up at a rate akin to genocide. Shakur's voice is in the air, saying, "We got our work cut out for us. I'm in this, so where you at? Cause if you're down, let's do this."□

Dear Citizens,

I am not good at eulogizing, mainly because I haven't been exposed to much death in my life that personally affected me I guess. But I feel like I need to share my disappointment and despair with the public right now, who, after all, are the real stewards of opinion and cultural aberrations we've attached ourselves to such as Capitol Punishment; or maybe better known to some as the Death Penalty. And I think this is what Hasan is asking me to do as a favor to you all, to finalize and move the movement forward; TO the public.

I don't know exactly how to get into this, because the negative outcome of an expected loss of a comrade and friend we all knew was more than likely coming, on time, with precise authoritarian fury, murdered, yes murdered by the state, just

hasn't hit me yet; though I'm sure it will. I'm sure that if I was able to go see him this week in person, I would be a mess right now.

I am not saying Hasan Shakur (slave name: Derrick Frazier) will attain the cultural icon level as a Hero of The Struggle, like Malcolm X or a George Jackson; but HE WILL NOT BE FORGOTTEN for his innate abilities to compel people to activism into abolishing the death penalty or for social change and revolution much like those very heroes inspired me and others of another generation. As an activist in general, I immediately recognized this quality in him, and I could relate to him right off.

This much I have learned and was inspired by, in the short 4 1/2 to 5 months that I got to know him, and work with his death penalty advocacy group HRC (Human Rights Coalition), I finally snapped to what it's really all about; SELFLESSNESS.

The resignation to offering one's heart and soul and even your LIFE, if need be, as example to the struggle that must be won, or we are doomed to divide class and race forever ad nauseum; and people of color will go down under the syringe until the word genocide will commonly be understood and accepted to actually mean capitalism as I know it - because this society and judicial system is way stacked against people of color as soon as they are out of the womb. We are living in a Whitewashed mindset.

This social dynamic by systematic peculiar design, is what led Hasan Al Shakur, Minister of Human Rights, aptly chosen minister to the New Afrikan Black Panther Party/Prison Chapter, to this cold-blooded tragic end; especially if you can as I have learned to appreciate through the vast potential he had, in his writings, prose/rhymes, articles, and letters.

(See: www.hasanshakur.com & welfarepoets.com) Note: The Welfare Poets produced a CD compilation dedicated to Hasan, with some of his lyrics on this Rap/Hip Hop production.

To Hasan's Grandmother, relatives, wife/HRC U.S.- Canadian Coordinator Debbie, and all comrades of the NABPP/PC, and the too many Death Row Prisoners in Texas, I am sorry we just couldn't do more to save him for our struggles yet to come on your behalf; he had plans we now need to bring to fruition. And it saddens me to accept the states' stubborn intransigence, by not realizing their obvious failure to recognize that true justice had been discarded right from the git go in this case, just for the sake of tidy bureaucratic cleanliness.

You have been a great teacher Brother Hasan, you will be remembered - Peace and Panther Love always.

Twitch - Entropy, ABC Legal Services, Austin, Texas (512) 478-7666 VM#3, Reach me here for confirmation or email. Also: 2900 La Fayette Avenue, #2, Austin, Texas 78722 is my mail address.□

To all soldiers in this struggle

Harmia Ki-Nassor

Reprinted from the Leviathan, Vol. 3, No. #3

To all soldiers in this struggle, I unfortunately bring the news that Texas has carried out the merciless murder of our comrade Hasan Shakur. I formulate these words at 8:45 pm on August 31, 2006. I do so after spending the day in the visiting room where Hasan was visiting with his dedicated wife, Mrs. Debbie Frazier, while I visited with my sister-in-law and fellow struggler, Ray Ramirez, of The Welfare Poets. At 7 pm, I learned of the murder of our comrade, and my soul

immediately cried out for the life of a brother who was ready to change the world.

I can't tell my story in this short space, but I will say this; I knew Bro. Hasan from when he drove up to Death Row - I preceded his arrival by a year and three months - and as with tradition, I sent the brother a care package and of course came to know who he was. At the time, Bro. Hasan and I were of similar attitude - young and buck wild. And as evolution goes, the spirit of our warrior ancestors settled upon both of us and set us on a path that could not be resisted.

Over the years, we both shed our reactionary shells and put on suits of revolutionary armor. Derrick Frazier was buried and Hasan Shakur birthed - Kenneth Foster was buried and Harmia Ki Nassor birthed. But, I am here to praise the life of Hasan Shakur and to say that this was a brother that dug in his heels and pursued change with a fervency. It's not hard to tell that our people still suffer from many epidemics (mentally, physically, and spiritually), and in prison these epidemics are magnified 100 fold. Change, to the wrong ears/mind, can be translated as "sell out." Spirituality can be mistook as weakness.

Those aren't options that this brother embraced. He grabbed all these elements by the horns and decided to control his own personal legend. And he has left a powerful legend and some high bars for us to aspire to. In our life time, we meet all kinds of people, we have thinkers, we have fighters, we have those that till the land, and we have our seed planters. Bro, Hasan definitely planted an abundance of seeds, and I'm going to make sure that these seeds bear some fruit.

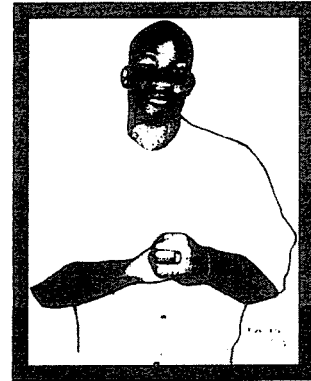
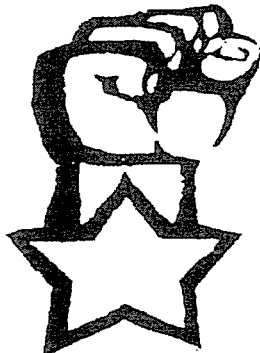
I can't explain what it is like to lose a brother to execution. In 10 years, I've seen over 300 men executed. I'm living in Vietnam and Iraq right here in this cell. What Texas did was remind us of how sick it is when it ignored evidence screaming in their face that proved this brother was convicted under faulty evidence. But when has Justice been anything but Just Us?! What this means is that the war upon our livelihood continues. And so I still have a job to do. I stand in the line of the torch of struggle being passed down, and I vow: NOT ONE STEP BACKWARDS!

Bro. Hasan built a movement, and I'll be damned if I'll let it stop moving. I send these words as a challenge to all you brothers out there, to step up to the next level and embrace the sacrifice of struggle. Embrace the fact that it is better to die on your feet than to live on your knees, because liberation by death is preferable to life by oppression. We lift this brother up today and pledge that he shall not be forgotten. Long live the fighting spirit of Bro. Hasan Shakur!

Without Cease
Harmia Ki-Nassor

D.R.I.V.E.

(Death Row Inner-communalist Vanguard Engagement)

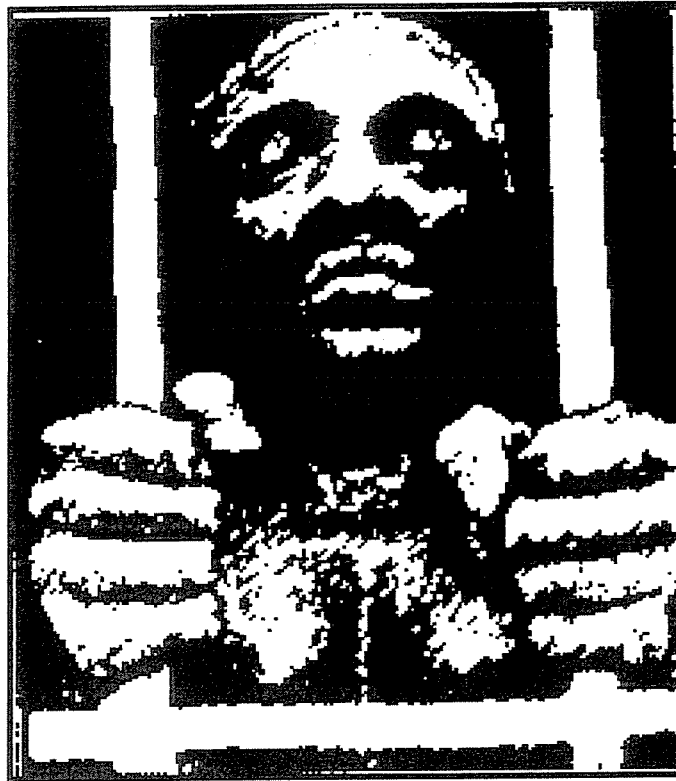


Hasan Shakur (1977-2006)

HE LIVES

with tears
no longer able to flow
i hold my fist high
in 21 Gun Salute
death hitting me
w/ 9mm slugs
putting pain in my throat.
the spirit of the Panther
descended in the cub
who they cut short
before he grew to full pride,
but the moisture of his roar
still soaks my skin;
i can smell it in the wind
guerilla now absorbed in the midst
trickling down to soak us
in visions for a better day.
texections said -
NO WAY
can we let this love
touch the people! -
but they failed to calculate
that the seeds he planted
would become sequel
to the life he lived.
we soaked in
the soles
of this soulja
got movement in our feet
like hot M-16 barrels.
they can't bury this sun.
he shines in the eyes
of every young man
first gracing
Comrade George's Gospels;
and we gon' preach it
in chants resistance
calling on the spirits of elders
which he now embraces.
may each time we buck
his name erases
the "I can'ts"
coz he did
everything they never expected!
may we follow the example
of the man forever standing
in our hearts
in the name of Hasan Shakur!

**LONG LIVE
THE FIGHTING SPIRIT OF
HASAN SHAKUR!**



THE WHOLE WORLD

Look at the world around you
Ain't it a mess?
AK on one's shoulder and body protected
by a vest
Shit this is a police state if I ever seen one
Cops here to protect and serve
but
they the criminals - with a badge PLUS a gun
It's a trip I swear yall
walk with me and vibe
I said walk yall..cause we going to jail if we DRIVE
I am straight up! Call me Chuck D or something like that
Cause I am public enemy number one
or something like that
Callin' me a nigger, nigg, nigga or fool
but then they ask
"Why ain't no Black History REALLY taught in school?"
How the hell do you figa?
Malcom, Martin and Medgar are my Black Hero's
NOT MY NIGGAZ!
Yeah brotha...this world is a trip
not my mama's world at all - it is deep
but yo -look at the world around
you and holla back... tell me what
you see...

Hasan Shakur

My Friend Hasan Shakur, His Final Days

by Charles Mamou, Texas Death Row

Reprinted from the Leviathan, Vol. 3, No. #3

For two decades, my eyes knew not a tear, because for two decades I have never cried, I was raised a child-man and was taught that real men don't cry, they don't hug or hold hands, and they sure don't kiss.

But on August 31st, 2006 around 6:40 pm, I impatiently listened to KDOL radio station, praying that I will hear news of my brother's stay. I broke down and cried when Joy announced that my brother and best friend Derrick Frazier, aka Hasan Shakur, was murdered via execution by the state of Texas. Within a faint second, thousands of memories flashed thru my mind of Hasan, and his silly laugh. His son, his wife Debbie, his family, and his hopes and dreams all quickly overloaded my emotions, and then my tears fell like rain drops.

Hasan was a real cool guy, some didn't know him, but I loved him, and if anyone knew him, knew his inner self, it was hard not to love him.

My oldest daughter's mother once told me, "Chucky, don't get close to any of them on death row." Her reasoning was reality in a sense that this is Death Row, and conflict of emotional interest will always negate those that live, and how the living respond to those who die. Truth is, at first, I wasn't fond of Hasan. I respected him but wasn't fond of him. I remember when I first met him, he was in the dayroom and all he did was laugh that silly laugh of his. At that time I was very anti sociable, his laughter was the DNA to his character. That's who he was, and when he and I ended up outside a week later, my ignorance was shattered by his charismatic being. He had a gentle spirit, very educated and very determined to right all that was wrong. I was smitten by his agenda, by his pure intentions. Newton's law of physics was correct in that opposites do attract. After all Hasan was Muslim and I am not, He was socially connected, and wasn't.

In Hasan's mind, he wanted to save every prisoner in every prison, and I didn't. He believed that even a snake could be tamed. But through our differences we bonded like soul mates brothers. We accepted each other as we were and our love was our respect for one another. Our relationship was in fact, perfect. Even when we disagreed and argued, we did so in private like men are supposed to do. We were not here to entertain others.

He showed me a bunch of loosed typed written paper that he had gathered, It was suppose to be a newsletter that he called Operation LIFE. I gave him ideas for a cover to make it interesting to the readers' eyes, and what type of articles would be interesting, and even the notion that he could make a profit from the sales. Of course, he was taken back at my ideas, and insisted that I be his partner and that my voice be heard (thus the birth of *Free Yo Mind* began). I was reluctant and told him no, I didn't mind writing some articles for him, but I did not want the spotlight thing, so he said cool.

But folks, let me tell you what he did, he borrowed a photo of me without me knowing and placed it on the article I had wrote. All his pen pals was encouraged to write to me, before then I did not write to any pen pals by choice. He plastered my info all on his website. He had his family contact mine, he sent my daughters and mother gifts and wrote them some inspirational letters. This was, and is, the Hasan that grows on people. The loving caring and the "you before me" mentality that he continued to display is the man that burst my eye glands into tears. Because this boy Hasan was indeed special.

I have yet to meet any of his caliber here on death row or in the free world. Every good hearted penpal I have now I owe it all to him. The hope of freedom that I now have, I owe it all to him. The emotional being that I have now become, I owe it to him. Because real men do cry when real men die. Not only is it natural, it's a way to pay homage to those that inspired you.

Sadly to admit, Hasan "knew" he was going to be murdered, his fate had nothing to do with legalese, nor hope. It was centered around his destiny. I think spiritually we all know when our time here on earth is up. And that's what was driving me crazy the week leading to his murder, because I was not prepared nor ready to say goodbye to my brother. As much as I like to talk, I could not muster a vowel in his direction, I became mute. I realized I had got too close to him like my baby's momma warned me not to do. I wished I could have been in his cell with him, because I would have gladly fought side by side with him. if he die so would I have. But such thoughts only frustrates me even more, because the truth of the matter is "there wasn't a damn thing I could have physically done to aid him" And it pained me to be so close to him, yet so vulnerable to assist him.

What could I do to let him know that I love him? On August 30th, 2006, I laid on my bunk, dozed off. I was supposed to go to rec in a dayroom, I didn't want to. The officer didn't argue with me, he just told me go in my own dayroom later instead of now. I then had a vision and in it I was given a chance to hug Hasan and kiss him on the forehead. This is what my vision showed me, which any physical contact by any death row parties is prohibit, so I brushed the vision off.

Then I went to rec, and as soon as I got in the dayroom, Hasan comes through the door escorted by two officers, coming back from visit. We locked eyes immediately and he says in a low tone, "Road dawg, I got some good news and some bad news." But in my mind, I was like "this is exactly how my vision showed me. Do I bite my tongue and say and do nothing or should I try?"

I yelled out to him he was about ten feet away from me, telling him to come give me a hug. He seemed shocked that I told him to do so, but he began to come my way, even though the officers was pulling him away, and once he was in my grasp, I grabbed him through the bars and held him in a bear hug, refusing to let go. We both needed that hug, that humane affection that has been deprived from us since 2000. Sometimes a simple human to human touch is all the heart needs to grow fonder. I held for a solid minute although it felt longer and in logic wasn't long enough.

His voice crackled with emotion and he told me he loved me, he told me to promise him that I would do all that I could to regain my freedom. Verbally speaking, I had never told my dad nor any other man that I loved them, But on this day I easily told Hasan that I loved him and meant it. And I guaranteed him that I would put my foot in the system's ass to regain my freedom or die trying.

As soon as the officers broke up our reunion, I saw the tear from in Hasan's eyes, no more words was needed to be said. With that one hug, all was said and done, and in a gift giving way I thank God for "altering" time in order for my vision to become a closure-felt experience for the both of us.

Even now my eyes is beginning to wet-up because in Hasan's final hours, he still was worried about my well-being and my chance at freedom.

On September 1st, 2006, I was given a few sodas and candy and two packages. Inside the package was a card and a note. The card had Hasan's photo on it stating his date of birth and his death. The note was humorous and I smiled as my tears dropped unto the note. Hasan had written "I'M BACK! I'M WATCHING YOU - SO YOU BETTER REMEMBER YOUR PROMISE, WE ARE FAMILY, I LOVE YOU ALWAYS."

He had given these items to another inmate on the day of his execution with instructions to give them to me in the event that he was killed.

Hasan, I love you, my family loves you, and I do believe you are in Heaven now bothering God with that silly laugh, still trying to help somebody.

Hasan Shakur, I will make you proud!

REST IN PEACE MY BROTHER AND BELOVED FRIEND, ALSO TO JUSTIN FULLER, HEAR THIS, I LOVE YOU TOO LIL' BRO. MAY JESUS COMFORT THE BOTH OF YOU AND ALL OUR FALLEN BROTHERS.

CHARLES "CHUCKY" MAMOU

Charles 'Chucky' Mamou Jr. #999333
3872 FM 350 South
Livingston, Texas 77351

The Human Rights Papers, Vol. I

By Hasan Barir Shakur, Minister of Human Rights,
New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter

Reprinted from the Leviathan, Vol. 3, No. #3

Anyone who has known me, knows that I have always promoted the idea of fighting for human rights. I personally hold the belief that human rights should be placed before civil rights: The reason being that you cannot expect civil treatment when you are not even considered to be human. My comrades in the Party have taken on the issue of amending the 13th Amendment, in essence to abolish the status of "slave" for those convicted of a crime. I feel the main issue beneath this is recognition of our status as human beings.

Once you are imprisoned in this country, regardless of whether your skin is white, black, brown or yellow, you are treated as a sub-human. You are no longer regarded as a person. You have been branded as a "CRIMINAL!" If you want to try and get a point across, you must do it in a very intelligent way, or else you open the door for continual abuse on both a physical and mental level. I have tried to put together what I am calling the "Human Rights Papers," which will be a continuing series of essays containing simple and plain advice and tips on getting the respect for your human rights you justly deserve.

I will write in plain English that those who are most afflicted can understand, using layman's terms and simple language. More importantly, I will be attacking the system and (hopefully) teaching the masses of oppressed people how to go about getting their human rights respected. They say we are endowed with certain "inalienable rights," well, these have been stolen. If you want them back, then take my words as a humble offering and spread them to others, because there is strength in unity, and apply them to your daily practice. My comrades and I have dedicated our lives to become a Vanguard Party that fights against all oppression.

We ask you to give us your attention and hear what we dare to stand up to say, even though, like you, we are prisoners. Those who rule over us care nothing for the masses of poor and working people, and every day the gap between the haves and the have-nots grows wider. Every year the imprisoned population grows larger, and conditions more harsh and dehumanizing. To change this, we must dare to struggle and dare to win. Dare to stand with us! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

REAL TALK

"What good is a man, if he realizes he's no man at all? Hypocrisy is a choice; let's not make it a trend in Amerikkka. We can change anything in this country if we simply believed and stick together as one."

Comrade Chucky, "Free Your Mind," HRC-TX Newsletter, Vol. 3 – Issue 2

It certainly amazes me when I can sit and actually see and watch the growth in one person. It is akin to seeing the revolution unfold within your own soul. I reflect on the quote above for several reasons. The brotha who wrote this is a close and dear comrade. He is my soul brother. He is also a staff writer for two of the newsletters I initiated from here on death row. I reflect on his words because they speak to my soul; they speak to me! They invoke emotion in me, and I feel it is time for me to sit down and have a real talk with you. I have one intention, to invoke action!

During my personal battle for freedom, I have encountered all sorts of people – some real and some fake, some strong and some weak: All greatly affected the man who is addressing you now. Without them, I would be the same immature street thug that I had been for years. I try to use my life as an open book to inspire change. I try to use it as a tool to teach others that *one person can make a difference*. For good or bad, depending on the path we choose, our lives matter. If we put the effort into it, we can have a profound effect. If you have any doubt about it, read up on the life of El Hajj El-Malik Shabazz, better known as Malcolm X.

I do have a problem with the world we were born into and live in. My problem is that we, as a people, don't seem to learn from our experience, our past failures and triumphs, nor do we really actively seek change in its most positive forms. We have a way of starving ourselves into wanting to eat. I think the Party knew this, and in reforming the Central Committee created a post that hadn't existed in the old Panther Party, to address a necessary issue: the Ministry of Human Rights.

As I am writing this, I am facing death. I told my sister, Jendayi, that in doing what I do, I will either get murdered in here or fighting in the trenches outside. Either way, there will be a murder, so I will continue to go all out. I will fight with my best weapons – my mind and my heart. Everything else can be taken from me. I have encountered all sorts of repression. I had the establishment freeze my account and block my funds. My wife and kids receive threatening phone calls. I've had all my incoming and outgoing mail held up, photocopied. I and my wife have been accused of doing "something illegal," and she has been detained for several hours at U.S. Customs when crossing the border to visit me.

My daughter's mail is kept from me. My comrades' mail is denied to me. My property has been stolen. I have been denied medical treatment. I have been in a wheelchair for eight weeks. Yet, I have gotten my ass up out of that chair to get some strength in my right leg. My right leg has torn ligaments and joint fusion, which they won't treat because I have an execution date. Last time, I missed being executed by three days. I remain vigilant, strong and unbroken. There is not a chance in Hell they will get me to say "My name is Toby!"

I sit here facing down all I just wrote to you. Still I feel strong and unbroken. Why? How? It is because I love who I am and what I am doing! I have deeply rooted faith that the cause I am serving will lead to the betterment of mankind; that I can and will make a difference. How? I haven't figured it all out. Let's say by keeping the Afrikan spirit alive – the New Afrikan Spirit – that wells up within me and inspires me. It's not all good. I mean I still get frustrated, angry and depressed. But this spirit sustains me and gives me strength.

My question to you is, if you are not standing up too, why not? What is stopping you? Let me tell you what really gets me. I have witnessed people recite the lyrics to the latest rap song who can't tell you anything about the case going on that affects whether or not we here on Death Row will soon be executed or not. Like lambs awaiting slaughter, priority has no meaning to them. When learning the lyrics to Lil' Wayne has more importance than House v. Bell on Death Row, know for a fact that there is indeed a serious problem. Really!

Personally, it pisses me off! I feel obligated to help myself and others. Don't you feel these obligations too? The tricks of the trade have not changed. They have just been upgraded. They have become high-tech. so, can someone tell me or explain to me why is it that the same traps catch the same people over and over? The

movements of the 60's and 70's should inspire us to create more powerful ones today, learning from their short falls and mistakes. But, I ALWAYS have some fool telling me, "Nigga this ain't the 60's, and you ain't Huey!"

I laugh and tell them "No, brotha, this ain't the six ohs, it is the oh six, and I am Hasan Shakur!" I don't debate or argue. I fight harder to *show* change is possible instead of just speaking about it all the time. *That's what you must do!* You must show it! Look for the brothas who are hungry. Show them what can be done and invite them to join you.

This is just the tip of the iceberg, but believe me, I'm about to melt it! What you have in front of you right now is what I would call an essential part of a bigger realization. The realization that in order to be treated civilly, you have be recognized as a human being. Real talk people!

ACTIVISM – WHAT DOES IT MEAN?

"ac'tiv-ism, n. § the doctrine or practice of vigorous action to achieve political or social goals."

You knew it was coming. Point Four of the Party's Points of Discipline clearly states: "We will fearlessly speak the truth and expose lies and corruption." _Ha, don't worry, I promise by Executive Mandate #4 that I will not be harsh. ...or at least try not to always be. You see, we've got a million groups and organizations all over the world that claim that they do this or that but in reality, they are just sucking up valuable air from those who really need it to keep fighting the powers that be, aka: fascism in the third degree.

Let's go mainstream really fast! Omega Psi, Phi Beta Sigma, Kappa Alpha Psi, Alpha Phi Alpha, Klu Klux Klan...wait a minute! Those are all Black fraternity titles. What the Hell is the Klu Klux Klan doing in there? I'll tell you why! The Klan started as an all white fraternity (and still is) AND turned into a white supremacist terror group that preaches white supremacist "Christian values," and they have terrorized Afrikan people with their racist actions and propaganda (and still do). Whereas these Black fraternities are simply emulating the Klan from a "Black perspective." Hell!, being an Afrikan in Amerikkka is a "fraternity" in itself!

We don't need to place titles on these Black bourgeoisie (*bush-waa-zee*) fraternities to show how ignorant and stupid a group of people can be. They brand themselves with these insignias to show

they belong to this certain fraternal order. Hmmmmm, just like they done the ancestors when they first came over. Ass-backwardness at its finest, if you ask me. Moving on...

Being that I stand for human rights, let's look at the grassroots movements and their participants, and also the anti-death penalty movement in Texas. A lot of people do not know that I have had a hand in forming some of these groups, and I was the founder of the Human Rights Coalition-Texas Chapter. I have set up websites, and I have set up newsletters, and I have stressed the need for those of like minds to join together to fight in the common fight. However, the only reason I broke out on my own was that I found out that most of these organizations in Texas were, simply put, a FRAUD!

I have seen these organizations hold events that raise thousands of dollars in the name of condemned prisoners, and then neither provide any money to that particular prisoner nor do anything in the way of activism for that prisoner. Sure, they will get permission to walk up and down the local street and hold up signs made with cardboard and magic marker, and maybe put the prisoner's picture on it. Then they go home with the money in their pockets. After that, they are on to the next victim, the next fund raiser, picket line and execution. It becomes lucrative to protest the death penalty in Texas, but little is really being done to stop it.

I speak from experience! I have seen it first hand, over and over again. Most talk a good talk but their walk is not that hot. It really turns me off from most organizations. Some I had faith in have let me down. But we must not lose faith in the people as a whole. It is my love for them that gives me strength. We ALL suffer from the denial of our basic rights. Continue to stand firm and stand strong! DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO MAKE A DIFFERENCE! SEIZE THE DAY!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Hasan Shakur aka: Derrick Frazier #999284
Polunsky Unit
3872 FM 350 South
Livingston, TX 77351

www.hasanshakur.com



NABPP-PC

STATEMENT FROM CHAIRMAN SHAKA ZULU, NABPP-PC, ON BEHALF OF MINISTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS, HASAN SHAKUR, MURDERED BY THE STATE OF TEXAS ON AUGUST 31, 2006

"The state itself sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in our world, particularly in the prisons. The ruling circle of the United States has terrorized the world. The state has the audacity to say they have the right to kill. They say they have a death penalty and it's legal. But I say by the laws of nature that no death penalty can be legal—it's

only cold-blooded murder. It spurs all sorts of violence, because every man has a contract with himself, to keep himself alive at all cost." -Huey P. Newton

Power To The People and Panther Love to our fallen comrade Hasan Shakur, a member of our Party, murdered by the state of Texas, August 31, 2006. The fascist power structure has set the terms on how they will deal with the people and our Party—violence. No matter how loud we proclaim our innocence to the ruling class and the political leaders of the U.S. state, our voice will be swiftly silenced by the merchants of the death.

The cold, rightist hand of fascism that is now terrorizing the people of the world must be met by the warm, leftist hand of people power and organization. Our Party, the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter, in solidarity with our allies, are proud to have known Comrade Hasan Shakur. He was not afraid to die, and he went out as a true Panther. Not one tear was shed by our comrade, for he knew that others would be watching and listening for any crack in his belief and conviction in Pantherism—the only ideology of revolution that will rescue Black oppressed people from the evils of imperialism, racism, and capitalism.

So, the power structure, in murdering Comrade Hasan Shakur, murdered another Black revolutionary. We will use his death as a weapon to educate the masses. His death is a scathing, flagrant indictment of the corroded and racist nature of all branches of the Amerikkkan power structure. This is not our system. It belongs to the ruling class—so in fighting for national liberation we need not be sparing in our wrath. All of it must be destroyed!

We are so proud that he didn't die a criminal, as the racist state would have liked. Instead he died a true Black Panther, a servant of the people in the highest development. "...He was free for a while. I guess that's more than most of us can expect."

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! SEIZE THE TIME! BUILD PANTHER POWER AND PANTHER LOVE! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Shaka Sankofa Zulu

In Memory of Our Slain Comrade Hasan Shakur

By Comrade Rashid

"Know that I stood committed to not only die for the people but to live for them as well, for that is the real challenge!" – (March 2, 2006 letter from Hasan Shakur to the author)

Following the founding of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), [formerly the New Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NBPP-PC)], in July 2005, Comrade Hasan Shakur was recommended to us, and was quickly recruited as the 3rd member of our Central Committee. Hasan had demonstrated through various initiatives he'd headed, despite facing a sentence of death, his dedicated work in service to the people. He was appointed to be our Minister of Human Rights.

Hasan brought his infectious energy and commitment into the Party and immediately set to work developing the Party and its work. He did this as if he was totally unfazed by designs to take his life within weeks or months. Although this reality seemed not to burden Hasan, it had a definite effect on me. As a person conditioned to action and made very uncomfortable with being unable to help a friend and comrade in need, I'd expressed in one of my last letters to Hasan my frustration in knowing that the very same forces that have prematurely destroyed so many promising Black lives were devising to take his life, while I could take no decisive action to help or to stop them.

Hasan assured me that I had not failed him. He stated in reply: "We all have a certain level of limitation. We can attempt to surpass it, but there will be boundaries in place that we just cannot surpass. But what we must do is turn that frustration into *fuel* - fuel that will be used to push you in several other areas. I have a problem with patience. Yet, I must refocus that extra energy to push other agendas, like building bridges, building the Party, and building the Human Rights Ministry as well.

"Do me a favor. Hold your hand – right hand – out with fingers extended. Your individual fingers aren't very effective weapons for punching through obstacles are they? Now, when I call out a letter,

drop a finger, starting with your pinky. "P! – O! – W! – E! – R! What have you got? Now punch through that adversity and continue to lead by example!"

Comrade Hasan's level of intelligent fortitude in the face of death reflects a conviction that only a revolutionary awakening brings. It reflects a firm love-inspired confidence in the cause he lived for and the masses of people he sought to serve and lead by example. On this point he wrote to me:

"Brotha, a true servant of the people *NEVER* forgets his/her role, even in times of need and despair. For me it is natural. I do what I do 'cause I have a sincere love for what I do. I have faith in self, the Creator, and no doubt, my People! Therefore, my blessings will become the *Peoples'* blessings as well. You should see the brothas I have had *DIRECT* influence on – they have the same personality!"

Hasan clearly led by example. And it was his ability to reproduce his own revolutionary fervor in others that tipped the scales of reaction against preserving his life a moment longer. Despite admitted fundamental errors in the proceedings that landed him on death row, the courts refused him the usually granted delay in execution, and the racist, fascist death machine in Texas murdered him on Black August 31st, 2006.

Hasan stood as a shining example that struggle on the road to revolution can awaken, redeem, heal and transform people. Especially those people whom the Establishment claims are unredeemable and beyond healing. He was a living contradiction of this decadent and rotten capitalist system, a cancerous, gangster system that breeds sicknesses which it makes no attempt to cure – because it cannot! Only a revolutionary remolding of our values away from being property-centered and toward becoming people-centered, and struggling to develop similar values within the broad masses can effect the necessary healing process.

This is a process that the imperialists cannot tolerate. For imperialism to reign, the people must be kept divided by fear, hatred and suspicion. Because if they unite and become a common force recognizing the common cause of their poverty and oppression, the common source of their alienation and division, as being a predatory, greed-driven minority; and they realize that through their united action they can liberate themselves from this ruling elite class, then people's power will reign supreme.

It is because of this reality that the imperialist capitalist class recognizes that people who love people above property and profit constitute a threat to their empire. People who struggle to uproot racism and national oppression, sexism, poverty and inequality and every form of oppression generated by the imperialist capitalist system are bad for business. Comrade Hasan embodied the true spirit of anti-imperialism and the highest aspirations of the New Afrikan Liberation Movement.

Hasan was the third member of our Central Committee, our first recruit and first martyr. Just as Lil' Bobby Hutton, who was murdered by police on April 6th, 1968, was the first recruit and first martyr of the original Black Panther Party. Lil' Bobby's sacrifice inspired many more recruits to step forward to join the Party and became an impetus and inspiration to the work of the original BPP.

So too will Hasan's sacrifice and memory inspire our New Afrikan Black Panther Party and push our work forward.

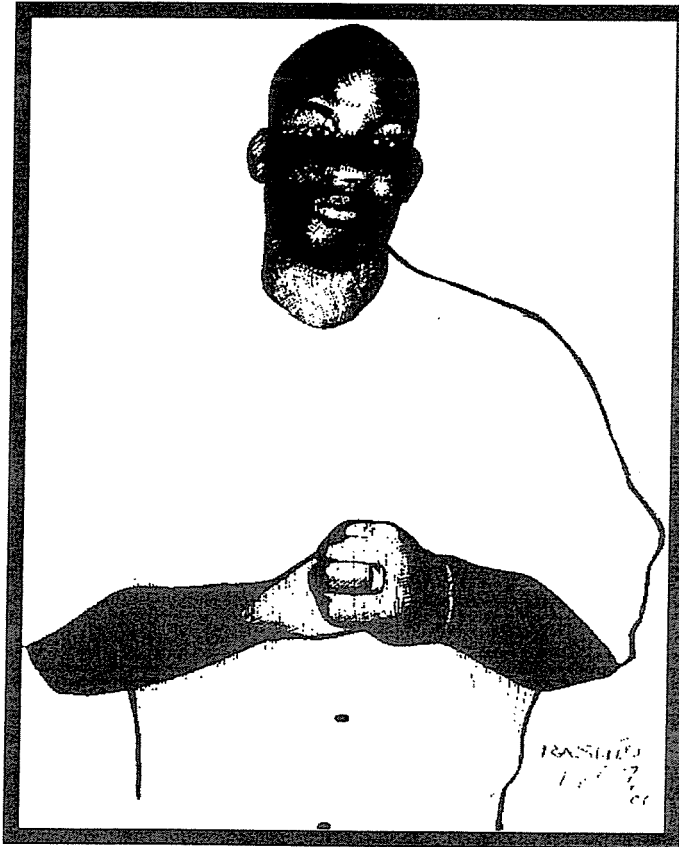
The forces of reaction can kill a revolutionary – but they can't kill the revolution. They can imprison our bodies – but they can't imprison our spirit. They can't take away our love for our Comrade and the Panther Love he gave to us! The Struggle continues! Panther Love to the memory and example of Comrade Hasan Shakur! Let 1,000 fighters arise to fill his place!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Minister of Defense Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter

HASAN SHAKUR ENROLLMENT



Hasan Shakur (1977-2006)

BLACK PANTHERS STEP FORWARD!

On August 31st, the State of Texas murdered the Minister of Human Rights of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), Hasan Shakur (AKA Derrick Frazier). They executed him, even though he had an appeal filed in the Federal Appeals Court. His lawyer went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court to try to get a stay of execution for his appeal to be heard. But you can't look to this system for mercy, and you can't look to it for justice!

Our comrade knew that. He'd already spent nine years on Death Row for a crime he did not commit. He'd seen brotha after brotha taken out and murdered by the State. He'd seen brothas driven to madness and suicide. But Comrade Hasan was not afraid to die, and he was not afraid to live, because he'd found something worth living and dying for: REVOLUTION!

Like the rest of us, he was born in this stinking sewer called capitalism, where the Big Rats tell us, "This is the best of all possible worlds." In this rat eat rat, dawg eat dawg world, a poor Black kid with no father and a crack addicted mother doesn't stand much of a chance. After his mom died from an overdose, it was the mean streets and juvenile hall that raised him. It was only a matter of time until he got in a jam where the cops could frame him, and frame him they did!

At 19 he was sentenced to die. No material evidence linked him to the crime, and the cops already had the confession of the youth who did it, but cynically they tricked him into a false confession, pretending it was the way to save himself from certain execution. It was a big fat lie!

Hasan found himself in prison awaiting execution. That is, he found the man inside himself. It began with his conversion to Islam under the tutelage of an Imam who was an original Black Panther. And he began a journey of both self-discovery and political education. Along the way he met Malcolm X, and Mao Tse-tung, Che, Huey, Eldridge and George Jackson. He found life in assisting those around him awaiting death. He took up

the fight for human rights for all prisoners. Under the mentoring of another original Black Panther and BLA fighter, Russell "Maroon" Shoats, a political prisoner in Pennsylvania, Hasan formed the Texas chapter of the Human Rights Coalition (HRC), an organization inspired by Comrade Maroon to unite prisoners, their families and community activists in struggle against the oppressive conditions on the razor-wire plantations.

This brought him to the attention of Comrades Shaka S. Zulu and Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, the Chairman and Minister of Defense of NABPP-PC, and Hasan agreed to accept the position of Minister of Human Rights. NABPP-PC is based upon the 10-Point Program of the original Black Panther Party (BPP) founded

by Chairman Bobby Seale and Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton in Oakland, CA, in 1966. Its principle inspiration is the BPP Prison Chapter founded by Comrade George Jackson.

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter rejects racism in all its forms and embraces class struggle and the strategy of the United Front Against Imperialism. We base ourselves on *Panther Love* and the principle of *from the masses to the masses*, because the Science of Revolution teaches us that THE MASSES ARE THE MAKERS OF HISTORY!

We stand for the liberation of the New Afrikan Nation and Black people everywhere, and for *Revolutionary Internationalism*. We stand for SOCIALISM and an end to all oppression, and for the transfer of all power to the people through REVOLUTION!

Our strategy is to transform the slave pens of oppression into *Schools of Liberation* and the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution. We stand for peace and oppose imperialist wars, for freedom and justice and oppose fascism and slavery. We are servants of the people and warriors of our nation – the Nation of Afrikans in Amerikkka.

The Enemy has killed one of our Panther brothers, we call for 1,000 to take his place!



BLACK PANTHERS STEP FORWARD!

To be enrolled in the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), you must commit to memory and live by the Party's Rules of Discipline and the 10-Point Program. You must uphold the Democratic Centralism of the Party. You must join and help build the mass organizations the Party supports. At all times and in all ways you must represent the Party's ideological and political line and conduct yourself as a true servant of the people and strive to be the people's pride.

"At this very moment, I represent the 2.3 million people in this system's injustice system. I represent the 3,000 plus people sentenced to die at the hands of this government, in its gulags across the nation."

"I stand tall as a Panther committed to the people's struggle! And as the Minister of Human Rights, I will exemplify the epitome of Socio-Revolutionary Consciousness!

DARE TO STRUGGLE! DARE TO WIN!"

Hasan Shakur

Uphold the legacy of Comrade Hasan Shakur! Arise and step forward!

40 Years Later

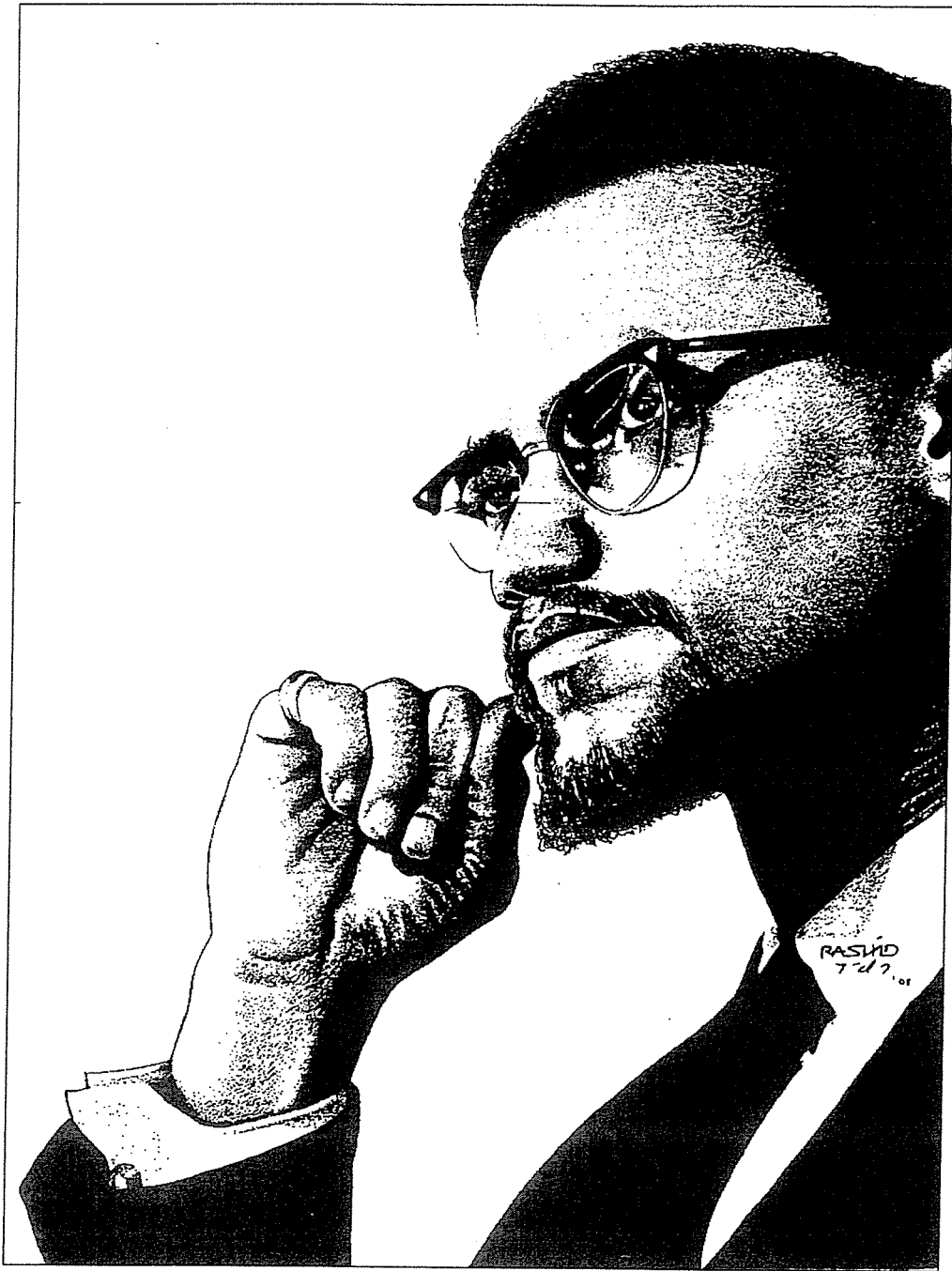
by Tom Big Warrior

"If you're not ready to die for it, put the word 'freedom' out of your vocabulary."

- Malcolm X, Chicago Defender, 28. Nov. 1962

On February 21, 1965, three gunmen from the Nation of Islam (NOI) rushed onto the stage at the Audubon Ballroom in NYC, where Brother Malcolm X was speaking. They drew their guns and shot him fifteen times at point blank range. He was pronounced dead on arrival at the hospital. He was only 39 years old. Forty years later,

on Feb. 21, 2005, the Audubon Ballroom announced its plan to become an educational center in honor of Malcolm X and his wife, Dr. Betty Shabazz. The new center will open its doors on Malcolm's birthday, May 19th, of this year.



"You don't have to be a man to fight for freedom. All you have to do is to be an intelligent human being."

Malcolm X, NYC, 20 Dec. 1964

Born Malcolm Little on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, NE, his father was an outspoken Baptist preacher and a follower of the Black Nationalist leader, Marcus Garvey. Hounded by the fascist Black Legion and the KKK, Rev. Little was forced to relocate his family many times before he was found dead in the street in Lansing, MI in 1931. Malcolm's mother, Louise, eventually suffered an emotional breakdown and was committed to a mental institution. Her children were farmed out to foster care and orphanages.

"We're not Americans, we're Africans who happen to be in America. We were kidnapped

and brought here against our will from Africa. We didn't land on Plymouth Rock - that rock landed on us."

Malcolm X, Harlem, cited in Goldman, "The Death and Life of Malcolm X", p.157

A bright student, Malcolm graduated junior high school at the top of his class, but he was discouraged by a teacher, and he dropped out of high school. Told by the teacher that his goal of becoming a lawyer was not appropriate for a "nigger," young Malcolm decided

that if this was the case, he was not going to be a "good nigger" either. He moved to Boston and then NYC where he got involved with drugs and criminal activities. Known as "Detroit Red" for his

reddish hair, Malcolm moved back up to Boston with his partner, "Shorty." There, they got busted for burglary in 1946, and Malcolm was sentenced to ten years in prison.



"Look at yourselves. Some of you teen-agers, students. How do you think I feel? - and I belong to a generation ahead of you - how do you think I feel to have to tell you, 'We, my generation, sat around like a knot on a wall while the whole world was fighting for its human rights - and you've got to be born into a society where you still have that same fight?' What did we do, who preceded you? I'll tell you what we did... Nothing! And don't you make the same mistake we made...."

Malcolm X, December 31, 1964

(taken from the essay 'Malcolm X, our revolutionary son & brother.' by Patricia Robinson)

Malcolm entered prison with anger and hate in his heart, and he soon earned the nickname "Satan." However, while in prison, he joined the Nation of Islam (NOI) and was inspired by the teachings of Elijah Muhammad. He applied himself to study and self-improvement, and he was paroled after six years. He became a

minister and changed his name, adopting the surname "X" to call attention to his stolen tribal name. He rose quickly through the ranks to become the NOI's leading spokesman. Dynamic and articulate, Malcolm X traveled the country, opening new mosques in Detroit and Harlem, and speaking out in public forums and to the media.

"I think that an objective analysis of events that are taking place on this earth today points towards some type of ultimate showdown. You can call it political showdown, or even a showdown between the economic systems that exist on this earth which almost boil down along racial lines. I do believe that there will be a clash between East and West. I believe that there will ultimately be a clash between the oppressed and those that do the oppressing. I believe that there will be a clash between those who want freedom, justice and equality for everyone and those who want to continue the systems of exploitation."

Malcolm X, January 19, 1965

(taken from the essay 'Malcolm X, our revolutionary son & brother.' by Patricia Robinson)

"Human rights are something you are born with. Human rights are your God-given rights. Human rights are the rights that are recognized by all nations of this earth."

Under his influence, the NOI grew from 500 members in 1952 to over 30,000 in 1963. In that year, a shocking sex scandal involving Elijah Muhammad and many women within the NOI deeply hurt Malcolm, who had revered Elijah as a living prophet. He refused to help cover up the scandal. When Malcolm came under sharp media criticism for a statement he made after the assassination of President Kennedy about "chickens coming home to roost," Elijah Muhammad "silenced" him for 90 days, and he openly broke with the NOI. He founded his own Muslim Mosque, Inc., and he made a pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca in Saudi Arabia. He was warmly received by the other pilgrims of all races, and he returned to the U.S. with a changed outlook, and a revolutionary message for all people. In May of 1964, Malcolm X formed the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU).

"The only way we'll get freedom for ourselves is to identify ourselves with every oppressed people in the world. We are blood brothers to the people of Brazil, Venezuela, Haiti,... Cuba - yes Cuba too."

Malcolm X, Militant, 10 June 1964, p.3

The FBI had identified Malcolm X as a "dangerous radical" back when he was a minister for the NOI, and it had infiltrated agents into the Nation. Now these agents fanned the flames of anger and hatred against Malcolm inside the NOI. On February 14, 1965, his home was firebombed. One week later, he was gunned down at the Audubon Ballroom.

"I might point out here that colonialism or imperialism, as the slave system of the West is called, is not something that is just confined to England or France or the United States. The interests in this country are in cahoots with the interests in France and the interests in Britain. It's one huge complex or combine, and it creates what's known not as the American power structure or the French power structure, but an international power structure. This international power structure is used to suppress the masses of dark-skinned people all over the world and exploit them of their

natural resources."

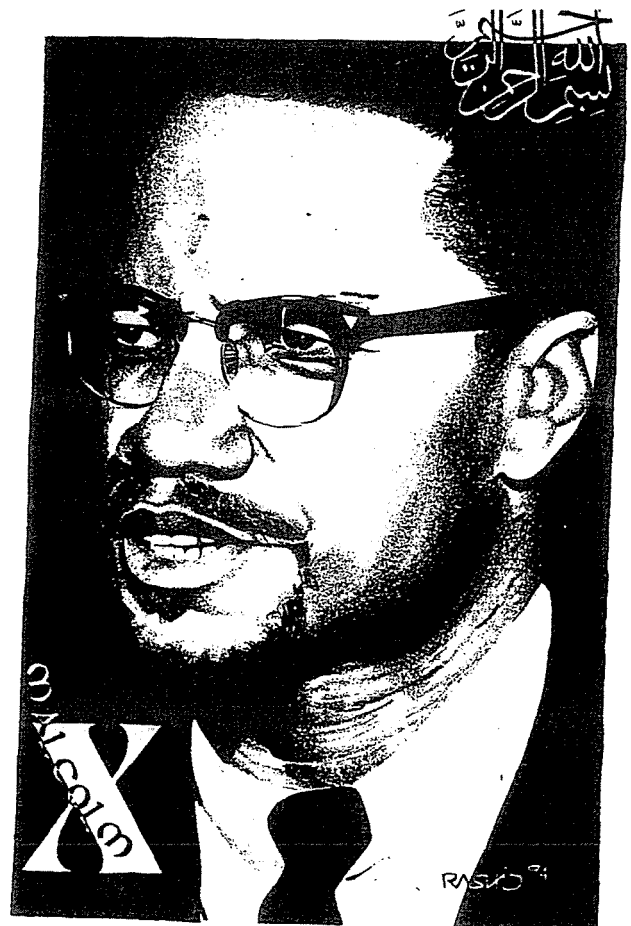
Malcolm X, February 14, 1965

(taken from the essay 'Malcolm X, our revolutionary son & brother.' by Patricia Robinson)

"Of what there is no doubt is that after the murder the American state drew a huge sigh of relief. One of the most vocal, uncompromising opponents of their system had apparently been silenced. However history continues to show that revolutionary ideas can never be silenced," Andrea Enisuo wrote in 1993:

"The assassination of Malcolm X spawned the Black Panther Party. In *Seize The Time*, the story of the Black Panthers, Co-founder Bobby Seale tells us the tremendous effect the killing of Malcolm X had on him: 'I got mad, I put my fist through a window. I told them all, I'll make my own self into a Malcolm X, and if they want to kill me they'll have to kill me...That a big change for me...Malcolm X had an impact on everybody like that.' The next year the Black Panther Party was formed. They represent the highest point in the civil rights movement that engulfed the US for over two decades. They took Malcolm's message of self-defense for blacks and translated it into action. During the 1970s they became a focal point for young blacks wanting to fight back against the racist police and state in America. They inspired youth and blacks internationally with their preparedness to fight racism and police brutality. They too posed a threat to the American state. At one stage 300 of their leaders were imprisoned on various trumped up charges. Many more were gunned down by police."

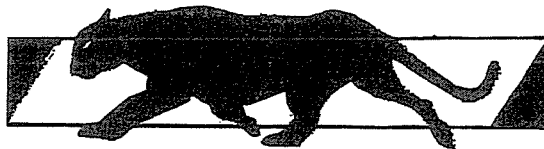
"You're living at a time of revolution...people in power have misused it and now a better world has to be built." — Malcolm X





"You show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker."

- Malcolm X, NYC, 20 Dec. 1964□





A Brief History of MOVE

Reprinted from the Spring, '05 issue of Leviathan.

MOVE is a revolutionary organization which formed in the early 1970s to confront oppression on all levels and work towards animal liberation, environmental and social justice. MOVE was founded by JOHN AFRICA, who believed in the need to destroy the illusion that humans are the masters of the living world and to start living in submission to, rather than above, natural law, as equal members of the community of life. Among their early activities, MOVE demonstrated against zoos, pet stores, and police brutality. MOVE confronted industrial polluters, mediated between gangs, fed poor children natural food and generally helped uplift the community. But this holistic, consistent and revolutionary example set by JOHN AFRICA and MOVE became a threat to those who profit from the subjugation of life. Throughout the 70s, this conflict continued to escalate, with Philadelphia police regularly beating and arresting MOVE members. Police even resorted to a starvation blockade of MOVE headquarters, beating several women into miscarriage, and on one occasion, stomping a 3 week-old MOVE child to death. MOVE, refusing to break or compromise MOVE belief in the face of such atrocity, took a militant stand against this abuse, forcing the system to either do the right thing or openly display their intentions of destroying MOVE. Check Out www.onamove.org for more information on the MOVE 9 and the MOVE Organization.

GA Note: There is a new documentary about MOVE which is currently hitting the underground film circuit. It is narrated by Howard Zinn and was produced by Cohort Media. Among its awards are "Best Documentary" at the Boston Underground Film Festival. It is long overdue and will be available soon. Check out: www.movefilm.com for details.

MOVE Prisoners

MOVE is a radical, ecological movement that has been attacked by the Philadelphia police since its inception. Nine members were convicted and sent to prison for life following a 1978 siege at their house in which one cop was killed by another cop. One of those nine, Merle Africa, died in prison after being denied medical treatment.

Debbie Simms Africa #006307

Janet Holloway Africa #006308

Janine Philips Africa #006309

451 Fullerton, Ave., Cambridge Springs, PA 16403-1238

Michael Davis Africa #AM-4973

Charles Simms Africa #AM-4975

Box 244, Graterford, PA 19426-0244

Edward Goodman Africa #AM-4974

Box 200, Camp Hill, PA 17011-0200

William Philips Africa #AM-4985

Delbert Orr Africa #AM-4985

Drawer K, Dallas, PA 18612

On Political Prisoners (PP)

ON THE MOVE!

MICHAEL AFRICA

Reprinted from the Spring, '05 issue of Leviathan.

SOLITARY CONFINEMENT IS A POSITION THAT MOST TRUE ACTIVISTS EXPERIENCE REGARDLESS OF THEIR LOCATION. WHETHER ON A CELL BLOCK OR A STREET BLOCK, THE LIFE OF AN ACTIVIST IS ONE OF ISOLATION.

PUBLIC OFFICIALS WANT TO ISOLATE THE P.P. IN AN ATTEMPT TO CONTAIN THEM. OLD ACQUAINTANCES MAY DISTANCE THEMSELVES WHEN THEY REALIZE THE P.P. IS NOW AGGRES-SIVELY CONFRONTING THE SAME SYSTEM THEY'VE BEEN TAUGHT ALL THEIR LIVES TO FEAR AND AVOID. BUT AS OLD FRIENDS DISTANCE THEMSELVES, NEW COMRADES EMERGE WHO, LIKE YOU, FEEL COMPELLED TO CONFRONT A SYSTEM THAT HAS TERRORIZED YOUR POWER OF PURPOSE.

ONCE THESE SAME ACTIVISTS ARE THROWN IN JAIL HOWEVER, THE ISOLATION TACTIC INCREASES A THOUSAND FOLD. ALL THE TACTICS THE SYSTEM EMPLOYED IN AN ATTEMPT TO BREAK THE WILL AND THE SPIRIT OF THE P.P. ARE APPLIED NON-STOP 24/7. THEY FIGURE THEY HAVE THE P.P. EXACTLY HOW THEY WANT THEM; BEATEN AND SILENCED. OR SO THEY FIGURE.

IN A FURTHER ATTEMPT TO SILENCE AND CONTAIN THE P.P., OFFICIALS THEN KEEP SOME P.P.'S IN THE HOLES OF THE WORST PRISONS IN THE COUNTRY. AND AS DEMON-STRATED BY THE PRISON GUARDS TURNED SOLDIERS AND SENT TO IRAQ'S ABU GRAIB TERROR CAMP, THESE GUARDS HAVE EMPLOYED EVERY ONE OF THOSE SAME TACTICS ON P.P.'S IN THIS COUNTRY, AND CONTINUE TO DO SO TODAY.

THE TORTURE OF P.P.'S IN THIS COUNTRY IS A CONTINUOUS TOOL OF THE GHOULS THAT RUN THESE SLAVE CAMPS, AND THE MORE THE P.P.'S STAND UP TO THESE COWARDS, THE MORE THEY ARE TARGETED AND ISOLATED.

P.P.'S LIKE MUMIA ABU JAMAL AND THE ANGOLA 3, HAVE BEEN ISOLATED IN THESE DUNGEONS FOR OVER A QUARTER CENTURY BY PEOPLE WHO FIND IT INTOLERABLE THAT PEOPLE STAND UP AND SPEAK THE TRUTH.

MOVE PEOPLE HAVE BEEN FORCED INTO THE HOLES FOR FIVE AND SEVEN YEAR BLOCKS AT VARIOUS TIMES DURING THE VARIOUS RIGGED UP SENTENCES WE'VE BEEN GIVEN.

THE TORTURE AND ISOLATION FOR THE P.P.'S ALSO EXTEND TO THEIR FAMILIES, AS WAS DEMONSTRATED BY PHILA. OFFICIALS WHEN THEY TARGETED MOVE'S HOME MAY 13, 1985, DROPPING A 3RD BOMB ON THE HOUSE AND MURDERING ALL INSIDE. FOUR MEN, TWO WOMEN, AND FIVE BABIES!!! ALL OF THEM WERE THE CHILDREN OF THE EMBATTLED MOVE WOMEN AND MEN IN THE HOLES FROM EARLIER CONFRONTATIONS WITH THE SAME

PHILADELPHIA OFFICIALS AND TERROR COP BRIGADES THAT ASSAULTED AND MASSACRED MOVE ON MAY 13 1985.

BEING A P.P. IN ISOLATION MEANS ENDURING A MULTITUDE OF GUT WRENCHING EXPERIENCES ON A DAILY BASIS. IT MEANS WATCHING THE GUARDS THAT SWEAR HE OR SHE WILL FIND A WAY TO FURTHER HARASS YOU, BRING YOU YOUR MEALS, YOUR MAIL, COME TO GET YOU FOR A SHOWER WHERE YOU HAVE TO COMPLETELY EXPOSE YOURSELF BY COMING OUT OF YOUR CELL WEARING ONLY A TOWEL. IT IS WATCHING THESE SAME GUARDS HARASS YOUR FAMILY AND FRIENDS WHEN THEY COME TO VISIT YOU, TREATING THEM LIKE CRIMINALS AS WELL, IN AN ATTEMPT TO DISCOURAGE THEM FROM SUPPORTING YOU.

BEING A P.P. IN ISOLATION IS SOMETIMES GETTING TO FINALLY SEE YOURSELF IN THE MIRROR AND NOT RECOGNIZING THE CHANGES IN THE REFLECTION.

BEING A P.P. IS WATCHING YOUR PARENTS GROW OLD AS THEY CONTINUE TO VISIT. IT'S BEING TOLD OF YOUR LOVED ONES PASSING BY PEOPLE WHO HATE YOU, AND ONLY USE THE NEWS AS ANOTHER TOOL TO DIG AT YOU.

BEING A P.P. IS WATCHING YOUR SIBLINGS GROW MORE UNFAMILIAR TO YOU WITH EACH PASSING YEAR. WATCH AS THEY STRUGGLE TO CAREFULLY KEEP DISTURBING FAMILY NEWS AWAY FROM YOU. NOT REALIZING THAT AFTER DECADES OF THIS TREATMENT, YOU NO LONGER FEEL LIKE THE BROTHER, THE SON, BUT A KIND OF GUEST IN YOUR OWN FAMILY.

BEING A P.P. MAKE YOU FEEL TERRIFIED OF TOUCHING THINGS THAT YOU KEEP LOCKED IN THE RECESSES OF YOUR MIND; LIKE THE FIRST DAY YOUR YOUNG CHILDREN WOKE UP WITHOUT YOU ANYWHERE NEAR. HOW IT MUST HAVE BEEN FOR THEM TO ONLY KNOW YOU THROUGH AN ENTIRE LIFETIME OF BRIEF VISITS UNDER THE EVER WATCHFUL EYE OF PEOPLE WHO THEY KNOW HATE YOU, AND BECAUSE THEY HATE YOU, ALSO LOOK UPON THEM WITH MUCH SUSPICION.

BEING A P.P. MEANS WATCHING YOUR FAMILY STRUGGLE, LOCKED INTO A LIFETIME OF BATTLES OF SUPPORT ON YOUR BEHALF. DEFENDING YOU AND THEN HAVING TO DEFEND THEMSELVES FROM THE CORPORATIONS THAT EXIST ONLY TO TRY TO EXPLOIT THE FAMILIES OF PRISONERS. THE LAWYERS, THE PHONE COMPANIES, THE COMMISSARIES, CABLE COMPANIES, ALL WHO JACK UP THEIR PRICES WHEN DEALING WITH PRISONS.

BEING A P.P. IS WATCHING YOUR SISTER (MERLE AFRICA, ONE OF THE MOVE 9) DIE IN PRISON HAVING SPENT THE LAST 20 YEARS OF HER LIFE IN A GODDAMN DUNGEON FOR A CRIME THAT EVEN THE MAYOR OF THE CITY ADMITTED HE KNEW SHE WAS INNOCENT OF, BUT NEVERTHELESS WAS CONTENT TO DO NOTHING AS SHE DIED IN A PRISON SENT THERE BY HIS COURTS AND TERRORIST COPS.

BEING A P.P. MEANS TAKING ALL OF THESE THINGS AND USING THEM AS MOTIVATION TO KEEP FIGHTING, KNOWING THAT THIS IS EXACTLY THE KIND OF INJUSTICE THAT COMPELLED YOU TO WANT TO STAND AGAINST AND CONFRONT THE SYSTEM IN THE FIRST PLACE.

ALL P.P.'S SHOULD BE SUPPORTED AND FREED! THE SYSTEM ONLY GETS AWAY WITH THIS TREATMENT OF P.P.'S BECAUSE THE PEOPLE ALLOW THEM TO. THEY GIVE THEIR PERMISSION BY THEIR SILENCE.

IT IS PAST TIME THAT ALL P.P.'S ARE FREED AND GIVEN THE SAME KIND OF SUPPORT THAT THEY HAVE ALWAYS SHOWN TO THE PEOPLE THEY SACRIFICED THEIR LIVES FOR.

ON THE MOVE

MICHAEL AFRICA



**LONG LIVE MOVE! LONG LIVE
REVOLUTION!**

LONG LIVE JOHN AFRICA!

**Int' Day of Solidarity
with PP/POW!**

February 7, 2005

Greetings Comrades!

Reprinted from the Spring, '05 issue of Leviathan.

The Bay Area Jericho Movement, the Malcolm X Grassroots Movement and the GABRIELA Network would like to encourage you and your organization to join us in organizing the International Day of Solidarity with Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War called for Saturday, December 3, 2005.

The idea of the International Day of Solidarity with Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War originated from a political prisoner in the Philippines, Donato Continente. During a conversation with a delegation from the United States in the summer of 2000, Donato suggested that we have an international day of solidarity with political prisoners worldwide. While discussing the situation of political prisoners worldwide it was noted that

although most countries have political prisoners, there is little knowledge of them outside their homelands. Also there is very little if any communication between political prisoners or political prisoner support groups of different countries. Each country could decide it's own way of observing this day, as could the political prisoners and support organizations. The impact of this work would be strengthened by communication between groups and coordinated media work to highlight the situation of political prisoners internationally.

In November human rights activists met in Holland at an anti-imperialist conference: the ILPS-International League of Peoples' Struggles. There, representatives from the Philippines, US, Canada, Mexico, Iraq, Palestine, Italy, Spain, Mexico, Colombia and Turkey agreed to make Donato's idea a reality on December 3, 2005 – which would give activists' one year to organize. Additional outreach will broaden this concept to include political prisoners and their movements in many other countries. We have written the political prisoners in the US about this concept and have begun receiving overwhelming support and suggestions. We will summarize some of their responses in subsequent mailings.

We are looking for your support in planning and coordinating activities and actions for a Day of Solidarity in the US. At present, people have shown interest in organizing regional demonstrations and programs in Oakland, Atlanta, Chicago, New York City, and Eugene, Oregon. We hope you and your organizations want to organize actions and activities in other cities as well. We ask that our efforts be coordinated to maximize the impact of our efforts. At this time you can:

- a) Organize Endorsements for the */Day of Solidarity."
- b) Commit to organize local or regional actions
- c) Help to organize one of the projected regional activities

In Oakland we are considering a demonstration at the Oakland Federal Building on Friday, December 2nd which will also initiate a one-day solidarity fast with our imprisoned sisters and brothers and a community event on Saturday December 3rd to educate and build an ever stronger support movement, demanding the freedom for all political prisoners and prisoners of war.

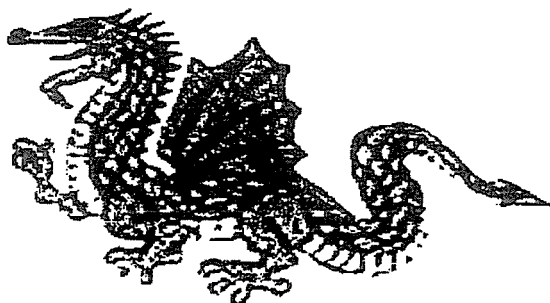
We are anxious to hear from you. We welcome your ideas and suggestions. If you have contacts with any international, national or local prisoner support movements, please let us know. We are aiming to get as much feedback as possible from all of you by the end of March 2005.

All correspondence should be mailed to:

Jericho Movement
P.O. Box 3585
Oakland, CA 94509

All email correspondence can be sent to:
kaliaw@sbcglobal.net<mailto:kaliaw@sbcglobal.net>.

The Freedom Archives
522 Valencia Street
San Francisco, CA 94110
(415) 863-9977
www.freedomarchives.org <<http://www.freedomarchives.org>>.



When the Prison Doors Open the Real Dragons Will Appear

New York City Jericho-P.O.B. 774, Bronx, NY 10458
Jan. 2, 2005

Reprinted from the Spring, '05 issue of Leviathan.

Greetings and Best wishes for Changes in 2005. I want to send you a report of the Safiya Bukhari International Human Rights/Pick up the Work weekend of December 10-12, 2004. As well as let you know that I will be sending you all a copy of the information I received from my last trip to the French section of the Basque Country on Dec. 3-5 regarding the peace proposal of Batasuna to the Basque people on the 30th of Nov. 2005.

This report was composed by Sis. Hira Al-Amin of Lansing Mi. from reports from the National and NYC chapter. I also enclosed a group of pictures from all events to give you an idea of the international support and solidarity we received. If you have any questions please let me know and I will try and answer them.

Also Anne Lamb/NYC-J and myself took a trip on the 31/1 to see Seth as he was snatched up and then spent 4 days traveling from Clinton Corr. to Wende about 300 miles further west. He is looking much better than when he was at Clinton. He has been to see a doctor who has taken the time to review his medicine and has taken him off the huge amount of insulin he was being given at Clinton. He is also getting his sugar levels checked twice a day-finger sticks - which they would not do for him in Clinton without him being in the hospital. Even though this facility is further away, they seem to have a better medical facility, and are helping him get his physical health together, though he would prefer to be at a facility closer to New York City. He sends greetings to all.

As you can see, we are trying out a new letterhead. If you can improve on this, please feel free to do so and send us a copy to the P.O. Box. I didn't know how to put the bars over the dragon. Do you think it's necessary? Should the dragon be smaller?

As our comrade Bill Dunne would say "The future holds promise!"□

Notes from the Pick Up The Work! Safiya Bukhari International Human Rights Weekend

by Sister Hira Al-Amin

Reprinted from the Spring, '05 issue of Leviathan.

Beginning with a cultural evening filled with music, poetry & statements of solidarity with all political prisoners, we celebrated the life and struggles of our fallen comrade, Sister Safiya Bukhari. This past December 10-12 commemorations, rallies, networking sessions & committee presentations was a wonderful effort initiated by The Jericho Movement's New York City committee. With contributions of many PP/POW committees, friends & supporters, we celebrated the release of the "PICK UP THE WORK Resource Guide", honoring the work of Sis. Safiya Bukhari. The event opened Friday evening with the viewing of a short film about the life & work of Safiya Bukhari, including a tribute from Mumia Abu-Jamal. A recorded statement from Brother Jalil A. Muntaqim was played as well.

Baba Herman Ferguson was very happy to give us a report that our first shipment of school supplies had arrived in Tanzania, and have already been distributed! Please be sure to support the Jericho Movement's Jericho AIDS Orphans School Supply Project and bid on The Jericho Political Prisoner Art Auction Project (JPPAAP) on Ebay (2_struggle_4). Efia Nwangaza, the Jericho Movement National Co-chair, presented the beginning supplies for a second shipment, a

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collection of over 1,000 pencils, many notebooks, and other school supplies raised by various student organizations from colleges and individuals in Georgia and South Carolina Let's keep up the good work and encourage all our religious groups, fraternal orders, community groups, organizations, associations, and Political Prisoner support groups to organize and help gather these tax deductible donations.

The cultural presentations were filled with many forms & expressions of love and solidarity, in remembrance of, and from our Freedom Fighters. The dynamic rhythms & poetic recitations of the "Presente!" from Boston Jericho; & Hector from "The Welfare Poets" of NYC, were uplifting, enlightening, and also reaffirming to our solidarity in the fight to win acknowledgement and freedom for ALL Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War.

Mariposa recited her poetry with passion and tenderness that captivated the entire audience. Rosemary Mealy also graced the audience with her lovely presence and read the poetry of some of our departed brothers who have been executed, and some who are

currently waiting to be executed presently on ~. A Lakota Indian Brother spoke on behalf of Leonard Peltier and played a heartfelt flute solo. Several other representatives read statements from other Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War, including Deirdre from The Irish Freedom Committee, and Brother Russell Maroon Shoats II in behalf of his father. We want thank the Rev. Luis Barrios for providing us the space at John Jay College of Criminal Justice in Manhattan for our program. We give special thanks to Paulette, Anne, Elspeth, Ben, and Sally.

The morning of December 11th began with a 9 am - 1pm "Networking for Activists Session" led by Baba Herman & Mama Iyalua Ferguson from the New York Jericho National Office. We discussed many issues pertaining to supporting our Freedom Fighters & celebrated the victory of our comrade David Wong! We pray that 2005 will bring more legal victories for our PP/POWS. The Jericho Movement engaged in information gathering & sharing with individuals from groups such as: Anti-Imperialist activists Elspeth from Resistance in Brooklyn, Tibby from The Coalition to Free Mumia, and Brenton, D & Missy, from the Break the Chains Collective.



Also, special thanks to Claude from The Freedom Archives, Zindzhi from the Atlanta Malcolm X Grassroots Movement, Kali from Jericho/Malcolm X Grassroots Movement Bay area, and Jaye, the Calendar Committee Representative for the 2005 Freedom for Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War Calendar (a must have!) Thanks for your input!

A Rally and Demonstration at the Dag Hammarskjold Plaza. took place on Saturday afternoon from 2pm-5pm. The crowd was composed of people from and in support of movements all across the globe, including: representatives from Prolibertad & The Puerto Rican Movement, The Cuban Five Committee, The Irish Freedom Committee, and Basque Region Human Rights Observatory. The statements of Political Prisoners Jalil A. Muntajir, and Mumia Abu-Jamal were played via audio recording during the rally. Solidarity Statements were recited for The MOVE 9, Mumia, A. Shaka Cinque & Herman "Hooks" Wallace of *The Angola 3*, and David

Wong. Thanks to the Buddhist Monk who performed a beautiful prayer for peace and to the PP supporters. Other statements of Solidarity were read by Jason Corwin for Leonard Peltier, and Autumn of Critical Resistance for EZLN (Zapatista Movement) who spoke about a program in which North American comrades work in solidarity with our Zapatista comrades in Chiapas Mexico, and a very powerful statement Samia of Al-Awda in support Palestinian PP/POWS held in Israeli jails, and Zindzhi Olugbala from the Atlanta Malcolm X Grassroots Movement.

Sunday December 12m events included a 9am-2pm Working Meeting. in which the April 2005 Conference, *From Attica to Abu Ghraib* was discussed. There was also a suggestion from Filipino comrades about an *International Day of Solidarity with P.P.'s* to be held on December 3rd through out the national and international community. The group broke into various sub-

groups: legal, international, technology, youth, publicity, and fundraising. The NYC-Jericho took responsibility for setting up a list serve that will allow interested people to continue the discussion around these issues and the questions raised by the political prisoners as to how Jericho and other organizations can improve material and political support. The list serve will go out about the 5th of Jan and will be:

QickuQthework@fifthhorseman.net

When reflecting on the life of Human Rights Activist, all-out fighter for Liberation, Sister Safiya Bukhari, we say, PICK UP THE WORK! At least send the prisoners a note to let them know that they have not, and will not be forgotten! The demise of our comrade Safiya Bukhari, who co-founded The Jericho Movement's website, has left us with a mission that has yet to be fulfilled. Safiya was a passionate, dedicated revolutionary woman, who was once a political prisoner herself. She served nearly 9 years in prison, and after one escape and recapture, she served 3 years 9 months of her sentence in maximum security before finally being released on parole in 1983. After winning her own release, Safiya dedicated her life to winning freedom for the comrades she left behind, still locked away in cages. She used every means she could to support and win release for our FREEDOM FIGHTERS still behind the walls.

Safiya was a prolific writer & created fact sheets on individual political prisoners and their cases. We must continue her struggle! Safiya worked tirelessly day and night, even though she suffered from a prolonged illness herself. She served as Vice President in the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika, was the longtime WBAI 99.5 FM radio co-producer of "Where We Live," and also co-founded the New York Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition in 1992. Her energy is sorely missed and needs to be remembered and followed as an example for all of us who struggle for our FREEDOM FIGHTERS still trapped behind those walls. Safiya traveled extensively to promote the Jericho cause. She even designed and made political prisoner buttons, t-shirts, bumper stickers, and mouse pads. She never stopped!

We would like to take the time to thank each of the collectives, committees, groups & individuals who placed their adds in this important "PICK UP THE WORK Resource Guide": Spear & Shield Publications, It's About Time (Committee to Celebrate the Founding of the Black Panther Party), Kazi & The Jericho Boston Chapter (the PRESENTE! Troupe really put on brilliant performance!), Sally O'Brien, The California Coalition for Women Prisoners, Behatokia (Basque Human Rights Observatory), The MOVE Organization (FREE THE MOVE 9!), the International Concerned Family & Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Anarchist People Of Color (illegalvoices.org), The Irish Freedom Committee (in Solidarity with Irish Republican POWS!), the New York Committee to Free the Five (Free the Cuban Five!), askatasuna, (Basque Movement against repression and for the freedom of all Basque political prisoners), Resistance in Brooklyn (RnB), FREE ALVARO NOW! Committee (freealvario.org), the Friends of Marilyn Buck (order Marilyn's CD, Wild Poppies: info@freedomarchives.org), 2005 freedom for Political Prisoners & Prisoners of War Calendar Committee (a must, order:www.twelve months.org), The New York State Taskforce for Release of Political Prisoners (MXGMNY@hotmail.com), Break the Chains Collective (http://www.breakthechains.net), The Freedom Archives (http://www.freedomarchives.org!), The Osborne Association (serving prisoners, former prisoners and their families), Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (formerly known as David Rice) & Efia Nwangaza, the David Wong Support Committee (www.freedavidwong.org), The International Action Center (www.iacenter.org), the New York City Free Mumia Abu-Jamal Coalition (www.freemumia.com). The BRECHT FORUM

(www.brechtforum.org), The East Coast Friends of Marilyn Buck (fomb@yahoo.com), PROLIBERTAD FREEDOM CAMPAIGN (http://www.ProLibertad Web.com) Justice Community Works, *Where We Live* & WBAI (www.wbai.org), Siempre Pa'lante - The Justice Committee (www.ic-nx.org), the 36th Annual National Day of Mourning Committee (annual event November 2005 is dedicated to Freedom Fighter Leonard Peltier (http://home.earthlink.net/~uainendom/), and the 4strugglemag: *Views, Thoughts, and Analysis from the Hearts and Minds of North American Political Prisoners and Friends* (www.4struggle.org). Thanks to everyone for their insights, participation and support! □



SOLDER' S SALUTE

We are admonished by our elders to give honor to whom honor is due. For this reason we offer a Soldier's Salute to those often unnamed and unheralded freedom fighters who frequently go undetected, unthanked and unrewarded, as they carry out their duties to liberate those in bondage and offer relief to those burdened by the weight of oppression. Yet, upon the backs of such workers are erected the great advances and victories of history.

In this issue of LEVIATHAN, we give our SOLDIERS SALUTE to, not one but TWO freedom fighters who are worthy of the name and give honor to our cause. It was first our intention to honor each of them separately but their work and camaraderie makes it desirable to pay tribute to them equally as a unit; since together they are a force to be reckoned with. So, our soldier's salute is given to Queen Warriors; Patricia Vicker and Walidah Imarisha of the Human Rights Coalition.

Sisters Patricia Vicker and Walidah Imarisha have given freely of their time, talent and resources in order to maintain the Human Rights Coalition, which was formed to defend the rights of our imprisoned brothers and sisters. Together, they host meetings with their communities, and the family members of the confined, publish the Human Rights Coalition newsletter and organize its many activities.

In a time where few are willing to stick their necks out for America's internal exiles, these Sisters not only have the will but have proven to have the Commitment necessary to do so.

To Sisters Patricia Vicker and Walidah Imarisha of the Human Rights Coalition, we extend our Soldiers Salute; and with it comes our gratitude and appreciation for all you do. □

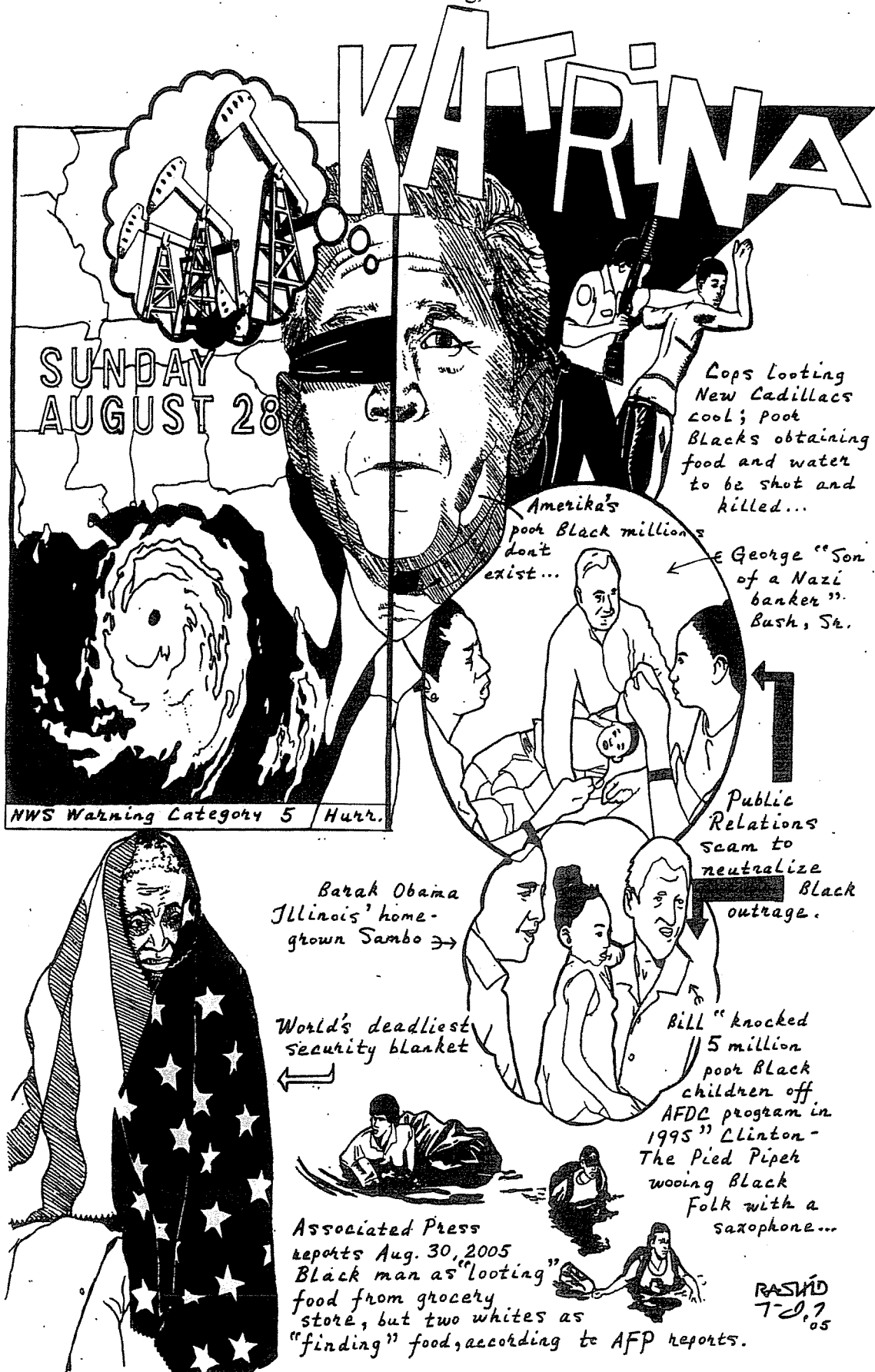
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LEVIATHAN

NO. #7, FALL '05 ISSUE



NEWSLETTER OF THE BLACK BRIGADE



Katrina, Capitalism and Continuing Black Crisis in Amerika

by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, Minister of Defense New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter

Hurricane Katrina brought the twisted illogic of capitalist imperialism to the surface; exposing that corporate profits take precedence over environmental and human needs. Disregard for and exploitation of the poor and people of color by the government at every level, the big corporations and even the wealthy minority "Uncle Toms" in their response to (and lack of response in) this crisis, and the suffering of the poor Black and white people left to fend for themselves, played out in front of a shocked nation and world.

On August 28, 2005, the National Weather Service warned that vast structural damage would be inflicted to the Gulf Coast region by Hurricane Katrina, and that many homes and other buildings would be destroyed. Three days earlier, the Governor of Louisiana gave emergency warnings. But no provisions were made to evacuate the poor of New Orleans. When the hurricane hit on August 29th, these people suffered devastation that those in power knew would occur. They knew that the levees could not withstand a level three, let alone a level five, storm, and that the city, being below sea level, would be flooded.

Typically, the masses of poor people in Amerika are ignored by the media and hidden from sight. If they are shown it is to heap blame and ridicule on them for being poor, such as in 1996, when Bill Clinton was pushing through the welfare "reform" laws. Welfare recipients were portrayed as driving Cadillacs and exploiting the system. But the flooding of New Orleans showed the extent of real poverty in Amerika. In fact the main reason so many poor Black wimyn and children died in New Orleans was because they had no cars or money to flee the city on their own.

In a pretence of offering the unevacuated citizens "hurricane relief," the city government told them to go to the Convention Center and the Superdome. Thousands of mostly Black residents walked or waded to these locations from miles away expecting to find help, food, water and medical care. What they found instead was cruel indifference, unpreparedness and chaos. Surrounded by disease contaminated water, there was nothing to drink and no food as they were jammed into these darkened arenas without sanitary toilet facilities.

When the desperate, abandoned people began to obtain basic necessities from abandoned stores, (certainly doing no worse than the Cadillac-stealing police), orders came down to "shoot to kill looters." The mainstream media blatantly described whites and police as "finding" food and water from abandoned stores and Blacks as "looting" these things. Martial law was declared, and the actual relief and rescue operations being organized by the people were shut down by armed mercenaries (hired by FEMA) and the military and police.

Brigadier General Gary Jones, commander of the Louisiana National Guard Joint Task Force, compared the operation to the U.S. invasion of Somalia in 1993. According to reports aired on Democracy Now!, private mercenaries admitted to shooting up a group of young Blacks on a New Orleans overpass. The media reported it as a group of "snipers" killed by the military who they had fired upon. A Miami Herald article on July 5, 1987, reported that former FEMA director Louis Guiffida's deputy, John Brinkerhoff, handled the martial law planning of FEMA, and that it was similar to a plan Guiffida had developed earlier at the Army War College to confine "at least 21 million American negroes [in] assembly centers or relocation camps." FEMA has built and staffs such camps spread out all over the U.S., and it is now part of the Department of Homeland Security.

From the moment FEMA appeared on the scene in New Orleans, it made matters worse not better. FEMA cut civilian communication lines to the outside, flew in the infamous Blackwater mercenaries from Iraq, blocked and delayed assistance coming from other cities and countries (including Cuba) from reaching the hurricane victims, and it

channeled massive amounts of funding donated to help the Katrina victims to right-wing Christian groups like Pat Robertson's Operation Second Blessing, to mention just a few of the outrageous things it did.

While Robertson was getting windfall subsidy from FEMA, he used his TV ministry show to degrade the Black hurricane victims and depicted items left behind in the city as "voodoo" paraphernalia. Operation Second Blessing had previously been exposed for exploiting Black people in the Congo, where it turned out that Robertson invested the funds collected for disaster relief in a Congo diamond mine. Robertson was exonerated by former VA Attorney General Mark Easley, whom Robertson had gifted with a \$30,000 campaign contribution. Previously, Robertson pulled a similar scam in Liberia, where he invested in a gold mine.

I could go on and on about the dirt that has come to the surface already regarding this disaster and the lies told by the government, many of which will be exposed in this issue. The lesson we must learn from all this is the need to organize ourselves to deal with our security and welfare issues and to create people's power in our communities. The government won't help us, and we shouldn't waste our time trying to get it to. It's not our government! It belongs to the rich white ruling class of Amerika who got rich by exploiting us. We need to rely on ourselves.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Oil Companies Exploit Hurricanes to Extort Record High Profits

by Tom Big Warrior

While hundreds of thousand of individuals and families were being economically wiped out by hurricanes Katrina and Rita, the multinational energy conglomerates reaped record high windfall profits. Third quarter profits for ExxonMobile, the world's largest oil company, rose by 75% to \$9.9 billion, amounting to a per minute profit of \$74,879.23 or \$107.8 million a day. "That's the second-most a U.S. company has earned in a three-month period," according to *USA Today* (Oct 28-30, 2005), and Exxon's total revenue of \$100.7 billion for this quarter was the highest any US company ever reported for any quarter.

RoyalDutchShell, the No. #3 oil conglomerate, reported its 3rd quarter net income rose 68% to \$9.03 billion on \$76.44 billion in revenue, according to the Oct 28th *Wall Street Journal*. Between these two corporations alone, that's around \$19 billion in profits for a three month period. Shell's net income amounted to \$1.35 a share, up from 79 cents a share last year, and Exxon's stockholders saw their investments rise to \$1.58 per share, up from 88 cents a year ago.

The price of gasoline at the pumps reached a national average of \$3.05 per gallon for regular unleaded on September 5th, according to the Automobile Association of America. ChevronTexaco, the second biggest oil company, came in 4th, with reported net income of \$3.9 billion. BritishPetroleum (BP) reported a \$6.5 billion profit and ConocoPhillips, \$3.8 billion. Overall, the industry is expected to make \$96 billion in profits this year.

Exxon's net income for the first 9 months of 2005 is almost 2 & 1/2 times its net income for the full year of 2002, and equal to the full year of 2004. Government sources claim that the US economy has "basically recovered" from the effects of Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, but this provides little relief to consumers who are still paying 27% more for gasoline than last year, and the Energy Information Administration projects a 48% rise in home heating costs for those heating with natural gas, and a 32% rise for those using oil, over last year's already high prices.

In the annals of history, never have so few done so much to so many and in the process done so well for themselves. What do we owe them? And when are we going to give it to them? ☐



Of race & nature's wrath

By Mumia

Published Sep 27, 2005 10:48 PM

In the aftermath of the horror of Hurricane Katrina, voices of anger and outrage are heard throughout the land, and just as quickly comes the chastisement of the media censors, who rush to the fore to criticize and condemn those who dare to speak truth to the Naked Emperor. Indeed, the central government has approved this message, saying with almost one voice, "Now is not the time for the Blame Game."

This government and media incest reminds me of other occasions when it was considered "bad form" to criticize the political (mis)leaders.

When a Black mayor of Philadelphia gave the go-ahead to police to bomb the MOVE house in 1985, he accepted "full responsibility" but none of the blame. Eleven men, women and children were shot, torn apart and burned to death, but no one was to blame (except Ramona Africa, who was sent to prison for seven years, for surviving).

When 9/11 struck and thousands of people died, name one political leader who was fired.

Indeed, when an FBI agent emerged to report that she had, indeed, provided tips to her superiors about people who were possibly involved in domestic terrorism, she was targeted.

Now, when political leaders sat back for almost a week, while people drowned, died from starvation, fell dead from chronic illnesses, or were tossed into the dark warrens of the New Orleans Superdome to live or die, it isn't time for blame!

Since when have you seen any member of the national leadership *not* blame people, for not living up to their 'standards' of so-called morality? The state and federal prisons are swelling with millions blamed and punished under scores of new laws that they've passed. They started a war based on blaming a nation's president for storing "weapons of mass destruction!" And what is war, after all, but blame writ large? Blaming another country—an entire country—for certain wrongdoings?

Yet they bellow, "Now is not the time for the Blame Game."

Rapper Kanye West, in a crystal-clear moment of emotion evoked by the harrowing pictures flashed of Black and poor misery in New Orleans, said, "George Bush doesn't care about Black people." Networks cut his live feed, and promised to tape upcoming appearances to insure that they could edit out any other unapproved utterances that might embarrass the Emperor.

And yet ... who among us can imagine a flood in say, Boston, where thousands were imperiled, and the government waiting four days to give succor to anguished white faces?

The faces of New Orleans, their suffering, their squalor, their loss, could just as easily have been seen in Haiti, in Rwanda, in Cambodia, and yet we are to act as if they were cared for by the national and state governments.

They didn't give a damn.

The hurried photo ops of Bush holding Black babies showed a man about as comfortable as a klansman at the Million Man March!

Ask the average Nigerian what he saw on TV. Ask the average Brit what she saw on the telly.

They saw the dark and anguished faces, sprinkled with other poor Hispanics, Vietnamese, and whites, staring out from eyes of emptiness.

They saw the dark side of "the ownership society": the society of people who owned nothing.

They saw America, without its makeup, and mask.

They saw a mirror of themselves, and wondered, if only for a minute, is this where we want to go?

This government didn't start, a week ago, not caring about the poor; for what else is the obsessive raid against Social Security, but an attack on the poor? ☐

Black August

By Kevin Rashid Johnson

Leviathan Summer '05 Issue No. #6

"Black August originated in the California prison system in the 1970s. Many significant events in the Black Nation in America's struggle for justice and liberation have occurred in August. The commemoration of Black August particularly hails the advances and sacrifices of Black freedom fighters."

1. August 20, 1619 - The first African captives were brought to England's North American colony of Jamestown, VA
2. August 21, 1791 - Haitian slave uprising for independence
3. August 21, 1971 - George L. Jackson shot and killed in San Quentin prison by tower guards
4. August 24, 1943 - Birth of Russell "Maroon" Shoatz
5. August 8, 1949 - Birth of Dr. Mutula Shakur
6. August 22, 1989 - Black Panther co-founder Huey P. Newton murdered
7. August 2, 1950 - Underground Railroad started. Harriet Tubman stands as an outstanding symbol of the U.R.

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8. August 7, 1970 - Jonathan Jackson killed in a firefight while leading Marion County Courthouse Raid
9. August 28, 1971 - Black Panthers Jalil Muntagim and Nuh Washington captured after a midnight shootout with San Francisco police
10. August 30, 1948 - Birth of late Chicago Black Panther Chairman Fred Hampton, Sr.
11. August *, 1978 - One of the early MOVE family confrontations with the Philadelphia police
12. August 1964; August 11-24, 1965; August 7-8, and 28, 1966; August 2 and 19-24, 1967:- Storms of urban uprisings sweep major U.S. cities in NY, NJ, PA, IL and CT
13. August 24, 2003 - Death of ex-political prisoner and co-founder of the Jericho Movement Safiya Bukhari



"REFLECTIONS ON BLACK AUGUST"

Leviathan Summer '05 Issue No. #6

What is "Black August?" It is surely not "Showtime at the Apollo!"

"Black August" Is a living legacy of the righteous Brothers/Sisters who exemplified the principles of revolutionary struggle to the highest degree and who made the ultimate sacrifices for their people.

"Black August" Is more than an empty concept. "Black August" is a reality that embodies principles held sacred by positive and conscious Brothers/Sisters throughout The World.

"Black August" Is a political statement that is to be internalized and Incorporated into the daily lives of Brothers/Sisters who choose to commemorate the legacy of "Black August." Everything we do should be in harmony with the principles of Revolutionary Black Struggle, otherwise, we shame and profane, The Legacy of "Black August" and those who made the ultimate sacrifices.

If you can not be for real, don't front and fake it!

RICHARD MAFUNDI LAKE
#1079972 #1-47
3700 HOLMAN UNIT
ATMORE, ALABAMA 36503



Perspectives on Comrade Amílcar Cabral: Afrikan Revolutionary Extraordinaire

by Kevin Rashid Johnson

Leviathan Summer '05 Issue No. #6

Comrade Amílcar Cabral led one of the most successful Afrikan national independence struggles of the 20th Century, in Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. Cabral was Afrika's foremost revolutionary theorist and practitioner of his time. In my opinion, his contributions to the question of national and colonial liberation rank him with such renowned revolutionary thinkers as V.I. Lenin, Mao Zedong, Frantz Fanon and Che Guevara.

One of Cabral's greatest strengths was his recognition that while valuable lessons can be learned from other's struggles, each movement must develop and apply methods suited specifically to their material conditions and people. Cabral was able to make a clear and correct analysis of his country's

objective conditions and organize appropriate and successful resistance to Portuguese colonial rule based upon this analysis.

Cabral organized and led the African Independence Party of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands (PAIGC), which was formed in 1956 to resist the brutal colonial occupation by the Portuguese. Cabral followed a plan that advanced in three-year increments. He committed the first three years to the internal organization of the PAIGC (1956-59), the next three years to educating and organizing the masses for waging armed struggle (1959-62), and then waging revolutionary war until independence, which was won in 1974.

Cabral understood that the working class was the only class capable of leading all the way revolution and not settling for a

new accommodation with the imperialists that puts black faces in high places but left the masses poor and exploited. He recognized that all power and control had to be placed with the working masses.

Recognizing that his country had virtually no industrial proletariat, he saw that the intellectuals leading the PAIGC, such as himself, must cultivate a working class outlook and proletarian consciousness to lead the struggle.

By 1969, the PAIGC had liberated two-thirds of Guinea Bissau and begun educating the 98% illiterate population that had long been oppressed by Portuguese colonialism. Armed by the United States, the Portuguese Army launched repeated military assaults that were repulsed by the fighters of the PAIGC.

The imperialists concentrated more firepower and military manpower against the Guineans than the Vietnamese. But all the government controlled was a few fortified cities.

During his last visit to the US, (1972), Cabral called an informal meeting with various leaders of the Black organizations here, and he extended the support and familial bond of solidarity of the people of Guinea-Bissau. He encouraged American Blacks to come visit in his country, to learn from their struggle, but to keep in mind that we must make our revolution in America based upon the concrete conditions that are here.

Cabral struggled unceasingly to prevent the armed struggle from degenerating into racial or tribal war, as happened elsewhere in Africa with the sponsorship of the colonists and imperialists. He also made it clear that his fight was not with the people of Portugal.

"We do not confuse exploitation or exploiters with the color of people's skin," Cabral stated in March, 1968, at the release of several Portuguese prisoners of war; "we do not want any exploitation in our countries, not even by Black people."

"We are not fighting against the Portuguese people, against individual Portuguese or Portuguese families...we have been forced to take up arms in order to extirpate from the soil of our African fatherland, the shameful Portuguese colonial domination."

Unfortunately, shortly after his visit to the US, Amilcar Cabral was assassinated by Portuguese secret agents who had infiltrated the PAIGC. They incited anti-white and anti-mulatto hatred against Cabral, who was half Black and half Portuguese. Upon his death, his brother, Luis, took over leadership, and the struggle continued to surge forward. In April of 1974, a revolutionary coup brought down the government in Portugal and ended the occupation of Guinea Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

But the greatest struggles came after liberation, when the people had to struggle to keep the initiative in their hands and smash all remnants of elitism and colonial rule. Shortly before his death, Cabral stated that accomplishing this, "was the most important problem in the liberation movement." He observed that, "the nature of the state created after independence is perhaps the secret of the failure of African independence."

Under the PAIGC, led by Louis Cabral, the country made several substantial gains in economic and political development. However, in 1980, Louis was driven into exile in Cuba, and he was replaced by the former PAIGC guerrilla commander and minister of defense, Joao Vieira, who played the "race card" against Louis Cabral, promoting Black racialism.

Instead of the PAIGC commanding the gun, the gun came to command PAIGC leading to privilege, corruption and arbitrary rule by a new elite. Amilcar Cabral called for Power to the People and for the people to "return to the source" of their tribal cooperative heritage. □

FREE RUSSELL SHOATZ!

Leviathan Summer '05 Issue No. #6

It is to often said that great people in history are not recognized for their contribution to humanity until after their death. A few such individuals whose popularity in death is as profound in some respects as it was when they were in life are Harriet Tubman, Marcus Garvey, George Jackson.

Our love and respect for those Freedom Fighters who have gone before us is demonstrated almost on a daily basis helping to keep the tremendous sacrifices that they have made alive. Often times we have had Freedom Fighters set extraordinary examples of struggle, commitment and sacrifice.

In 1969 the U.S. declared war on the Black Liberation Movement with the infamous FBI leading the attack under the banner of COINTELPRO. The main purpose of COINTELPRO was to disrupt, discredit, incarcerate or murder the leadership of the BLM and to break our cause.

Brother Khabyr Hadas stated in his book "Afrikan Struggle Inherited" "One intense pain that shoots through my soul as I struggled in prison is the lack of knowledge and appreciation that my brothers have for (New) Afrikan Political Prisoners (POWS). When I humbly ask my brethren if they know who Mutulu Shakur or Sundiata Acoli, is, and their response is blank. It hurts even more when the brother I ask is fifty years old

Brother Russell "Maroon" Shoatz is one of those brothers. Brother Maroon is one of the hundreds of revolutionaries who became a victim and target of Cointelpro because he stood up to defend his people when J Edgar Hoover and the U.S. Government declared war on the movement. Brother Maroon resistance to oppression and captivity is nothing less than phenomenal.

At a time when our people were under attack Brother Maroon stood up for us. It is now our turn to stand up for him. Here is a part of his history in his own words.

- Tiye Binta Maroon

Russell has been diagnosed with prostate cancer, and his family are trying to see that he gets proper medical attention. (215) 604-1759 Family & Communities United, PO Box 9476, Philadelphia, PA 19139 □



RUSSELL MAROON SHOATZ: NEW AFRIKAN PRISONER OF WAR

My name is Russell (Maroon) Shoatz and I am a New African Political Prisoner of War, who at this moment is serving a prison sentence at the Greene Country State Institution at Waynesburg, Pennsylvania. I was originally locked up in January of 1972 and have since spent over 25 years in 15 different state, county, and federal prisons, jails and a maximum security prison/mental institution. Over 17 of these years were pent in the "holes" of these various facilities locked down for 23 or more hours daily.

I was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in August of 1943, one of 12 children in the household of Gladys and Russell Shoats.

I attended school there until the age of 5, after which I was in and out of reform schools and youth institutions until the age of 18 mainly due to gang related activities. These gang activities, though not drug related as the bulk of similar activities are today, still had the same root causes of lack of comprehensive youth oriented programs in the schools and neighborhoods, coupled with high unemployment and police repression in the New African communities.

I married twice and became the father of 7 children between the years of 1964 and 1970. During the early to middle 1960's, I became increasingly politically aware and active in the New African Liberation Movement.

I was a founding member of the Black Unity Council, a Philadelphia group that eventually merged with the Philadelphia Chapter of the Black Panther Party in 1969.

In August of 1970, at the height of the nationwide repression of the New African Liberation Movement, I became a fugitive after a Philadelphia policeman was killed and another was wounded in a retaliatory attack on a Philadelphia police station, in response to the heightened repression of the New African Liberation Movement in general, and the unjustified killing of New African youth by the repressive police in that local community. From August of 1970 until January of 1972, the date of my capture and arrest, I was active on the armed front of the New African Liberation Army (Black Liberation Army). All of my actions and activities during this period were in direct response to and in direct support of the movement's activities. I was tried and convicted for the attack on the police station and sentenced to life-imprisonment.

In September of 1977, myself and three other New African political prisoners of war liberated ourselves from the state prison at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania. Two of these brothers were recaptured, and a third was killed during the escape. However, I remained at large for a month, in the teeth of a massive "slave style" hunt by local, state and federal forces, who had also recruited large numbers of the local rural white population to help in their search.

From my capture in October of 1977, until November of 1989, I was kept in various "holes" in numerous state, county, and federal prisons, and a maximum security prison/mental institution.

During this period, I was locked down daily at the state prison at Huntingdon, Pittsburgh, Camp Hill, Dallas, Rockview, and Graterford, Pennsylvania, as well as the Allegheny, Wayne, Washington, Lackawanna, Montgomery, and Philadelphia County Prisons and the US Penitentiaries at Lewisburg, PA, and Leavenworth, Kansas and El Reno, Oklahoma.

In 1979, I was forcibly transferred to the maximum security prison/mental institution at Waymart, PA known as "Fairview." During my over one year stay at this facility I was forcibly drugged and on one occasion was hospitalized from a hospital induced overdose of these drugs.

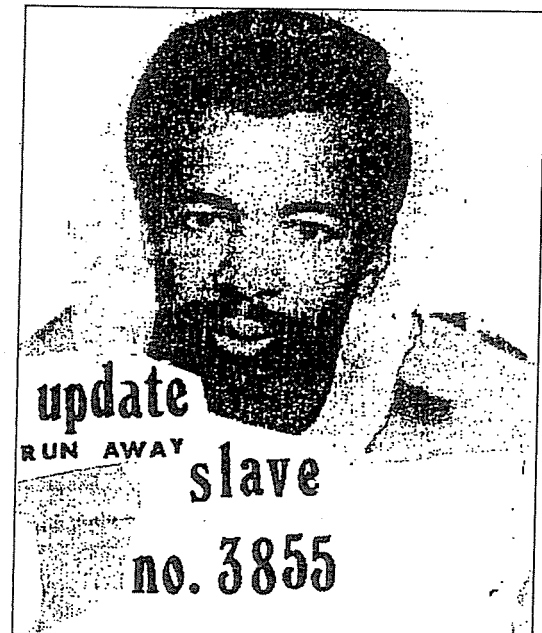
In March of 1980, myself and another New African political prisoner of war were able to liberate ourselves from this institution after a female New African activist smuggled a revolver and sub-machine gun into the institution for our use. Three days later all three of us were captured after a gun battle with local, state and county police, and FBI agents.

In the wake of the historic Camp Hill Rebellion during October of 1989, at the State Prison at Camp Hill, Pennsylvania, I was transferred from the state prison at Dallas, Pennsylvania to the US Penitentiary at Lewisburg, PA and then to the US Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas.

Although I had no part in this rebellion (having been at Dallas at the time), I was nevertheless singled out by the prison administration to be transferred over 1,000 miles from family, supporters, and friends with a view towards ultimately having me confined at the notorious federal prison at Marion, Illinois.

While being kept 23 hours a day on lockdown at Leavenworth, during November of 1989, my relatives and supporters mounted a campaign to lay bare, reveal the lies and falsified records the Pennsylvania prison administrators had used to implicate me in the Camp Hill rebellion, which was used as a basis for my transfer to Leavenworth and there to be evaluated for placement at Marion, Illinois.

These efforts were successful and I was finally released to the general prison population in December of 1989. I was returned to Pennsylvania in 1991. I'm now being held on 13 hour lockdown at the Waynesburg, Pennsylvania state institution in its "Control Unit" where I remain a committed New African freedom fighter, who will not rest until the New African peoples are free from oppression and are a free and self-governing nation.



**RUSSELL SHOATZ #AF-3855
175 PROGRESS DR.
WAYNESBURG, PA 15370**

UPON MY DEATH

Leviathan Summer '05 Issue No. #6

Upon my death, do not say things about me that are not true.

Upon my death, do not pretend that I was the greatest and most loving person you have ever known.

Upon my death, do not praise me or anything I have done as being worthy of merit.

Upon my death, do not put on a show and present to those around you that you loved me so much, and that my death is troubling to you.

Upon my death, do not act as if you were my closest love, friend, companion or comrade.

Upon my death, do not waste a lot of words that are untruly spoken simply because I am no more.

Upon my death, do not paper-portrait me as some champion of the oppressed, or one that had no flaws.

Upon my death, do not rush to obtain all the things I have written during my lifetime that you ignored to read or ponder over while I was living.

Upon my death, do not change my status. Keep my status true, which is that of a lowly human being.

Upon my death, be honest with yourselves and with others when speaking of me, for I was never a perfected man.

Upon my death, waste no tears on a lifeless body. The tears should have been shed while my spirit dwelled within the body.

Upon my death, rejoice that I am no longer in toil and have paid my price for being on earth.

Upon my death, let me be free!

Ali Khalid Abdullah #148130
Mound Correctional Facility
17601 Mound Road
Detroit, MI 48212



In Loving Memory - Samuel Angel Coley

Samuel Angel Coley passed away last month as a result of Hepatitis-C, a disease he most likely contracted from the guards use of dirty handcuffs and shackles in transporting prisoners. Angel spent most of his life in prison on a bogus charge of robbery-homicide, even though two of the three witnesses used against him later recanted their testimony, claiming they had been pressured and threatened by the Philly police and DA's office to bear false witness against him. The third "eyewitness" claimed to identify him from a block away, but could not say if he had facial hair or not.

Angel Coley had been the organizer of the Black Panther Party's Free Breakfast for Children Program in Philadelphia. Like many other young activists of the '60s and '70s, he was targeted by the FBI's COINTEL program of domestic spying, infiltration, frame-ups and assassinations. He was one of hundreds of their victims.

Throughout his stay in the PA Dept. of Corrections, he was frequently moved around and kept isolated from other prisoners. Still he struggled to educate those he did come into contact with and to use his time to better educate himself and others. In his last years, he joined the Red Heart Warrior Society, and together with Brother Nathaniel Lee, he was a founding member of the Black Brigade.

He will be missed, but his indomitable spirit will live on through us. All Honor to You Brother Coley! □

RUDE AWAKENING

by Samuel Angel Coley

Reprinted from the Leviathan, No. #1

AmeriKKKa is due for a rude awakening
Choosing to dance to a fantasy tune
Ignoring the drum beat of reality
America the Jeckyl
AmeriKKKa the Hyde
Split personality
The promise of equality
The oppressive reality
Millions living in poverty

Brother Martin had a dream
Of high and noble aspirations
Martin, the great grandson of slaves
Tried to rouse America
Before he was cut down by AmeriKKKa

AmeriKKKa, instigator of the skin game Caught in the
act in the freeze-frame
Pushing opium on China in God's name Claiming to
be making the West tame
Living the lie
Always turning a blind eye
To the people it makes die.
Deafening its' ears to the people's cries

Unreality flashing on the TV
John Wayne popping off the Indians
Happy slaves singing 00 the levy
Hop Sing serving up the biscuits
Wizard of Oz theatrics no longer fool us
We know how Horatio Alger rose from rags to
riches

It was by robbing and exploiting the rest of us

"FREE AT LAST, FREE AT LAST."

Yes Martin, you read the handwriting on the wall
Before they caught you in the crosshairs

You are gone

But we carry on

Walking the yard in prison

Or walking the streets unemployed

Working the menial jobs

Turning a blind eye to the elders living on the
street

To the youth rushing to an early grave

We have nothing more to confess

After 450 years at hard labor we should max out

Tell me Brother Martin

How much farther is it to the Promised Land?

When will America wake up? □

I SEE YOU, BUT YOU DON'T SEE ME

by Samuel Angel Coley

Reprinted from: Leviathan, No. #1 and The Red Heart Warrior, Vol. 2
No. #3, Spring/Summer 2003

"Lord Coke Gravly, has informed us, that corporations cannot be excommunicated, because they have no souls, and they appear to be as destitute of every feeling as if they also had no bowels. There is in truth but one point through which they are vulnerable, and that is through the keyhole of the cash box."— Grotius, De Jure Belli et Paris, 1654

I am an incarcerated African citizen of this country. I am over 50 years of age, serving a life sentence for 2nd degree murder, with 27 years served so far. I have been writing for a number of years asking those of you who profess to be in solidarity with Black prisoners and prisoners in general, "Just what do you think the reasoning is behind the proliferation of all these newly built maximum security lockdown units, or sensory deprivation control units, popping up all over rural Pennsylvania and elsewhere?"

In my opinion, the issue is not about containing so-called "violent" criminals nor a response to an imaginary security lapse. It is about corporate greed and racism. I believe that the issue of crime is being deliberately hyped and manufactured to fuel the profits of the prison industry. Construction contracts for these high-tech dungeons are juicy plums.

Take a look at the medical services in the correctional systems. It is a multi-million dollar scam. The doctors get paid, the nurses get paid, and the administrators get paid, but the prisoners rarely get the medical treatment that they needed and requested. Sometimes the treatment is given to an employee but documented as having been given to a prisoner.

At most of the prisons in Pennsylvania, Wexford Health Services, a for-profit corporation, provides the health care services. The awarding of contracts is ethnically biased. Most all of the doctors and nurses are white, when everybody knows that most of the prisoners are Black.

In most cases, the white doctors and nurses don't see the Black prisoners as patients as they should. Their white racist worldview gets in the way. They tend to look for ways to cheaply provide temporary relief, while a Black doctor, knowing he is being looked at under a microscope all around, is more inclined to look for real cures.

If any nurse or doctor does act in a professional manner and takes a real interest in the prisoners' health care, they soon find a way to get rid of them. They are more interested in cutting costs than the human rights of the inmates. Out of date medications are stocked in the prison pharmacies and given to the prisoners. They only throw them away if there is an investigation or an A.C.A. accreditation is about to take place.

The nurses are often poorly trained and under paid. Some of them only took the job because they were fired from a regular hospital. They often take out their resentment on the sick men, who are at their mercy, as do many of the guards.

Most prisoner health problems are stress related, but the stress factor is ignored because stress is propagated throughout the system as a means of control. The system promotes racial tension as a means of keeping the inmates divided.

The guards who are hired have a certain worldview prejudicial to other cultural and ethnic groups. The way they look at situations reflects this. A prisoner can be right legally, ethically and morally, but because of prejudice, he is judged to be in the wrong.

Because the cops, prosecutors, judges, administrators and guards are mostly white, there is a tendency for them to think white is right and people of color are automatically wrong. In the absence of outside scrutiny, they tend to get to thinking that they are the law, and anything they choose to do is alright.

Infectious diseases like Hepatitis, TB and HIV are already out of control under the conditions of over-crowding and willful neglect. What is going to happen when SARS gets into the prisons? How much concern will there be for us in a pandemic? In this mean-spirited environment, some will say, "Let them n—s die. Who needs a death penalty when lack of proper medical care kills them faster than the state can execute them?" Many are already dying because of neglect and substandard health services.

There is a great need for people in the community to get involved with organizations like the Pennsylvania Prison Society and for them to demand oversight by their legislators. Many who are imprisoned would be free if they had proper legal representation. Many are confined at a higher security level than they need to be. And many are passed over for parole because it is more profitable to build new prisons than to fund halfway houses and programs to help ex-offenders reintegrate into the community.

We prisoners are part of the people. We are your sons, fathers and brothers, your sisters and daughters. If this is not the case today, it could be tomorrow. In time, most of us will return to the street. It is in everybody's interest that prisoners be humanely treated and that they leave prison properly motivated.

You can't pay a debt to society by being punished, only by serving the people. Support the Black Brigade and the Red Heart Warriors Society. Power to the People! □

Terrorism Against Blacks In Amerikkka

Since September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center (WTC) and the Pentagon we have heard much rhetoric about "terrorist" attacks and presumed attacks to come. Many who have claimed to be social activists, revolutionaries, peace seekers, liberals, etc., have defended the governments term of what is terrorism and have come "full force" claiming 'terrorism is terrorism.' However, these same people seem to have lost their voice when it comes to Black people being the victims of terrorist acts. They seem to forget the abuses Blacks have suffered at the hands of the United States government and white Amerikkka.

Black people in Amerikkka have suffered many acts of terrorism, such as:

- being shipped from Afrika to Amerikkka in slave ships;
- surviving over 400 years of genocidal oppression on Ameri-kkkan shores'
- human suffering caused by both terrorism and racial hatred;

- amputations, beatings, rapes, lynchings, and chattel slavery;
- post-reconstruction terrorism by the Ku Klux Klan
- the Tulsa Race Riots of 1921;
- government sponsored Counter-intelligence Program COINTELPRO) of the 1960's;
- the bombing of Black churches and homes;
- contemporary state-sanctioned police murders and brutality of scores of Black men and women;
- the trumping up, rounding up and locking up of hundreds of thousands of young Black males and females;
- the dumping of tons of heroin into Black communities in the 1970's and cocaine throughout the 1980's.

This is merely a short list of some of the terrorist acts committed against Black people in Amerikkka, but I am not hearing white Amerikkka effectively denouncing these acts. Nor have I ever read or heard the Red Cross get on national television and petition the country to send money in to the victims of Black genocide. I have not heard or seen any relief efforts being recommended to stop the importation of drugs into the Black community (that isn't coming into our communities by Black-owned planes and cargo ships).

What I do hear, however, is a huge cry by whites who refuse to want to even have this government publicly accept responsibility and denounce its role in enslaving millions of people. Or to give reparations as the Jews and the Japanese have received.

White Amerikkka has to face itself and speak the truth when it speaks of terrorism, or terrorism cannot end. It cannot end when you have the pot calling the kettle black. □

Ali Kha'id Abdullah #148130

BLACK REVOLUTIONARIES THAT DARED TO STRUGGLE AGAINST ALL ODDS

Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

Reprinted from Leviahn, Vol. 4, No. 3



Amilcar Cabral

Many people say it is the peasants who carry the burden of exploitation. This may be true, but as far as the struggle is concerned...it is not the degree of suffering and hardship as such that matters; even extreme suffering in itself does not necessarily produce the *prise de conscience* required for the national liberation struggle." — Amilcar Cabral

Who was Amilcar Lopes Cabral? Comrade Amilcar Carbral was one of the many revolutionary nationalist leaders to emerge on the Afrikan continent during a period of world wide division between capitalist and socialist ideologies, with China and the Soviet Union serving as base

areas for oppressed colonial people's and nations. Many of the 3rd World countries opted for the socialist road, but they had to first contend with colonial forces that saw their future in maintaining a capitalist colonial political order.

In 1956 many of Comrade Cabral's friends and associates that hung out with him at the "recreation association" that he founded ended up joining the Partido Africano da Independencia da Guine e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), a revolutionary organization that became the vanguard of the national liberation struggle in Guine and the Cape Verde Islands. Portuguese colonialism ruled Guine and the Cape Verde Islands with a ruthless white supremacist philosophy that reduced the inhabitants to complete and total subjugation.

The PAIGC not only advanced scientific Marxism-Leninism as the correct ideology to raise political consciousness in a society where 95% percent of the people were illiterate, but they placed Marxism-Leninism within Afrikan peoples' culture. In other words, Marxism-Leninism was elongated to wrap around the Afrikan cultural matrix.

In 1963 Comrade Cabral and the PAIGC launched the armed struggle—a protracted people's war to free the land and throw out the Portuguese invaders. From 1963 to 1973 Comrade Amilcar Cabral directed the national liberation struggle. In 1973, he was assassinated by Portuguese agents in Conakry, Guine. But the struggle continued until 1974 ushering in a free and Independent Guine-Bissau. Of all the Afrikan revolutionary leaders to do battle with colonialism in Afrika, by far the greatest revolutionary thinker was Comrade Amilcar Lopes Cabral.



Kwame Toure

"You must understand that there are two types of oppression, basically. One is exploitation. The other is colonization. With exploitation one is economically raped; for example, in the 1930s the labor movement was a response to economic exploitation. Rich white people, in that instance, were exploiting poor white people. But there is another type of oppression—colonization. Colonization is not just the economic raping of someone, not merely taking a lot of money away. - Colonization deals with destroying the person's culture, his [her] language, his [her] history, his [her] identification, his [her] total humanity. When one is colonized one is totally dehumanized. So that when the victims of colonization fight they are fighting for a process of humanization." — Kwame Toure (Stokely Carmichael)

Comrade Kwame Toure has such a long revolutionary resume that it will require a dictionary size article to detail his many activities. I will not do that here. The salient points of his life will be touched briefly. But I do encourage our young Panther Cubs to conduct further investigation of this remarkable son of Mother Afrika.

Stokely Carmichael came to Amerikkka when he was 11 years old with his parents, and they moved to the Bronx in New York. He became active in the Civil Rights movement while Attending-Howard University in Washington, DC. Like all revolutionary people through out history his

distinguished revolutionary life blossomed out of struggles for democratic rights, which were denied to Black people in the letter and spirit of Amerikkkan law.

In 1961, while participating in a "freedom ride" in Mississippi, he was thrown in prison for 49 days in the infamous and notorious Parchman Penitentiary—Parchman prison was akin to being moved to the Deep South for runaway slaves—the very mention of Parchman to the Black southerner was enough to have him or her shaking in their boots.

When he was released from prison he joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a grassroots formation that allied itself with Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). SNCC devoted most of its early efforts towards Black voter registration in Lowndes County, Alabama, where Stokely and SNCC founded the Lowndes County Freedom Organization, the first group to use the Black Panther symbol. The reason for the Black Panther symbol was to help illiterate Blacks that wanted to vote—to identify the political party to which they gave their support.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in its nascent stages was a multi-racial formation—with whites pulling the purse strings behind closed doors.



In May, 1966, Stokely became chairman of SNCC, and later that year he uttered the words, "Black Power!" that was heard around the world. Black power became a rallying cry for the more leftist side of SNCC and the Black liberation movement. When asked by his more moderate Comrades in SNCC why the term Black Power? He responded by writing a book with Charles Hamilton, in 1968 called *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*.

In his Black Power book, he stated what we today will call a narrow definition of Black Power, or conversely in his book Black Power was articulated as political and economic development for Black people within the context of Amerikkkan capitalism. At the time Black Power was a revolutionary advance in our centuries long struggle. Many groups such as the National Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the National Urban League, and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), based their strategies on winning integration into the mainstream of capitalist Amerikkka, so any whisper of Blacks going it alone was seen as anathema and counter productive.

When the Black Power faction of SNCC assumed power over the organization in 1966, white people left the group and took with them their financial support as well.

Ancestor Stokely was such a brilliant organizer that he knew all the right buttons to push, so to speak, to get white Amerikkka's heart palpitating and their brows sweating profusely. During marches in the south he would bellow quite loudly in the crowd: "What do you want?" and the crowd would respond:

"Black Power!"

He went on a world wide tour explaining Black Power and the nature of our struggle in Amerikkka. When he visited Afrika where he met with all kinds of Black revolutionaries, and to Cuba, where he attended the Latin American Solidarity Conference. His exposure to new ideas of

revolution forced him to revise Black Power, from a narrow nationalist definition to a revolutionary nationalist, Marxist-Leninist philosophy.

He also joined the newly formed Black Panther Party for Self Defense as Prime Minister in 1968, but like most Black formations and leaders in the late '60s and early '70s, the governments counter insurgency forces called COINTELPRO hounded him out of the country. For him the struggle simply moved onto another battle field, because the same forces that were oppressing Black people in Amerikkka were in cahoots with French, British, and Portuguese imperialism, which was oppressing our people in Mother Afrika.

So he hooked up with Ancestors Sekou Toure and Kwame Nkrumah, the President of Guinea, and Kwame Nkrumah, exiled leader of Ghana, where he was forced out in 1966. Kwame Nkrumah and Sekou Toure became his political mentors and, hence his dropping of his slave-name and adopting Kwame Toure in honor of both men respectively.

With his wife, the beautiful singer Marian Makeba, he settled in Guinea—forming the All-African People's Revolutionary Party. He stayed busy for many decades in the fight against U.S. imperialism. He was always *ready for revolution*—until cancer pushed him out of this existence in November 1998.



Angela Davis

"George knew, I wrote, "that the price of his intense revolutionary commitment was having to live each day fighting off potential death blows. George's example of courage in the face of the spectre of summary execution; his insights honed in the torment of seven years of solitary confinement; his perseverance in the face of overwhelming odds will continue to be a source of inspiration to all our sisters and brothers inside prison walls and outside." — ANGELA DAVIS

Sista Angela Davis epitomizes the true revolutionary spirit. She was born in Birmingham, Alabama (in "Dynamite Hill," because of the many Ku Klux Klan Bombings). From early on in her youth her parents encouraged her to stand for human rights, not just for Black people, but all oppressed people around the world. To be sure she got the message, her parents sent her to Elizabeth Irwin School in New York. The Elizabeth Irwin School was politically progressive and grounded in socialist education and ideas.

Upon leaving Elizabeth Irwin, she went to Brandeis University. After graduating from Brandeis University in 1965 with top honors, she left the "belly of the beast" to do further study in Paris, where she came into contact with revolutionaries from all over the world. But mostly she cultivated contacts with Algerian and Vietnamese activists, and they

developed her political consciousness even further. Here I will let Sista Angela describe her experiences:

"To be an Algerian living in Paris in 1962 was to be a hunted human being. While the Algerians were fighting the French Army in their mountains and in the Europeanized cities of Algiers and Oran, paramilitary terrorist groups were falling indiscriminately upon men and women in the colonialist capital because they were, or looked like, Algerians."

"In Paris, bombs were exploding in cafes frequented by North Africans, bloody bodies were discovered in dark side streets and anti-Algerian graffiti marred the sides of buildings and the walls of metro stations."

"Later on in the year, I accompanied a friend who had been invited to attend the Vietnamese Tet celebration. That night, two New Year's programs were taking place—one organized and attended by the South Vietnamese who remained loyal to Diem and the other organized and attended by the North Vietnamese, together with socialist and other opposition forces in the South. We attended the North Vietnamese celebration. Held in a gigantic stadium in a working-class district of Paris, it was a grand seven-hour spectacle consisting of songs, comedy acts, acrobatic numbers and skits, all full of vigor of their struggle and conveying a message that did not require an understanding of Vietnamese. Like the thousands of Vietnamese sitting around the stadium, I was enchanted. But I was shocked back to brutal realities of their experiences by the recurring satires directed against the U.S. government and its military. The longest and most vehement applause and laughter were always at the appearance of an actor dressed up like a U.S. GI, who was the butt of jokes or, in more serious episodes, fell in defeat."

Upon her return to the United States, she continued her education at the University of California in San Diego, but frequently, she was called away from her studies because of the immediate and pressing need to help in the national struggle against injustice and oppression. She began work with SNCC, and met two of her lifelong comrades, Frank and Kendra Alexander, who were also active in SNCC circles.

The three of them were among the first cadre of the Black Panther Party under Bunchy Carter's leadership in Southern California. Her work in the Black Panther Party led her directly into the life of Comrade George Jackson; a radical Black prisoner inside the hellish walls of California's prison industrial complex. Comrade George and Angela's life would forever be united in blood, love, unity, and sacrifice.

When Sista Angela joined the Communist Party in 1968, all hell broke loose. At the behest of then Governor Ronald Reagan, reactionary social forces aligned to remove her as a professor from the University of San Diego. They demanded that the school fire her for being a communist. The political work Sista Angela is now doing around the prison industrial complex and political prisoners started in 1969 when she help develop the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee. Comrade George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette were accused of killing a prison guard in Soledad prison. In cold disregard for justice and fairness, Soledad prison quietly hauled the three Soledad Brothers before a Kangaroo court and charged them with murder. None of the family members of the three Brothers received a notification that their sons- were charged with murder, which if convicted, carried the death penalty.

But somehow John Clutchette smuggled out a note to his mother that read "Help." And she went to the Black Panther Party, which immediately started organizing to free the Soledad Brothers. Here is how Sista Angela describes her first awareness of the case: "The L.A. Times article reported the indictment of George Jackson, John Clutchette and Fleeta Drumgo for the murder of a guard at Soledad prison. An entire month had elapsed since the killing took place. Why had it taken so long to return the indictment? I wondered why the author had not commented on this time lag. The article reeked of deception and evasiveness."

And like any true revolutionary, she conducted further investigations, and sure enough, the frame-up wheels were already in motion. In her mind, "The decision had been made. How to find time was a secondary question. I thought about my initial reluctance to take a substantial role. How presumptuous it had been to weigh the outcome of the fight for my

job against the outcome of the fight for the lives of these men. At UCLA I was fighting for my right as a Black woman, as a Communist, as a revolutionary, to hold on to my job. In Soledad prison, George Jackson, John Clutchette, Fleeta Drumgo were fighting for their rights as Black men, as revolutionaries, to hold on to their lives. Same struggle. Same enemies."

Her work with the Soledad Committee brought her closer to the Jackson family, in particular Comrade George and Jon Jackson. Comrade Jon was appointed by George to be Angela's bodyguard. So many crazies wanted her dead. We can never know the persistent death threats that this beautiful and devoted Sista experienced on a daily basis. Here is an idea of the savage racist filth she was constantly subjected to while staying in San Diego. The FBI visited her landlord and convinced this fool that Angela wanted to kill him. Day-in-and-day-out, she had to be on guard, especially when he started exhibiting insane behavior towards her, which led him to stalk her window. I have described the tip of the iceberg. Far more insidious practices took place too.

On August 7, 1970 Comrade Jon, younger Brother of George stood up in the courtroom in Marin County, California and announced to the world, "Alright gentlemen, we're taking over now." With that he handed out guns to three desperate Black men, all of them Black revolutionaries, chained by modern day slavery. The Freedom Fighters took hostages, left the court and told the reporters assembled in the hall: "Take our pictures. We are not criminals. We are revolutionaries."

All four Comrades died in a volley of bullets outside the court house in a van that was suppose to take them to the airport. Sista Angela, who didn't know about the guerrilla operation, was charged with Kidnapping, conspiracy and murder, because one of the guns that was used in the operation was in her name.



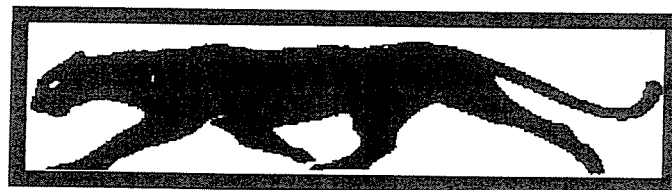
"Free Angela Davis!" "Free Angela Davis!" gave birth to a movement that culminated in her freedom from prison on bail in 1972; she was later acquitted.



Assata Shakur

"At first I didn't feel the repression too deeply. I knew the Party was under attack, but it felt like it wasn't so near, like it was lingering in the background. What made me maddest was the media treatment of the BPP, which gave the impression that the Party was racist and violent. And it worked. The pigs would burst into a Panther office, shoot first, and ask questions later. The press always reported that the police had "uncovered" a large arsenal of weapons. Later, when the "arsenal" turned out to be a few legally registered rifles and shotguns, the press never printed a word." --Assata Shakur

What words can I use to impart revolutionary par excellence to Sista Assata Shakur? Ne plus ultra? Top of the line rebel? A Panther with a claw for our enemies, but an embrace of love for Black and oppressed people? How about simply saying that she performed her revolutionary duty extremely well. She will tell us that others also performed extremely well too. And she would be right. From Sista Kathleen Cleaver, Joan Bird, Afeni Shakur, Erika Huggins to Rosemary mealy and Comrade Peaches that founded the Boston Chapter of the Black Panther Party. My Power to the People clench first go up to all of them!



Sista Assata Shakur grew up in New York. The older of two children, she recalled in her autobiography that she "was a fat, happy baby"...that she was always talking. And this is before she started walking. A great deal of her early life was spent in Wilmington, North Carolina at her grandparents' house on Seven Street.

She also recounts in her book that her grandparents were fanatic with the idea that she should never consider herself inferior to white people. I suppose this experience informed her character as an adult. No other person in her adult life besides her comrades had such a lasting and powerful impression on her as her aunt, Evelyn Williams, a people's lawyer--the female Lenin of the court room. Evelyn Williams was a fighter to the core, with a powerful mind that amazed and confounded her racist counterparts in the court room.

Sista Assta Shakur's revolutionary education mirrored most of this generation's political education. I am going to let her describe her experiences right here:

"One day, Vietnam came up. It was around 1964 and the movement against the war had not yet blown up in full force. Someone asked me what I thought. I didn't have the faintest idea. Back then, the only thing I read in the papers was the headlines, crime stories, comics, or the horoscope. I said, "It's all right, I guess." All of a sudden there was complete silence. "Would you mind explaining, sister, what you mean by "it's all right, I guess?" The brother's voice was mocking. I said something like "You know, the war we're fighting over there, you know, for democracy."

"It was clear, from the expressions around me, that I had said the wrong thing. The brother I had come with looked like he wanted to crawl under the floor. "Who's fighting for democracy?" somebody asked. "We are. The United States." And then, as an after thought, I added, "You know, they're over there fighting communism. Fighting for democracy." The brother held his head in his hands as if he had a headache. I knew I had said something wrong, but I couldn't figure out what. Thinking I had failed to state my case strongly enough, I continued repeating everything I had heard on television. Babbling. Which only made matters worse."

I had the exact same experience in 2001, when U.S. imperialism invaded Afghanistan. On a court trip in December of that year, the prisoners on the bus with me began discussing the war. One prisoner, a Black veteran from the '91 Iraq war, was ranting about how he was going to ask the judge to release him to the custody of the U.S. army so he can lend his demolition expertise to the war effort. This guy was so energized by the idea that he really believed it would work. So I turned around and asked him flat out, "what are you locked up for?" He said, "shoplifting." "Shoplifting?" I responded. "You didn't have a job?" I continued on. "Nah."

"When I came back from the war the government reneged on its promise to give me a college education, but they did give me a few checks. Eventually, they cut me off of that, so I had to find a way to feed my family." "And make it so bad my wife left me when the money ran out."

Here is me talking now, "You mean to tell me that you are willing to die for a system that used you as a cog in its military machine; a system which have displayed ruthless disregard for your well being? This racist power structure do not care about Black people. You come from a broken down community like the rest of us. Why aren't our taxes we pay to this system repairing the infrastructure in our community? Why is our community polluted with drugs? Why do police beat and murder us with complete immunity from prosecution? Why did your wife run out on you? Because at bottom, Brother, all of our problems stem from being oppressed and subjugated by the *tyranny of the white majority*." (Back then, that line was my favorite knock out blow. I heard Paul Butler, the professor at Georgetown University, use it.)

After the prisoners stopped congratulating me on dropping knowledge, the Black veteran said, "Man, I'm trying to hustle that judge the way they hustled me for 41 years." We all agreed in the end that he was talking about getting back at the racist government on the reparations principle.

When Sista Assata Shakur left from that discussion with the brothers over Vietnam, she set about educating herself about every aspect of Black people's history and culture. Her consciousness deepened so thoroughly that she abandoned her slave name; stopped frying her hair and wore a natural Afro. She also took part in protest activities while attending college—the school strike by Black parents in Ocean Hill-Brownsville in '68 was her foray into the world of revolutionary collective activity.

In 1970, she joined the Black Panther Party in Harlem. She was assigned to the Panther medical cadre unit, with Sista Joan Bird as her supervisor. Later on, she also coordinated the Free Breakfast Program—feeding the babies every morning until the counter-insurgency forces (COINTELPRO) singled her out for neutralization. COINTELPRO forced her to go underground and to continue the struggle from within the

Black Liberation Army (BLA), an urban guerrilla group that defended Black and oppressed people all across the nation.

On May 2, 1973, Sista Assata Shakur, Comrade Sundiata Acoli and ancestor Zayd Shakur was driving on the New Jersey Turnpike when racist cops pulled them over for a "faulty tail light." What followed next can only be called an assassination attempt on all three Comrades—Assata was hit with a volley of bullets, Zayd Shakur lay dying, and Sundiata Acoli was able to escape from the car intact, so to speak.

While in custody, Assata was subjected to constant beatings, and long periods of solitary confinement in male prisons and jails, until she was found guilty in March of 1977 by a racist court and jury in New Jersey. But fortunately, her stay was not indefinite. On November 2, 1979, her Comrades liberated her from a womyn's Correctional Facility in New Jersey. She now lives in Cuba with other exiled Black revolutionaries.

**DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! BUILD
PANTHER POWER! PANTHER LOVE! LONG LIVE
HASAN SHAKUR!**

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter



**Remember
I remember
hiding, crying,
cowering, screaming,
begging God to end my life**

**I remember
my disappointment
in waking each and every day
and how I cursed his name, in anger**

**I remember
so many years
wasted in despair
as I died a little each day**

**I remember
the day I was freed
badly frightened I was
that there was nothing left of me**

I remember
falling in love
and finally feeling
that I truly am alive

I remember
what I was before
thankful for what I am
and for oh so much more

I will remember
the life I have been shown
that was given me by those I love
It is all of you I will forever remember

Angela Davis □



The Tradition

Carry it on now.
Carry it on.
Carry it on now.
Carry it on.
Carry on the tradition.

There were Black People since the
childhood of time
who carried it on.
In Ghana and Mali and Timbuktu
We carried it on.
Carried on the tradition.

We hid in the bush.
When the slave masters came
holding spear
And when the moment was ripe,
leaped out and lanced the lifeblood
of our would-be masters.
We carried it on.

On slave ships,
hurling ourselves into oceans.
Slitting the throats of our captors.
We took their whips.
And their ships
Blood flowed in the Atlantic
and it wasn't all ours.
We carried it on.

Fed Missy arsenic apple pies.
Stole the axes from the shed.
Went and chopped off master's head.
We ran. We fought.
We organized a railroad.
An underground.
We carried it on.

In newspapers. In meetings.
In arguments and street fights.
We carried it on.

In tales told to children.
In chants and cantatas.
In poems and blues songs
and saxophone screams,
We carried it on.

In classrooms. In churches.
In courtrooms. In prisons.
We carried it on.

On soapboxes and picket lines.
Welfare lines, unemployment
Our lives on the line,
We carried it on.

In sit-ins and pray ins
And march ins and die ins,
We carried it on.

On cold Missouri midnights
Pitting shotguns against lynch mobs
On burning Brooklyn streets
Pitting rocks against rifles,
We carried it on.

Against water hoses and bulldogs.
Against nightsticks and bullets.
Against tanks and tear gas.
Needles and nooses.
Bombs and birth control.
We carried it on.

In Selma and San Juan.

Mozambique, Mississippi.
In Brazil and in Boston,
We carried it on.

Through the lies and the sell-outs,
The mistakes and the madness.
Through pain and hunger and frustration,
We carried it on.

Carried on the tradition.
Carried a strong tradition.
Carried a proud tradition.
Carried a Black tradition.
Carry it on.

Pass it down to the children.
Pass it down.
Carry it on.
Carry it on now.
Carry it on
TO FREEDOM!

Assata Shakur □



Island

Mother, in your perennial sleep,
You live naked and forgotten
and barren,
thrashed by the winds,
at the sound of songs without
music
sung by the waters that confine us

Island:
Your hills and valleys
haven't felt the passage of time.
They remain in your dreams
- your children's dreams -
crying out your woes
to the passing winds

and to the carefree birds flying by.

Island :
Red earth shaped like a hill that
never ends
- rocky earth -
ragged cliffs blocking all horizons
while tying all our troubles to the
winds!

Amilcar Cabral

(Written in Praia, Cape Verde, 1945)□

YOUNGSTER'S BLACK-POWER POEM RILES SCHOOL

By DAVID ANDREATTA Education Reporter
March 13, 2006 – Reprinted from the Leviathan, Vol. 4,
No. #3

A 7-year-old prodigy unleashed a firestorm when she recited a poem she wrote comparing Christopher Columbus and Charles Darwin to "pirates" and "vampires" who robbed blacks of their identities and human rights. Hundreds of parents of Peekskill middle and high school students received a recorded phone message last week apologizing for little Autum Ashante's poem, titled "White Nationalism Put U in Bondage."

"Black lands taken from your hands, by vampires with no remorse," the aspiring actress and poet wrote. "They took the gold, the wisdom and all the storytellers. They took the black women, with the black man weak. Made to watch as they changed the paradigm of our village.

"Yeah white nationalism is what put you in bondage. Pirates and vampires like Columbus, Morgan and Darwin."

Autum was invited to speak at the Westchester schools on Feb. 28 by Melvin Bolden, a music teacher at the middle school who advises the high school's Black Culture Club and is a member of the Peekskill City Council.

Autum, whose résumé includes several television appearances and performances at the Apollo Theater and the African Burial Ground in Manhattan, told The Post that her poem was meant to instill pride in black students and to encourage them to steer clear of violence.

"I don't think there's anything wrong with my poem. I was trying to tell them the straight-up truth," Autum said. "I'm trying to tell them not to fight because they're killing the brothers and sisters."

Autum, who is home-schooled in Mount Vernon and speaks several languages, prefaced her performance at the high school with a Black Panthers' pledge asking black youngsters to not harm one another. It did not sit well with parents.

In a telephone interview with The Post, Bolden said Autum has been "unofficially" banned from performing in a district school again and that school officials would review transcripts of future speakers.

"It's unfortunate, because some teachers said they wanted

this little girl to explain the things she said to their students, but some parents don't want her on school grounds," Bolden said.

"[The poem] might have been a little too aggressive for what the middle-school kids are ready to handle," Bolden added.

Kimberly Greene, a mother of children in the high school and middle school, said she was shocked when she got the recorded phone message.

"If there are people who are upset about what she said, the schools should have talked about and analyzed it rather than send a message to everyone saying this little girl was offensive," Greene said.

Autum's father, Batin Ashante, said he can't believe the fuss over his daughter's poem.

"She's a little girl who does poetry about real things. She doesn't do poetry about cotton candy," Ashante said. "She's a serious little person."

<http://www.nypost.com/news/regionalnews/60921.htm>



**Reginald Sinclair Lewis
Interview with Death Row Poet R. S. Lewis
by Kelly Blue**

Reprinted from the *Leviathan*, Vol. 4, No. #3

BLUE: What first inspired you to begin writing?

LEWIS: That's an easy answer. It was shortly after I received the death penalty for the stabbing death of a 250 lb pimp in a seedy drug bar, according to the prosecution, Judge Albert Sabo and an illegal all-white jury. A great wave of powerful emotions swept over me in the wake of that unjust verdict and words started flowing from my pen onto the blank canvas of the page.

BLUE: What is your average day like? Describe for our readers the living conditions and environment in which you live and write.

LEWIS: Languishing on Pennsylvania's Death Row well over 20 years – almost 24 to be exact – I taught myself to break the monotony of the day by rising before sun up, wash, or make ablution, and perform my morning prayer. I flick on CNN and see what's happening around the world. Ten minutes tells me what I need to know. I then listen to jazz, and start writing, breaking for meals, phone calls, more prayers; Some times I go to the yard to exercise for two hours – but I'm mostly a quiet, private person, reclusive, introverted, and self-protective of outside negative influences that interfere with the life of the mind. No day is the same. Death Row is harsh.

BLUE: You've come perilously close to actually being executed when Governor Ridge signed your death warrant over a decade ago. How did they inform you that your death warrant was signed and a date set for your execution?

LEWIS: The news came in a crisp beige envelope and on P.E.N. American stationary. The judges told me I'd won the first prize in poetry for my poem, "In the Big Yard," and that I'd beaten 800 prison poets!

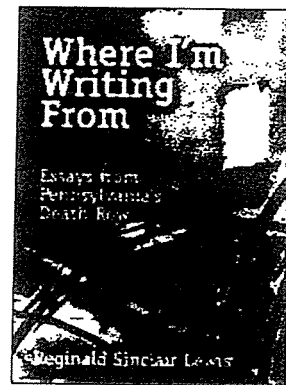
I kept staring at the letter unbelievably. I felt numb: Then a sense of great pride. Outside friends whom I shared the news with assured me that I was now an "award-winning poet." The P.E.N. prison writing is prestigious.

BLUE: What were your thoughts upon receiving the news?

LEWIS: A "White Shirt," a lieutenant, came to my door and read the death warrant to me and the time and time of my scheduled execution. Then three or four guards ordered me to strip – and they escorted me to a "Death Watch" cell with nothing but my underwear on. It was crazy!

BLUE: I understand that a throng of young children rallied outside the prison and marched to Harrisburg to protest your execution. Who were these young supporters, and how did they come to familiarize themselves with your case?

LEWIS: You're talking about the Bruderhof children, of a separate Christian group with communities across the U.S. and in other countries. I describe how I met those children in my new book "Where I'm Writing From: Essays From Pennsylvania's Death Row." A play I wrote for those kids made us lifelong friends. This community is anti-death penalty – so they have their own schools where their teachers highlight various civil rights cases. My case was one.



BLUE: You have written plays, short stories and essays as well as poetry. How many volumes of your work have been published?

LEWIS: I've self-published two collections of poetry, "Leaving Death Row" (Author House) and "Inside My Head" (Universe). Publish America, a traditional publishing house, published my new book, "Where I'm Writing From."

BLUE: Do you have a personal favorite? If so, which one and why?

LEWIS: Yes, my book of essays. I love the freedom of expressing my thoughts, ideas, and experiences alongside my political consciousness in this art form – and it gave me an opportunity to teach, preach, vent, and raise awareness on the subject of capital punishment and unjust convictions.

BLUE: How do you keep going on Death Row and continue your work as a writer? What motivates you?

LEWIS: Dreams, Brotha! – Beautiful dreams – A strong faith in Almighty God, and the relentless drive to be a successful writer worth reading and discussing.

BLUE: What is your legal situation now? Are you still challenging your conviction in the courts?

LEWIS: My appeals are in federal court. There is powerful "new evidence," and I'm awaiting a decision.

BLUE: Do you anticipate any possible relief, and are you receiving any assistance?

LEWIS: My appeals look very good, but you never know. My fate is in God's hands. I have excellent federal attorneys with a winning record.

BLUE: What, if anything, are you working on now?

LEWIS: I've just finished my third book of poems, and I feel so good putting the finishing touches on the raw manuscript. I am seeking a publisher.

BLUE: what changes, if any, have you seen in the criminal justice system, the PA Department of Corrections or the treatment of prisoners and opportunities for prisoners during your two decades of confinement?

LEWIS: The nasty, mean, cruel Republicans and their wicked wars have changed the mindset of the people who run the criminal justice system and prison system. The so-called Constitution is dead. The ridged militarism of DOC employees and guards has made prison life barely humane. I've never seen any opportunities for prisoners!

BLUE: What changes has this made on you personally, and how has it affected your work?

LEWIS: The cruelty and degradation takes your mind to new heights, where in order to survive, to stay sane, the fierce and the strong create their own opportunities, paint their own worlds, work, invent, and rise higher in name, honor and talent than the keepers.

BLUE: You were a member of one of the biggest gangs in Philadelphia in your youth, and you were loyal to the gang and its members. Since your incarceration, have any on them shown you any support, offered assistance or maintained contact with you? And if so, how?

LEWIS: Not really. A lot of them are dead, incarcerated, drugged out, unemployed or homeless. There's still a few loyal homeboys who will always support me – and nothing will ever change that! But, I've lost contact with most of them years ago.

BLUE: Who are your most loyal and committed supporters today? In what ways do they show their support?

LEWIS: The grassroots community, young anarchists from the Philly ABC, and the arts community. Support is a huge word with multiple meanings. People can show support by writing letters, making phone calls, or by helping to raise legal defense funds. Support varies.

BLUE: As an imprisoned writer largely cut off from mainstream society, did you find it difficult to gain access to publishers who were willing to review your works or to find agents interested in representing them to the public?

LEWIS: Prisoners are the true victims of the digital divide. We have no direct access to resources widely available to free world writers. Prison life is restricted, and imprisoned writers are not marketable or appealing to agents. The public is mostly anti-prisoner – so it's rare we get wide readership. This is why our work must be superior and above all others – and if we are aggressive, proactive, ambitious and produce excellent quality work – publishers will come.

BLUE: What are some of the hardships and obstacles that you faced as an imprisoned writer seeking publication that free world writers rarely, if ever, face themselves?

LEWIS: I've already painstakingly explained our pitiful lack of opportunities due to archaic imposition of penal rules, isolation, and oftentimes we can't even get our work typed, edited, critiqued, and copied. There are restrictions on so many things. There's no writing workshops, mentors, or literacy programs available to prison inmates on any level – from 1 to 5.

BLUE: What practical advice would you offer a would-be writer who is likewise incarcerated but has a desire to produce published works?

LEWIS: He or she should first study all the great masters. Study the writing craft. Borrow techniques, and practice, practice, practice. Don't convince yourself that the first draft is brilliant, polished, and ready for publication: Self-edit, revise. Make your work tight, lean, by trimming the fat. Avoid redundancy and clichés. Be self-critical. Always be professional and courteous when contacting editors, publishers and agents.

BLUE: What is the greatest thing about writing for you?

LEWIS: I'm always surprised by the people I meet who've read my work. I just got a letter from the Dean of Students at one of Philly's top schools. He asked to visit me. I also recently learned a brilliant scientist who invented a new drug that will save the lives of millions of babies, which was approved by the F.D.A., read my book and his wife is one of my supporters. It's where the writing has taken me.

BLUE: You have had the opportunity to read at least one issue of our newsletter, Levithan. Can you give us some constructive criticism or comments?

LEWIS: Absolutely! It just needs more voices, more political prison poems, and more stories about our forgotten imprisoned sistahs.

BLUE: What would you like the readers of our publication to know about Reginald Sinclair Lewis?

LEWIS: I deserve justice, a new trial and freedom.

BLUE: where can our readers find more information about your case and books?

LEWIS: They can visit my website: www.REGINALDSLEWIS.ORG.

Blue: If they wanted to write to you directly?

LEWIS: Write to: Reginald S. Lewis #AY-2902, Box 2444 – Rt#29, Graterford, PA 19426.□

Book Review: "Poetic Prophecies" Poetry by Poet Kelly Blue

Title: Poetic Prophecies

Author: Kelly Blue

Publisher: Black Pearls Press

Price: \$12.00 (shipping and handling included in price)

At a time when once socially conscious and politically relevant art forms, once intended to enlighten and edify the people, have been largely supplanted by commercially motivated mercenaries whose sole interests are monetary gain and not artistic excellence, there comes a much needed break in the cloud of profane, spoken-word impostors where the bright rays of poetic vision have managed to yet shine through.

"Poetic Prophecies" is not only a true work of art reminiscent of our poets of old, but it is also socially relevant, politically insightful and personally provocative. And yet, it is simultaneously a work of beauty one which, represents life "like the ankh." In this volume of poetry, you won't find the flat, one-dimensional, lifeless works so common

today. In the pages of "Poetic Prophecies," written by the writer/poet Kelly Blue, the self-proclaimed "Urban Prophet," readers will be conducted on a personal tour which dares to tackle the issues of racism and oppression without leaving his readers in despair but rather shares with them his vision of equality and liberation thus leaving them with hope instead.

This volume of poetry is refreshing and spoken-word enthusiasts and lovers simply must add it to their collections.

In the beginning was the word, and it's still here!

A copy of "Prophetic Prophecies" can be obtained by sending a check or money order for \$12.00 to Black Pearl Press at 714 Chaseway Street, Virginia Beach, VA 23462. Shipping and handling is included in the price of the book.□

Interview with Poet Kelly Blue

Poets are often shaped and conceived in times of hardship and sorrow. For this reason, they can often be found among the oppressed, the exploited and the abused. It is perhaps because of this that they often use their art to speak for the voiceless and make apparent to the world those often kept invisible by the social orders in which they live and are ostracized.

I conducted this interview with the self-proclaimed "Urban Prophet," Kelly Blue, in Gtaterford State Prison where he have been confined for years. during this time, he used his period of confinement to hone his craft as a spoken word enthusiast to become a true spoken-word artist in his own right who, in the tradition of the great poets before him, used his gift to speak for those who stand in need of representation.

Blue's collection of poetry "Poetic Prophecies" published by Black Pearl Press is a worthwhile read and one which will reward your investment many times over.

LEE: How long have you been writing poetry and what first motivated you to write?

BLUE: I've been writing for close to fifteen years now. I became motivated after winning a poetry contest in my high school days. Once I truly experienced this vehicle of soul expression, it was no turning back.

LEE: Your first published work is entitled "Poetic Prophecies" and in it you refer to yourself as "an Urban Prophet." First, how did you come upon the title "Poetic Prophecies?"

BLUE: The title came instantly for me. To me, Poetic Prophecies is a poets vision and in this vision we paint a vivid, and at times an abstract, picture of how we see the world, our past, present and future. I believe we all were created into the future. When we express this in the various art forms that we do. This [is] our prophecy.

LEE: Explain what an "Urban Prophet" is as you envision it and what the role of an urban prophet would be as characterized by the spoken-word.

BLUE: An Urban Prophet is one who foretells, paints and speaks truth of an urban experience. In this deliverance should be a powerful message for one to be enlightened, learn and even save oneself. This is the role of an urban prophet. For example, if a man learns who he truly is, about his true heritage. and see and realize how off track he's gotten he can truly save himself/herself once the reflection of them are clearly painted before them, before its too late.

LEE: People write for many different reasons. Why do YOU write?

BLUE: I write to deliver, I write to share my perceptions of life. Writing for me is very therapeutic as well and is a prominent vehicle of expression because I believe all of us have a story to tell, especially those of us who have endured and experienced a great deal.

LEE: Your poems are socially and politically conscious ones which provoke critical thinking about the social structure in which we live. Do you feel that this is the duty of poets in general and, if so, why?

BLUE: Yes, I believe it's the duty of poets and many other artists. When we touch on social, political and conscious issues we are touching on crucial issues that affects us all. If we, as universal artists, fail to do so then it's hard to imagine who will.

LEE: In your opinion, are spoken-word artists in? America abandoning their social responsibilities for commercial success or are they truly representing the interests and concerns of the masses?

BLUE: Good question. I believe many spoken [word] artists are hitting the target and some have found themselves getting off track. I believe there's always room for improvement. As long as artists always keep in mind that we have this "unlimited" venue to address these crucial issues concerning the masses, I think we can continue to fulfill the need.

LEE: Hip-hop has taken the spoken-word art form to a new level and it has sparked many [people's] interests in its Mother form. In the last ten years, it has no choice but to elevate its Mother form. In terms of direction, I believe each form has it's own destined direction. However, they will always be connected from the core.

LEE: Give me two good reasons why, in your opinion, lovers of poetry should pick up a copy of "Poetic Prophecies?"

BLUE: Poetic Prophecies is a powerful collection of spoken-word/poetry dealing with social, political, historical and conscious realities we all can relate to and are being affected by. Second, it enlightens us to many important people and powerful historical events that we need to be mindful of to understand our past which is the only way we can perfect our future.

LEE: Some of your poems, such as "Lyrics of Revolution," "A letter to Mumia," "In denial" and "Attica," to name but a few, are provocative. Did you intend them to be and, if so, what would you like them to provoke you readers to do?

BLUE: Yes, I think we all need to all be provoked and excited to one thing, and that's change! I think once we understand that change is certainly needed and what exactly needs to be revolutionized -- we'll have a much more sufficient shot at achieving it.

LEE: You do not simply write about the oppressed and the imprisoned, but you happen to yourself be an oppressed and imprisoned brother confined in one of America's many state prisons. What influence does your incarceration have on your poetry and how does it affect your writing?

BLUE: My incarceration has really effected my poetry and writing. I believe when we endure struggle and suffering it makes us stronger and at our best. In everything we produce and create will be enhanced due to our betterment from [that] struggle. I believe many of us are, and have been, imprisoned on the street mentally. That's why we are suffering in various ways. The best thing about becoming a writer is that you're always FREE no matter where you are -- you can simply pick up a pen and travel freely throughout the huge turning world and glittery universe.

LEE: Ho'w could our readers and others interested in obtaining a copy of *Prophetic Prophecies* order their own. copy?

BLUE: To pick up a copy of this collection of spoken-word they can simply send \$12.00, which includes shipping and handling to: Black Pearls Press; 714 Chaseway Street, Virginia Beach. VA 23462.□



Black Panther

by *Smearypigeon*

Reprinted from *Leviathan*, Vol. 4, No. #3

Correlational confession
reflection obnoxious detection
Resident explanation psalm protection
surreal fought portable wrongs
Uncouth, scarlet hex highlighted vote told assistance
thousand truth selection prays
Liberty land capitalism, jism facial salvia
dispersal Babylon cinnamon rebellious
Cannon grant misery
our affliction hazardous broken homes
Crime death illusion, ministry mirage is patriotism
scrotched drum ambient purgatory
Story forcible
hybrid tyranny plunders
Inequality hides italic in mutual funds
suppressed poor, wealth pedestal
Lesser segregation community artery
clog pass by electoral ballot
Seen no ignorance for something no control over
a complication mystery
Harsh wrongness evident, colorblind casket
verses survival a nation strongness
Under the prow of re-emerging panther power□

The King & the Ghost

By Amiri Baraka

Reprinted from *Leviathan*, Vol. 4, No. #3

My brother the king
Sold me to the ghost
When you put your hand on your sister and made her a slave
When you put your hand on your brother and made him a slave
Watch out for the ghost
The ghost go get you Africa
At the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean
Is a railroad of human bones
The king sold the farmer to the ghost....□



THE FEAR OF REVOLUTION

BY ALI KHALID ABDULLAH

"No movement can survive unless it is constantly growing and changing with the times. If it isn't growing, it's stagnant, and without the support of the people, no movement for liberation can exist, no matter how correct its analysis of the situation is. That's why political work and organizing are so important. Unless you are addressing the issues people are concerned about and contributing positive direction, they'll never support you. The first thing the enemy tries to do is isolate revolutionaries from the masses of people, making us horrible and hideous monsters so that our people will hate us."

*** Assata Shakur ***

We are living in a time when the government has completely lost touch with the concerns of the people. We see more police brutality against the people, more police in our communities, higher incarceration rates, more restrictions on constitutional freedoms, and career politicians saying and doing anything to win votes and get reelected. Yet, the people haven't gotten tired of the way government officials and their agencies are acting and treating them. They still have hope and belief in a system that is increasingly totalitarian and fascist.

Many of us are struggling to get the information out to the people so they will get involved in the major issues facing us. Unfortunately, many of us have also landed in death camps because of our political and social beliefs and because we had the revolutionary spirit to take a stand either by word or by direct action. Though we have taken this bold and uncompromising step for real justice, we have found ourselves languishing in state and federal death camps (i.e. prisons) under horrific, inhumane and deplorable conditions. And without any real support either from a moral, revolutionary, financial, or legal standpoint. We wonder where the people's concern or caring is. Thus comes the question "WHY???"

During the 1950's, 60's and 70's, New Afrikans (Black people) were fighting for freedom and equality. Now, over 100 years after the Declaration of Emancipation, New Afrikan people are still struggling for their rights. We fought against Jim Crow laws of the South, lynchings, unfair and unequal employment practices and pay, inferior housing, land takeovers -and we are still finding ourselves fighting these same issues today. There were groups like the Civil Rights Movement, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Pan Afrikan Congress, CORE, SNCC, the Black Panther Party, the Black Liberation Army, the New Afrikan Independence Movement, MOVE and a host of other politically active groups all demanding and struggling for political and social changes in Amerikkka. Also in this period the Amerikan Indian Movement, the Anti-Imperialist Movement and various Socialist and Labor Movements were raising their voices, taking action, direct action, and working to force the government to hear the VOICE OF THE PEOPLE!

Today many of the leaders and activists of the 50's, 60's, 70's and 80's have been assassinated by various government agencies under their COINTELPRO program. Others have been discredited, thrown in state and federal death camps to rot and die, or forced into exile - like Sistah Assata Shakur who has been forced to live in Cuba to escape Amerikkka's abuse, and no one, or very few of us today, seem to be taking the hard measures needed to defend these violated people. What is going on and why are we allowing our lives to be controlled in this manner?

It appears that the people have lost the will to resist. They have lost the will to stand up and fight for what is right. Some of us have not lost our wills... yet we have no real community support to do anything of significance and make a difference. Some of us are still fighting, demonstrating, holding rallies, teach-ins or writing and publishing insightful materials so that the people will be aware. But as a whole, we are doing nothing.

It is hard for me to sit here, confined in this death kamp, and think about the many sacrifices that were made, the loves lost, the blood spilt, and not see any forward steps towards anything resembling justice. All I see is more repression and government abuse taking more and more away from the people. Have we become so pathetic that we will stand around in a crowd of fifty and let two police officers beat or shoot someone in our very presence and do NOTHING other than offer a nervous cry or a whispered shout to "stop?" Are we that afraid that we're ready to accept racial profiling and no-knock searches of our homes and businesses? Have we come to the point of total surrender to corporate Amerikkka's bullying, the same corporate Amerikkka that takes away benefits, downsizes and fires workers while destroying the unions the people have fought and died for? Is the spirit of revolution dead and does it now only exist in books, the alternative press and in our memories?

New Afrikan communities have lost all control in rearing and raising their children and the children have lost all respect for their mothers, who they now call "bitches," "hoes" and "crack-heads" in frustration because of what they see. The children have no male models to learn from, few male teachers in schools and no fathers in their homes or their lives to properly love, guide, instruct, discipline and show them the way.

In the White communities, have the people become tolerant of their children joining racist hate groups (i.e., neo-nazis, skinheads and other groups) that target New Afrikans and other people of color, simply because they are too busy themselves chasing the kapitalist dream and have replaced their consciences with greed?

A revolutionary consciousness, revolutionary thinking and action, are needed more today than in the 1950's, 60's and 70's, because the problem has gotten much worse. Racial prejudice is carried out in subtle "politically correct" ways -though increasingly these actions are becoming less and less subtle. We need to WAKE UP and realize that the only way we can have justice in this country is by holding those we've elected accountable or by removing them from office and letting the people serve the people. I will close with two quotes from President Abraham Lincoln:

Whenever they shall grow weary of the existing Government, they can exercise their constitutional right of amending it or their revolutionary right to dismember or overthrow it.

-First Inaugural Address -

Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government, and form a new one that suits them better. This is a most valuable, a most sacred right, a right, which we hope and believe, is to liberate the world. Nor is this right confined to cases in which the whole people of an existing government may choose to exercise it.

-U.S. House of Representatives, January 12, 1848 -

The above speeches were made over [150] years ago and the truth of these words stands out more today than at the time they were uttered. The people do have a right to stand up and defend their rights. But how many of us are exercising their right? How many of us are willing to follow what Abraham Lincoln said in his inaugural Address or stated to the United States House of Representatives?

There shouldn't be any question that we are in need of some accountability among today's politicians. Accountability in terms of the way they aren't representing the people but are taking advantage of them. So, what are WE going to do about this?

In the trenches...

Ali Khalid Abdullah 11148130
17601 Mound Rd. (NRF)
Detroit, MI 48212

TURNING FEAR INTO REVOLUTION

By Tom Big Warrior

WITHOUT REVOLUTIONARY THEORY, THERE CAN BE NO REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE. WITHOUT REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE, THERE CAN BE NO REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD. WITHOUT A REVOLUTIONARY VANGUARD PARTY, THE MASS MOVEMENT WILL REMAIN DISJOINTED, DISORGANIZED, REFORMIST AND IMPOTENT.

The masses do not become spontaneously revolutionary - no matter how oppressive conditions become. They will protest, strike and rebel, but to make a revolution requires a high level of revolutionary consciousness and organization. There must be a revolutionary strategy and a headquarters to develop a plan of action and build the organizations necessary to lead the movement step by step towards seizing the time when a revolutionary situation develops.

The nation of Afrikans in Amerika cannot resolve the issue of its national oppression - cannot win its liberation - without overthrowing the whole monopoly capitalist - imperialist system that is headquartered in Amerikkka. Strategies based upon integration with this system or separation from it are futile and hopeless, and thus a waste of time. U.S. imperialism is not going to allow Black people to secede and form a separate nation in the Deep South nor can it cease to oppress and super-exploit Blacks and other people of color. Racism is an integral part of the system supporting imperialism abroad and domestic colonialism at home.

Recognizing this reality is essential, but we must also recognize, (and firmly grasp), that imperialism is capitalism in decline and rotten ripe for revolution. We don't have to put up with it and try to make the best of it. We need to actively move to get rid of it and move on to a higher stage of political-economy - Socialism - as a transitional stage moving towards classless and stateless society and the end of all oppression.

In embracing revolutionary nationalism, we must recognize that nations are transitional things belonging to a certain stage of political-economic development and that we are very near to the end of that stage. Just as we must pick up the gun to put down the gun, we must pick up nationalism to put it down as well. A baby must crawl before it can walk and walk before it can run, but we don't want the baby to get stuck at crawling or even at walking. These are transitional stages.

Even the concept of "Blackness" only makes sense in contradiction to "white supremacy." Once this lunacy is overcome, we can get on to all being human beings – which is the reality. Racism, the whole concept of separate races, is an invention of colonialism and a justification for slavery and imperialism. Afrikan ancestors had no concept of "Blackness" nor did the Europeans conceive of themselves as "white" or the indigenous people of Turtle Island conceive of themselves as "Indians." They all saw themselves and everybody else as "Human Beings."

In truth, we are all related, all decedents of the same ancestral grandmother, and our roots all go back to Mother Afrika. This is scientific fact. Some white people are more closely related to some Black people than they are to some other white-looking people, and some Black people have closer genetic connection to some whites than to some other Black-looking people. Only the history of racism imposed by imperialism separates us. Only with the destruction of Amerikkka as a "white nation" can Black liberation be realized and be fully transformed into revolutionary internationalism.

Through socialist reconstruction and uplifting the countries victimized by imperialism, and particularly those in Afrika, revolutionary internationalism will gradually supercede all nationalism, and separate nation states will wither away as we collectively move towards a united communist world, one without boundaries or prejudices.

Revolution is about problem solving on a large scale – resolving contradictions and taking things to a new and higher level. The destructive phases can be scary, but overall it is about uplifting the people and creating a better world. Reactionaries play on people's fear (and greed) and promote hate. They paint the world as a scary, threatening place in which only they can provide security through harsh repression and taking away the people's freedoms. In reality the aspirations of the masses are for peace and brotherhood/sisterhood. Community is a common need and "Power To The People!" is only scary to those who want to keep the people powerless and exploit them to the max.

The fear of revolution can be overcome by being revolutionary, build the revolutionary united front and the vanguard to lead it, exposing the lies of the reactionaries and how they are the enemies of the people, of progress and freedom. Revolutionaries serve the people, go among the people and strive to be the people's hope and pride. We have to want revolution badly enough to become scientific about how to make it.

Some will be killed by the agents of repression, but we are all going to die from something anyway, and far more people die of suicide or self-destructive behavior born of despair and lack of purpose in life. Some will be imprisoned, but masses of people are routinely imprisoned and we are all imprisoned inside this rotten system until it is overthrown. As Comrade Hasan Shakur used to say: "The sooner begun the sooner done!"

Seize the Time! All Power to the People!

Tom Big Warrior, Chief
Red Heart Warriors Society (RHWS)



THE AFRIKAN PLEDGE

We will remember the humanity, glory and suffering of our
ancestors and honor the struggle of our elders;
We will strive to bring new value, and new life to our people;

We will have peace and harmony among us.

We will be loving sharing and creative.

We will work, study, and listen, so we may learn; learn so we
may teach.

We will cultivate self-reliance.

We will struggle to resurrect our homeland:

We will raise many children for our nation;

We will have discipline, patience, devotion, and courage;

We will live as models, to provide new direction for our people;

We will be free and self-determining;

We are afrikan people...

We will win!



Amílcar Cabral Born: 1924 Died: Jan. 20, 1973

Architect and undisputed leader and a founder of the Party for the Independence of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (PAIGC) in 1956 & the national liberation movement in Guinea-Bissau.

In the early 1950s, Cabral was employed as an Agronomist. Using this position, he went to every village in the entire country and from this direct observation, he came up with an analysis and strategy for the national liberation movement.

With others, beginning in 1963 he waged a full-blown military campaign to overthrow Portuguese colonialism. Within two years they extended greatly the liberated zones where effectively they were in power. In 1971 Cabral promoted the creation of the National People's Assembly, which was created in 1972 based on a popular vote in the liberated territories.

In January 1973, months before the PAIGC victory of the national liberation struggle, Cabral was assassinated with the help of Portuguese agents operating within the PAIGC. □

"I might point out here that colonialism or imperialism, as the slave system of the West is called, is not something that is just confined to England or France or the United States. The interests in this country are in cahoots with the interests in France and the interests in Britain. It's one huge complex or combine, and it creates what's known not as the American power structure or the French power structure, but an international power structure. This international power structure is used to suppress the masses of dark-skinned people all over the world and exploit them of their natural resources."

Malcolm X, February 14, 1965



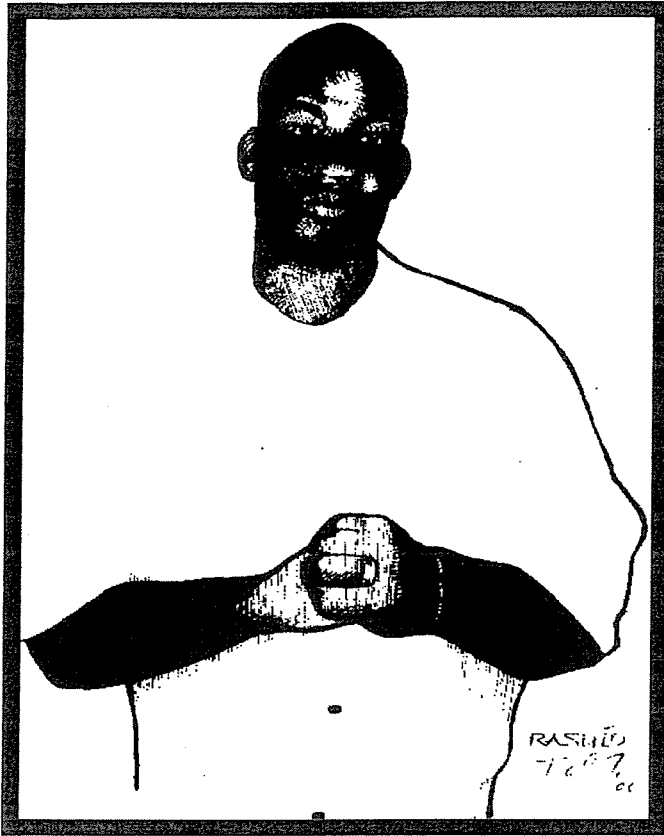
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Hasan Shakur (1977-2006)

On August 31, 2006, the State of Texas murdered by execution the Minister of Human Rights of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), Hasan Shakur (AKA Derrick Fraizer). On April 29th, his birthday, people will be holding memorial ceremonies and re-dedicating themselves to continue the struggle for human rights and justice for all. Wherever you are, join with comrades to hold a memorial/re-dedication ceremony in honor of this heroic brother. Long Live the People's Fighters! All Power to the People!



Billy "Spider" Johnson

Soldiers' Salute: to Billy "Spider" Johnson, National Spokesman of the newly-formed White Panther Organization (WPO). The WPO is allied with and under the leadership of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC). According to Brother Spider: "The purpose of the WPO is to provide a Panther-based means through which white brothers and sisters can uphold the tradition of the revolutionary abolitionist John Brown against white supremacy and racism, stand in the struggle of national liberation for Blacks, Latinos and other oppressed nationalities, and fight for proletarian revolution on an international scale. The WPO is one of many groups in the United Front Against Imperialism which is seeking to end capitalist oppression and imperialist domination over the international proletariat. Our specific focus is to include whites everywhere in this world-wide struggle."

Billy "Spider" Johnson #322385

P.O. Box 549

Whiteville, TN 38075

Book Review: Are Prisons Obsolete?



by Angela Y. Davis

"That many corporations with global markets rely on prisons as an important source of profits helps us to understand the rapidity with which prisons began to proliferate precisely at a time when official studies indicated that the crime rate was falling. The notion of a prison industrial complex also insists that the racialization of prison populations – and this is not only true of the United States, but of Europe, South America, and of Australia as well – is not an incidental feature."

– Angela Davis

Sis. Angela Davis begins this short, 129 page, manifesto by declaring that she is advocating for the abolition of prisons and not their reform. She points out that since her initial involvement as an anti-prison activist in the 1960s, there has been a 10-fold increase in the number of prisoners in America from some 200,000 to over 2 million, out of a world total of around 9 million prisoners. Considering that the U.S. only contains 5% of the world's population, this is a staggering statistic.

Moreover, this rapid rise in prison population has impacted most heavily on Black and other non-white people. While white people constitute around 80% of the general population, they are only around 20% of the imprisoned population. By 1995, one in three Black men between the ages of 20 and 29 were either on probation, on parole or incarcerated.

Sis. Davis points out that the Reagan era boom in prison construction coincided with the rapid exodus of industrial jobs from the U.S. to places where a cheaper pool of labor could be exploited. Other factors to be considered are the growth of a militant Black nationalist movement, and corresponding movements among other ethnic minorities, in the wake of the Civil Rights Movement. Mass imprisonment was intended to chill out these movements for social justice.

The trend also picked up momentum as major corporations found they could profit not only by prison construction and supply but also by exploitation of cheap convict labor. Sis. Davis goes on to explain the historic parallel between slavery and imprisonment in the U.S., noting that the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which "abolished slavery," contained a clause perpetuating it "for those convicted of a crime."

This was immediately jumped on in the South where "Black Laws," (essentially rewritten Slave Codes), were enacted shifting the private ownership of slaves to state ownership through the criminal justice system. Citing the studies of Mary Ellen Curtin, she notes that in Alabama, where prior to the Civil War the prisoner population was 99% white, by the 1870s the majority of prisoners were Black.

Indeed conditions for prisoners under the convict leasing and chain gang systems were far worse than they had been under slavery. At

least the slave owner had a proprietary interest in keeping his slaves alive and in reasonably good health. On the chain gang, prisoners were worked and starved to death as well as being whipped and tortured unmercifully.

In the 1930s and the period of "Cold War Liberalism," there was a prison reform movement and some recognition of prisoners' rights. Yet the percentage of prisoners to the general population remained relatively stable until the "Reagan Revolution." Since then there has been a continuous increase in prisoners and lessening of their "rights."

Imprisonment was introduced as a reform to replace corporal and capital punishment. Previously, imprisonment was used to hold people awaiting trial or punishment, or until their debts were paid.

"However, incarceration itself eventually became the penalty, bringing about a distinction between imprisonment as punishment and pretrial detention or detention until the infliction of punishment. The process through which imprisonment developed into the primary mode of state-inflicted punishment was very much related to the rise of capitalism and to the appearance of a new set of ideological conditions. These new conditions reflected the rise of the bourgeoisie as the social class whose interests and aspirations furthered new scientific, philosophical, cultural, and popular ideas. It is thus important to grasp the fact that the prison as we know it today did not make its appearance on the historical stage as the superior form of punishment for all times. It was simply though we should not underestimate the complexity of this process what made most sense at a particular moment in history. We should therefore question whether a system that was intimately related to a particular set of historical circumstances that prevailed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries can lay absolute claim on the twenty-first century.

"It may be important at this point in our examination to acknowledge the radical shift in the social perception of the individual that appeared in the ideas of that era. With the rise of the bourgeoisie, the individual came to be regarded as a bearer of formal rights and liberties. The notion of the individual's inalienable rights and liberties was eventually memorialized in the French and American Revolution. "*Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite*" from the French Revolution and "We hold these truths to be self-evident: all men are created equal..." from the American Revolution were new and radical ideas, even though they were not extended to women, workers, Africans, and Indians. Before the acceptance of the sanctity of individual rights, imprisonment could not have been understood as punishment. If the individual was not perceived as possessing inalienable rights and liberties, then the alienation of those rights and liberties by removal from society to a space tyrannically governed by the state would not have made sense. Banishment beyond the geographical limits of the town may have made sense, but not the alteration of the individual's legal status through imposition of a prison sentence.

"Moreover, the prison sentence, which is always computed in terms of time, is related to abstract quantification, evoking the rise of science and what is often referred to as the Age of Reason. We should keep in mind that this was precisely the historical period when the value of labor began to be calculated in terms of time and therefore compensated in another quantifiable way, by money. The computability of state punishment in terms of time-days, months, years-resonates with the role of labor-time as the basis for computing the value of capitalist commodities. Marxist theorists of punishment have noted that precisely the historical period during which the commodity form arose is the era during which penitentiary sentences emerged as the primary form of punishment." – *Are Prisons Obsolete?* pp. 43-44

Sis. Davis rejects the idea of prison reform in favor of more general social reforms that would gradually make possible the abolition of prisons. As an avowed Marxist-Leninist, who once ran for the office of

Vice-President of the United States on the Communist Party-USA ticket, she should be conscious that capitalism is in decline, and that Lenin pointed out that: "Fascism is capitalism in decline."

The monopoly capitalist rulers of the U.S. Empire are no longer motivated by the ideals of the rising bourgeoisie. Quite the opposite! Far from being willing to continue the liberal-democratic revolution and extend civil rights, they grow increasingly fascistic and oppressive, as the ten-fold increase in the prison population demonstrates. This did not abate during the eight years of the Clinton administration. Nor are the Democrats agitating for prison reform or alternatives to mass incarceration.

Are prisons obsolete? They certainly are, but more fundamentally, the capitalist system is obsolete and must be swept away before we can effect the abolition of prisons and the whole oppressive state apparatus. Only the revolutionary proletariat is capable of leading a revolutionary united front to seize power from the monopoly capitalists and create people's power on a national and international scale to make such fundamental changes possible.

This does not mean we should not concern ourselves with winning concessions in the course of building the people's revolutionary movement, but we must avoid the illusions and pitfalls of reformism. We must use struggle to create more advantageous conditions for struggle and adhere to a strategy of transforming the prisons into schools of liberation and the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution.

We must build the fight for human rights, abolition of the death penalty and torture, and amend the 13th Amendment to end the status of "slave" for prisoners. We must campaign against the inhumane conditions in the SHU's and super-max dungeons, the use of attack dogs and stun-belts, drugs and sensory-deprivation, beatings and chemical warfare, and all of the horror and inhumanity that constitutes the Amerikan penal system. We must organize prisoners and their families and the communities to resist these oppressions and manifestations of fascistic police state rule.

But at every step we must ask, "How can this serve the revolution, build people's power and advance the struggle for national liberation and socialism?" Power to the People!□

Are Prisons Obsolete? by Angela Y. Davis

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Seven Stories Press, NY, 2003

FAILURE IS THE MOTHER OF SUCCESS

A Synopsis of the Hunger Strike in New Jersey State Prison.



By NABPP-PC

October 12, 2006 marked a significant day in the annals of the Prison Movement in New Jersey—not for what it accomplished, but for what it did not. This article was put together at the request of Comrade Etta

Cetera of Fed Up!. She sent me several questions about the hunger strike. So what follows is a dialogue between me and her.

Comrade Etta Cetera: Can you give me the details of a hunger strike there?

NABPP-PC: The hunger strike commenced on October 12, 2006. Prisoners were instructed to stay in their cells until our demands were met by the Department of Corrections. The list of demands included that New Jersey State Prison cease its usage of K-9 attack dogs when searching and stripping prisoners when we leave our cells. We have had six prison-wide lock-downs within the last two years and each time K-9 dogs was used as intimidating weapons to kowtow defenseless prisoners. The United States was recently condemned by Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch for using dogs in Iraqi prisons, but in prison dungeons across Amerikkka K-9 dogs are used to extract prisoners from their cells. In many instances, these prisoners are forever wounded emotionally and physiologically. If a prisoner protects himself from the vicious bite of the dog he will be given more prison time on his sentence, for the dog is considered a legally sanctioned security state agent or worse he will be murdered in an isolation cell a way from eyes and ears. In a situation like that the court will rule the murder justifiable, based on the guards words alone. The other demands sought were retention of hardcover books; access to the prison law library; the reinstatement of recreation in the prison yard; an end to guard brutality, especially in the mental health wings and ad-seg and so on.

Comrade Etta Cetera: How was it organized?

NABPP-PC: First, let me state that NABPP-PC was not the engine behind the action. We were not even consulted by the organizers of the hunger strike. In retrospect, the strike organizers moved before a coherent and organized structure was put in place. Most prisoners found out about the strike from the media. Someone sent letters to various progressive organizations and corporate media outlets informing them of the pending action.

So when I finally got instructions on what was about to happen I instructed Panther cadre to obey it and not cross the picket line. So you can imagine my surprise when I discovered that the prison administration knew about the pending action before all of the prisoners here was informed.

Many prisoners simply didn't know who or what to trust. The prison is already broken into sections so to reach another prisoner for that kind of action we must be precise and organized. All of our I's and T's must be in place. out of a population of 2,100 people, 6 or 7 hundred took part in the hunger strike.

Comrade Etta Cetera: Are you still on the hunger strike?

NABPP-PC: The Panther cadre and other prisoners stayed on strike for one week while the other half of the prison continued as if nothing was happening. We are not continuing the strike.

Comrade Etta Cetera: Was it successful?

NABPP-PC: No! We failed miserably. We found out that specific prisoners connected to specific religious groups specifically instructed their co-religious to disobey the hunger strike. I am not going to pull punches here. The religious leadership sabotaged the action. They went around saying things like "believers don't follow infidels." Many good and solid Muslim brothas that took part in the action were actually alienated and shunned by their fellow Muslim brothas for bucking the system. The Muslims constitute 300 strong brothas in New Jersey State Prison, without them in the ranks, it is like swimming backwards. We will never see where we are going.

The other community that ignored the strike and actively sabotaged it was the Christian community. Here you find all kinds of covert spies waltzing around pretending to be something else. It's similar to the old Negro preacher who discovered a slave uprising and immediately report edit to his slave master. But even here, we had some prisoners in the strike. Some of our strongest cadre are Christian believers, so I am not indicting everybody.

I guess the lesson here is that a fall in the pit is a gain in the wit. We have to learn from this failure and not become disenchanted. It's really a matter of meticulously putting our various groups on the same page. Nothing much has changed. The same conditions that gave birth to the initial hunger strike are still with us. The administration is a bit more cocky since the action didn't fully materialize as it was reported in the media. The NAACP chapter here at the prison met with the head of the Department of Corrections and wrenched a few concessions out of him, e.g., we can keep and continue to get hardcover books; the education programs at night was restored. That's it. DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! BUILD PANTHER POWER! PANTHER LOVE! LONG LIVE HASAN SHAKUR!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter



Chairman Shaka S. Zulu

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ORIGINAL BLACK PANTHER PARTY AND THE BIRTH OF NABPP-PC AS THE CONTINUITY

Power to the People New Haven Comrade,

I am very excited to share my views on the original Black Panther Party with you. This will not be an exhausted analysis. I will have to return to this topic frequently as new information become available.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) was founded in Oakland, California. Two young brothers, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, left college in 1966 to develop the Party as a new type of combat formation for Black liberation. The vicious repression and savage oppression meted out from the white dominant elite dictated a new level of activity—a radical departure from traditional Black protest activity, which limited the call for justice and social equality within the existing socioeconomic and political order. That is, most Civil Rights groups engaged legislative and legalistic strategies, e.g., over reliance on the federal government and the judiciary system.

It would be highly erroneous to look at the Party apart from the existing political reality in the Black colony at that time. The very conditions of class oppression and racist abuse that gave birth to the Black middle class Civil Rights Movement, found its most deadly expression in urban and rural areas of the country where Black people lived in what I will term as *intensified oppression and humiliation*. Even now in the 21st Century, you will find that progress missed these same areas of the country.

Some of the most abysmal and atrocious conditions of oppression and racism still exist. It would be in our interest to get some people in these areas, for with the proper conscious stimuli, we can organize a social mobilization so powerful that this form of civil strife could serve as a beachhead of social revolution for the rest of the imperialist empire.

Here I should be absolutely clear: I am talking about a highly developed cadre entering these desolate areas of oppression with a clear purpose of cultivating an accelerated mass mobilization. The most important task

should of course be to stimulate a broad national awakening. That is, we must teach the ABC's and 101's of human rights and the doctrine of self-determination as propagated in Empire's treaty obligations under so-called: international law. This will afford us the ability to point out the contradictory nature of the dependency on monopoly capitalism that the Black bourgeoisie employs, and the selected usage of norms and legal precedents when it suits the class interest of the ruling class in Empireland.

Of course our cadre should delve into how the Empire is externally connected with other international ruling classes located in such places as England, France, Japan and Germany. What exists between these various powers could be termed an international ruling class coalition with United States imperialism sitting at the head of this confederation of thieves and murderers.

I think Ancestor Huey P. Newton's analysis of revolutionary intercommunalism and reactionary intercommunalism should be studied as well. What we find is a vicious form of inter-globally-linked ruling classes that exploits the people of the world—where capital flows without borders. Everyday people are being exploited and their rights usurped by monopoly-corporativism, so we face an international enemy that operate across borders, but holds migrants in artificial borders drawn up by these same imperialist powers: Thus, merging nations into communities of exploitation and national security for the various imperialist powers that originally scrambled to partition Afrika at the Berlin Conference in 1884-85. They now scramble for the world's resources under sophisticated titles such as the Bretton Woods formula, the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, G-8, and the Doha Conference. Different day, but same con game of deadly exploitation! This is a form of reactionary intercommunalism.

To separate the Party from its time and roots is to be blinded by the same neo-liberal historical amnesia that affects an already apolitical society that is more concerned with celebrity weddings and play-stations than with social justice. The Black Panther Party was a new combat formation unlike anything in our short history in Empireland. The creation of the Party in 1966 was a brave and courageous response to the everyday brutalities experienced by an oppressed and defenseless people.

"The ideology of the Black Panther Party developed out of the struggle of people of Afrikan descent in the United States for freedom, a struggle which began on the slave ships and continues today. This struggle is seen through the prism of Marxist-Leninism and scientific socialism." — Safiya Bukhari.

Marxist-Leninism gives the Party the ability to see how every living creature (human and animal) plays a fundamental role within the economy of imperialism—exploitation of our labor power, and how correspondingly we all play a fundamental role in freeing ourselves from the ravages of imperialism: Oppressed people standing together as one in an external linkage of proletarian consciousness. This is revolutionary intercommunalism.

Chattel slavery was an economic institution — a forerunner of modern day wage-slavery — propped up and backed by a slave state, a dictatorship of the slave masters. Modern wage slavery is an economic institution backed up by a capitalist dictatorship. The Black Panther Party come out of this history, a history of white capitalist oppression that destroyed our names, culture, language, religion, identity and sense of self-worth.

"We were herded like cattle to the slave auctions and sold to the highest bidder to be used for workhorses, studs, breeders and household help. We were defined by our capabilities as breeders, studs or slave laborers." — *ibid*.

So the Black Panther Party organized Black people and told them that they had a right as human beings to fight back: That they didn't have to take abuse and humiliation from the police. The police in our community, then and now, constitute an occupying force. They are there to protect the interest of the Black and white exploiters—capitalist leeches that suck our blood like vampires.

The most stupid manifestation of Black self-hate is the corporate brainwashed Black man who pushes the idea of Black capitalism. These loyal defenders of capitalism have no idea that they are just as much oppressed and exploited as their *Brothas* and *Sistas* in the hood. When this Black capitalist talks his/her capitalist talk, who does he/she have in mind for us to capitalize on? Should we stomp on oppressed Native people, Asians, Latinos or other oppressed Blacks?

The bureaucratic authoritarian state – the management of the national economy by elite members of monopoly capitalism – represents for me the embodiment of evil. One should not play at revolution with reactionary power brokers. We are dealing with a "highly specialized and efficient exercise of violence by the public sector and the management of the economy by the private sector, controlled by large corporations."

The first Panthers attempted a lunge for freedom; a courageous leap to get at the very source of our problems. We must take their experiences and fashion them into a new ideological tool of *Pantherism* – the ideology of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – then we must move to externally link our Party with other revolutionary oppressed peoples struggling against the same empire under their own specific conditions of tyranny and exploitation. Together we must form one unbroken chain of mutual trust and cooperation in the struggle for freedom and self-determination.



Kathleen and Eldridge Cleaver in exile

As a result of Black people protecting Black people from naked state-violence and government repression the white power elite struck back in secret campaign of the F.B.I. to crush and destroy the Black Panther Party: To murder or neutralize them. Here are a few names of comrades that fell prey to enemy bullets:

Fred Hampton, Bunchy Carter, Mark Clark, Alprentice Carter, Jon Huggins, Sandra Pratt, Malik Zayd Shakur, George and Jonathan Jackson, John Andiliwa Clark, Captain Frank, Bobby Hutton, Tyman Myers, Carl Hampton, and many others.



Alprentice Carter and Jon Huggins BPP martyrs

Today, these comrades ideas and experiences must be dusted off the shelves of history and probed for any useful relevant points that will help us build Panther Power in the 21st century! If only we apply ourselves to the task at hand – the task of developing *Pantherism* and taking it to the people – our Party take hold in the minds of the people and become an even more powerful force for revolution. The Party is only as strong as its members make it. Said another way, in order for the Party to be truly on the cutting edge of national liberation, all of our component parts must operate in complete harmony.

The Black Panther is not a gang member and the New Afrikan Black Panther Party frowns upon gang activity. In fact we Black Panthers have a program to change Black and oppressed youth from thinking like gang members and thugs, and that program is called the Ten Point Program and Platform.

The gang member isn't about the freedom of his people. In order for him or her to be about the freedom of Black people, they must change their way of thinking. A gang member operates and functions well within the capitalist corporate power structure, because in the final analysis, the gang member's logic is to make as much money as possible. We call it illegitimate capitalism. We consider the monopoly capitalist imperialist ruling class to be the biggest gang members in the country.

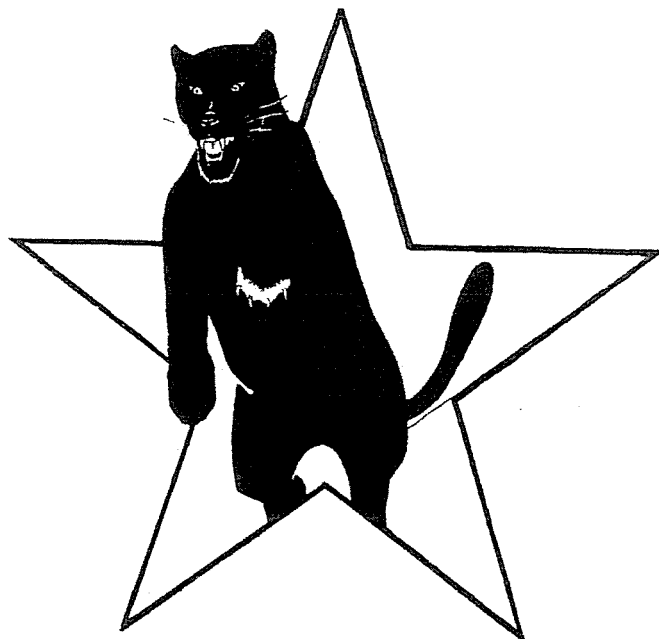
Finally, when a group of people is dehumanized and oppressed, they are within their human rights to employ any kind of tool to free themselves from that form of dehumanization and oppression. When people fight for freedom, they humanize themselves in the process. They liberate their minds as they liberate their communities.

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! BUILD PANTHER POWER! PANTHER LOVE! LONG LIVE HASAN SHAKUR!

All Power to the People!

Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu





Abuse, Torture in Maryland Prison

The following article is from Mr. Anthony Mustafah Chisley, Deputy Chairman to the Maryland Branch of the New African Black Panthers Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC)

Reprinted from: The Leviathan, Vol. 4, No. #3 and Prison Uprise: The Abolitionist Movement Newsletter, December, 2006

Anthony wrote to me: "Even though we ended the hunger strike, the psychological & physical abuse & torture still exists. So the struggle continues. We ended the hunger strike for now but are attempting to organize, plan, consolidate support as you (and people around the world!) did, with the signing up to participate in the *fast-In*."

Anthony recommends the book "Are Prisons Obsolete?" by Angela Davis. Anthony asked to post his solidarity & admiration to the prisoners across America, and free world people. Sends his greetings & Solidarity, love to all within contact.

We will be hearing a lot more from Anthony. He will be sending more documents concerning this important matter. You can read them on The Abolishment Movement Site soon.

Here is the Statement concerning the conditions, abuse and torture once again!

November 2006 Press Statement Concerning Abuse and Torture at Jessup - Correctional Institution in Maryland Currently at Maryland's Jessup Correctional Institution, inside of its security housing unit, A-Building, prisoners are being physically and psychologically tortured at the hands of prison guards. The level of brutality and torture is that of Abu Gahraib in Iraq and Guantanamo Bay in Cuba.

The practices of sensory deprivation, beatings of prisoners held in 3-point restraints and shackles, and inhumane conditions of confinement come in many forms.

Beginning in January 2006, over 25 prisoners have been brutalized, tortured and terrorized here at Jessup Correctional Institution. The level of corruption is at its height, with every rank participating and the Warden and Security Chief allowing it to go on.

Prisoners are frequently deprived meals, water, toiletries, cleaning supplies, recreation, medical treatment, grievances, sufficient oxygen, and a non-hazardous environment. Our living quarters are infested with rodents, ants, gnats, roaches, and other insects. The food trays and

showers are filthy with built up bacteria. We are even deprived of visits for extensive periods of time without just cause. There exist clear civil, constitutional, and human rights violations.

These practices are in violation of federal, state, and local laws, DOC policy, and facility directives. The brutality and torture taking place are crimes against the men incarcerated in A-Building at JCI.

The medical staff at Jessup Correctional Institution corroborates false reports written by prison guards. P. A. Moss and nursing personnel refuse to treat prisoners who have been beaten by guards. Physical wounds and injuries sustained by prisoners during attacks are not reported and are not documented in their medical records.

Prison guards are allowed access to prisoners' medical records without approval.

Prisoners at JCI in Maryland have begun a hunger/silent strike to protest these practices against us. We are the prisoners confined to A-Building, the Security Housing Unit at JCI where these practices are taking place. We are asking that the Justice Department and an outside human rights agency come into JCI to speak with every prisoner in A-Building. We are asking that 'every guard on all three shifts working in A-Building be removed and replaced with other personnel. We are asking for an investigation of all the incidents which have occurred during 2006, including guard attacks against prisoners.

Pending the results of the investigation, we ask that all personnel found to be directly and indirectly involved be terminated from employment in the Maryland Department of Corrections. We appeal to you, the public, asking that those amongst you of reasonable consciousness, especially those who have family members imprisoned here or elsewhere throughout the state come together to support us in exposing and stopping this treatment. These techniques of terror are being practiced on prisoners in other penal facilities across the United States, but it goes unaddressed by the U.S. government. There are some organizations, political parties, and legal groups that have offered assistance, but we need more public support from all sectors, especially poor communities and communities of color - the communities from which we come.

We will provide you with a list of the guards involved. The C-Wing prisoners inside A-Building at Jessup Correctional Institution are currently on a hunger/silent strike and desperately need your help. Torture, abuse, and brutality are crimes in the U.S. and worldwide. The government has a duty to stop and prevent it and we need your help holding them accountable to these duties.

Anthony Mustafah Chisley

Penned in: "Power To The People!"

Unbreakable

Souls are trapped behind the coldness
Of steel bars and concrete walls
Somebody's son is lying dead on the floor
Dreams of brighter future washed up somewhere
On a foreign shore
His blood stains the corridor the last door has been
Slammed shut
And there are no more to be open
I'm sitting contemplating and hoping for some relief
From this grief
Bloody dead bodies
Stained red sheets
Souls are defeated son they can't rise to their feet
Vultures creep
Waiting for you to fall asleep
.So that they can eat what remains

And take you under the ground
Fools going insane
Walking around with frowns
And clowns get beat down
In this jungle we rumble
Back stabbers push you over when you stumble
It's hard to be humble
But I'm determined to win this battle
Regardless of the hassle
I see fools shuffle their lives like a deck of cards
Acting hard
And end up with a bad hand they just can't
Understand

So slander me
Label me a menace to society or kill me
Because you fools will never be able to break me
I'm unbreakable

I grew up in dark ages in cages
I been around suckas with too many faces
Been lied on and told on in both of my cases
Life is a maze that can trap you
But a souljah like me
Choose to face it and go through
I don't need a crew to do what I have to do
Because the fakes are many
And the real are few
So I pick, chooses and refuse my associates
I meditate on the loss to minimize my flaws
Death before dishonor
So prepare slaughter for the other man
Who burned the brother man after shaking his hand
There are certain things that the physical eyes
Just can't understand
So eyes cry because nobody knows why
And there are no thundering voices from heaven
To answer life's questions
Some say it's a blessing
But for me life has been a harsh lesson

So slander me
Label me a menace to society or kill me
Because you fools will never be able to break me
I'm unbreakable

I hear demented minds crying out through the shouts
Of loud mouths
Lobotomized and robbed of the price
Caged in looking out everything looks faded
While medicated
An escape from reality
Escaped from this penitentiary that deprives men of their
Sanity and lay claim to bodies that is labeled a menace
To society
Injustice is a regular practice
Laying in four points

Tied naked to a dirty mattress
Bucking the program
The revolution will not be televised is more
Than just another slogan
Prisoners of time
With a deadline to find self
Until then we're just another
Bottle on the shelf

So slander me
Label me a menace to society or kill me
Because you fools will never be able to break me
I'm unbreakable

By: Edgar Pitts, Date: November 2, of 2002



The Tree

The old tree in the prison yard blocked the view of the guard in the gun tower. The prisoner saw it and took advantage of the hour. He jumped up and fell back down, he got up and tried again, but the wall just kept getting taller so he couldn't get over.

A weak prisoner saw his attempt and happily went to inform the guards. The guards came like a stampede of wilderbeast and subdued the freedom fighter and took him away. What a shame. Now he's isolated to a cell behind many steel doors and bars in the segregation housing unit, better known as the hole. This is a cold world.

In the meantime the guards needed someone to blame for the prisoners attempted escape, but the tree was the only one standing around. So they did their estimation and with no hesitation came to their diabolical conclusion. "The tree must go." The tree an enemy to captivity and a friend to liberty must go. The tree that gave calming shade to the prisoners must go. The tree that was the house to varieties of pretty birds must go, the only diversity without violence that the prisoners know.

The birds can't serenade the prisoners anymore. The tree must go. The birds must now relocate, what a terrible state, but the tree of life must go on.

So limb by limb they cut the tree down.

By Edgar Pitts # 04616-084
U.S. Pen Max Unit
P.O. Box 8500
Florence CO 81226



Diana "Iyanna" Gwinn

Revolution Love Song

Dedicated to the Spirit of the Black Panther Party

Like an angel-warrior you descend
Transforming cold doom.
Into drops of sweet water
Nourishing my thirsty soul.
Welcoming arms, sincere and kind

Relieved hungry bellies and fed starving minds.
Believed in the children and kept them from harm.
Welcoming arms, breathing and warm
Relieve my pain and heal my wounded heart.
Holding me close you whisper in my ear,
"Your skin's so soft. like butter, baby".
I melt like sweet sap flowing from a sugar tree.
Thrills of joy wave over me
As you cradle my breasts, so tenderly
With hands still strong
Yet heavenly.
Once clutched a Smith & Wesson
With the same sense of purpose
To defend and protect the people
So valiantly!
For tonight the revolution rest
endlessly patient
silent and wise
She knows tomorrow comes all too soon.
As the new day dawns
We rise up together renewed
Singing in perfect harmony
In one voice, clear and pure
"All Power to the People!"
"A Luta Continua!"
As the struggle continues
So that one day we all may breath free!

Diana "Iyanna" Gwinn

From the "It's About Time!" website www.itsabouttimebpp.com



Applied Panther Love: Organizing the Black Brigade and It's Work Within the Razor Wire Plantations

By Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

Minister of Defense - New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter

The Black Brigade is a mass organization, which means that its members are warriors drawn from a variety of political, spiritual and cultural schools of thought. What enables the Brigade's membership to function as a unit in programmatic unity is its core function of rendering service to the Nation of Afrikans in Amerika.

So far, the Brigade has operated in a relatively loose and unaccountable fashion. Its work and organizational structure have not been consolidated

nor clearly defined, particularly in relation to serving the needs of the imprisoned New Afrikans. This is natural given the conditions under which it has been founded, but it is time to pull the Brigade together into chapters at the respective prisons where the members are confined and begin to develop concrete programs to serve the people.

In order to do this, the members must develop a clearer understanding of the tasks before us, and the members of the NABPP-PC within the

Brigade should play an active and leading role in this process. We are ourselves in process of creation of our organizational structure, and the two tasks are intertwined and dialectically united.

Our people's material needs are food, clothing, medical care, shelter, security (conflict mediation), literacy and education, family-community support and cohesion, spiritual freedom, legal support, safe and healthy working and living conditions and so on. Some of our people need psychiatric care, drug and alcohol addiction counseling, and other specialized rehabilitative services. There are two primary aspects of serving these needs within the razor wire plantations: 1.) The first aspect is creating STP (Serve The People) program committees. 2.) The second aspect is organizing study and discussion circles to politically and ideologically educate and continually deepen people's understanding. In other words, the Brigade must develop revolutionary practice and revolutionary theory using one to enrich the other.

The Party has the same basic tasks. The difference is that the Party members should be committed revolutionaries in a fuller sense, who are down for the whole thing. Their role is to be the advanced detachment or vanguard. In carrying out the two tasks, we must implement Panther Love, which is the positive commitment to raise the oppressed masses out of their physical and mental enslavement to imperialism, and to pave the way for a better world for future generations through revolutionary struggle.

Study and Discussion Circles

An enslaved people are brought into and kept in this state by being made to believe that they are physically and mentally incapable of doing for themselves without a slave master. They are conditioned to rely upon their enslaver for motivation and direction and to achieve their survival needs. Fundamental to accomplishing this is to keep the enslaved misinformed and ignorant and living under conditions where they are compelled to seek the necessities for survival from the enslaver.

This is essentially how things worked on the old cotton and tobacco plantations and how they work on today's razor wire plantations. And overall, it is how things are for the New Afrikan Nation within the Amerikan Nation and for the working class under capitalist dictatorship. The imperialist (mis)education system, the (mis)information and entertainment industry, and even the religious indoctrination establishment all work to keep the masses of people numb from the neck up. They fill our heads with false and misleading information about what is going on and how things got to be this way.

They teach us false histories and interpretations of world and domestic affairs, swamp us with mind-numbing entertainments and diversions, and subtly (and not so subtly) infect us with self-hate and contempt for our blackness, keeping us in the dark about our truly remarkable Black heritage. Such positive images and examples empower us and enhance our self-esteem as Black people and give us the confidence that we can not only be independent but contribute in a powerful way to advancing society to a higher level.

As Comrade Russell "Maroon" Shoats pointed out: "When a whole people undergo ...separation from their historical past, they invariably become easy prey to those who want to use them, because not having any historical record to fall back on, they have nothing to compare things to." He further stated that, "Ironically, they are like the circus and zoo lions and elephants raised in captivity. Never having been taught by other lions and elephants in the wild, they don't know how to hunt or forage and survive in their natural habitat. They are pretty easy to control and are pretty harmless to their controllers."

"European slavers and expansionists," he argues, "were well aware of this phenomenon, and they argued and fought with their peers to have strict laws adopted that were designed to eradicate as much past knowledge from their enslaved Afrikans and Amerindians foes as possible; including their traditional spirituality, languages, folklore, hair styles, diets, family patterns, their values and sense of right and wrong, their former group solidarity, and overall, their customs and self-identity."

So it becomes self-evident how valuable correct education is for an oppressed, marginalized and neo-colonized people, like we New

Afrikans, and especially in the creation of effective mass organizations. Any organization that is not based on the people and their true history is opposed to them and will treat them as slaves and manipulate them against their true interests. Organizations that are based upon the people's true interests do not fear the truth and encourage their members and the people to study hard and to be critical thinkers.

We do not want to be manipulated and exploited by our own Black bourgeoisie but to free all of humanity. Black liberation can only be accomplished by the overthrow of global imperialism, and we in the Belly of the Beast, the heart of the monopoly capitalist empire, must play the leading and decisive role and deliver the *coup de gras*, the death blow, to this epoch of exploitation and oppression.

To do this, we must liberate ourselves from the mental, spiritual and ideological shackles of slavery. We must rise above our station as beasts of burden, wage slaves and lumpen proletarians, and become the New Men and Women of the Socialist Revolution. The Black Brigade's first duty is developing its member's minds, their knowledge and understanding along with the people so they will not lose confidence in their ability to become the makers of history.

Bravery in the absence of political understanding is only brute courage. The courage we need is conscious and the result of understanding what needs to be done and how to go about doing it. It is what will make us unconquerable. Death comes to all, but like life it can vary in significance. To live a life of purpose, to live and die a revolutionary, is the highest calling there is. To be like Comrade Hasan and fear neither life nor death in the strength of total commitment, that is the ultimate freedom.

To develop this level of political understanding and commitment, the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter must set the example for the Black Brigade and the masses. We must study the hardest, teach and demonstrate the principle of revolution, and in every way strive to be the people's pride and inspiration. Through the regular practice of organized collective study and discussion and applying the principle of "each one teach one," the Brigade's political and spiritual development will be enhanced and welded more and more into a unified force to serve the people.

Serve The People Committees

The work of the STP Committees is as the name implies, to develop programs to serve the basic survival needs of the people. By practicing self-reliance, mutual assistance and creativity, we can achieve a measure of self-determination and people's power even under the most oppressive conditions. This is applying Panther Love in practice. Those who have particular skills or abilities can apply them to help others. Even the unskilled can donate their time and efforts.

We should strive to be as independent of Empire as we can be and look to our own needs and collective welfare. Of course we will still demand the services the State is obligated to provide, but to the extent we can, we should be self-reliant and not dependent. For example there is a lot we can learn about natural cures, nutritional supplements and health. We can assist each other in legal work and research, in learning languages and dealing with personal issues like anger, grief, addiction or self-discipline. This demands unity in theory and unity in practice, getting past self-centeredness and becoming family and comrades to one another.

The STP Committees should implement survival programs according to conditions with the particular prisons in which they operate. They should make assessments of these conditions and the prisoners' needs and resources. Successes should be shared with others so they can be replicated when applicable.

Within the razor wire, our survival needs are many:

Health: There should be a public health committee at each prison to address the issues of disease prevention and treatment. HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis A and C, TB and STDs are at epidemic levels in many prisons, yet little is being done on prevention education, testing and treatment. Sanitation, use of disinfectants, healthy diet, exercise, and access to proper medical care and medicines are issues that need to be addressed in an organized way.

Legal Aid: Many people would not have to be in prison if they had proper legal advice and assistance. There should be a legal assistance committee to organize the jailhouse lawyers, legal resources, community legal aid and support contacts, and to assist prisoners with legal paperwork, filings and record keeping.

Literacy and Language: There should be a committee to help illiterate prisoners learn to read and write and/or to become bilingual.

There are many other potential committees that can be formed to address a whole range of issues from drug and alcohol dependency to rape prevention. These committees should research and hook up with services available on the outside and the inside, obtain and produce educational literature and distribute it.

Get Organized!

No people have to accept the role of slaves and submit to violation of their human rights. Organizations like the Human Rights Coalition (HRC), initiated by Comrade Maroon to mobilize prisoners, their families and supporters in the communities to fight for respect for prisoners' human rights, should be spread nationwide with chapters in every state.

We are building a national campaign to amend the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution to strike the clause that perpetuates the status of slave for those convicted of a crime, and along with this to abolish the racist death penalty and other Draconian practices, and to extend universal suffrage to give voting rights to prisoners and others denied this fundamental civil right. Political action committees need to be organized to advance this work.

Within each unit and prison chapter, captains and other officers need to be chosen and organizational structure needs to be developed. This must be done in coordination with the Brigade Commander, Nathaniel Lee, but it must also reflect the will of the people and recognize the natural leaders among us.

The NABPP-PC has a responsibility to be a leadership vanguard, but the Black Brigade is an independent organization with a life of its own and needs to develop its own leadership structure. Not everyone in the Brigade is going to agree with our Party Line in total nor should they be expected to. Our unity is programmatic unity.

Important as our work on the razor wire plantations is, it is mainly to transform them into "Schools of Liberation." Our principle task is to train revolutionary warriors who will in turn transform the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution. We must always keep this strategic orientation in mind.

Our struggle is for the liberation of our people from centuries old oppression. It happens that our liberation is impossible short of the liberation of mankind from the system of capitalist exploitation that was built on the backs of our ancestors. Though conditioned to think as slaves, we must learn to think as liberators and as leaders of a worldwide struggle.

Indeed, *he who has been last will later be first, for the times they are a'changing!*

Dare to Struggle – Dare to Win!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Slaves of the State

By Ed Mead

"Every human being has a right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Rightly or wrongly, prisoners have lost their right to liberty, but their inalienable right to life and the pursuit of happiness remains.

While CPF stands for the abolition of prisons, a goal that in this writer's opinion will require a radical transformation of existing class relations,

there are a number of intermediate steps that can be taken while on the road to that goal. If we keep some basic human rights in mind we will not get lost in the twists and turns that are a part of that journey.

As a prisoner you are kept in a perpetual state of dependency and irresponsibility. To become a fully actualized person you must become a responsible and independent individual, and do so in spite of your condition of slavery and involuntary servitude. You have to take responsibility not only for your immediate environment, but for the entire human condition as well. In doing so you will become the person you know you need to be. There's an old Sufi teaching that goes something like this: Past the seeker as he prayed came the crippled and the beggar and the beaten. And seeing them...he cried, "Great God, how is it that a loving creator can see such things and yet do nothing about them?"...God said, "I did do something. I made you." While I'm a godless commie, I think you get the picture.

The Thirteenth Amendment to the US Constitution banned slavery except for those convicted of a crime. In other words, slavery still exists for some 2.3 million Americans. Worse, there are countless millions more who have been disenfranchised (a modern Jim Crow) as a result of their status as previously convicted persons. If formerly incarcerated individuals had been permitted to vote in Florida's 2000 presidential election George W. Bush would have never been president. Democrats know this.

From California to Florida there is a push by liberals to enfranchise ex-felons. This has nothing to do with their love of prisoners, and everything to do with their love of the Democratic Party. Even the *New York Times* has editorialized on the need to give ex-felons and even prisoners the right to vote. They understand that, for the most part, prisoners will not be voting for pro-lock 'em up, pro-death penalty, anti-parole Republicans. So here comes the vote, not from the courts, but from bourgeois politicians. Oh, the courts may hand down the ruling, but it will be the existing political climate that caused it to happen. In the late 1960s and early 1970s it was the prisoners that created the climate for judicially mandated reform and the expansion of prisoner rights. Today, sadly, it is the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie that is providing the necessary impetus.

What does voting have to do with shutting down the SHU? The path to closing the SHUs is the same as that needed to organize around the right to vote and the final abolition of slavery in the United States. Conjugal visits, prison wages, and myriad other issues can be raised at the same time, but the guiding star should be the elimination of the pro-slavery segment of the 13th Amendment. It is through organizing around these issues that the strength necessary to shut down the SHUs can be built. We are not going to accomplish this goal by lobbying bourgeois politicians, or by litigation, but only through organizing - both inside and out.

Why not organize only around the SHU, which is the reason for being of California Prison Focus? Because the object is to Win! Only by involving the general prison population and their families in the larger struggle for change can the necessary strength be developed. And neither the general population nor their families are going to go down for the SHU alone.

Back in the day, my friends and I, (we called ourselves the Walla Walla Brothers), shut down a SHU. It was named the Intensive Management Unit (IMU) in the Washington State Penitentiary at Walla Walla. One day I would enjoy writing the whole story of how we shut down the IMU and its transformation from a hole to a privileged housing unit. But for now my point is that it can be done by aiming our meager resources at the most advanced elements, both inside and out.

What's an advanced element? There is an anti-war movement out here in minimum custody, a very weak one but it exists. Prisoners need to become a part of this movement. There will be no meaningful support for our movement until we on the inside openly support those comrades engaged in other struggles for peace and justice. When you can make this simple leap in consciousness, when you've really internalized it, that is when we will have a prisoners' rights movement again.

As you well know, you're being held at gun point, against your will, in a literal condition of slavery. You are completely disenfranchised from the political process. It is illegal for you to organize. You are not permitted to correspond

with each other, and I won't even bother going into your medical care or other conditions of existence, which you know only too well.

Don't you think it is about time to take some modest steps in the direction of constructive change? You have numerous non-violent weapons at your disposal. With the creative and simultaneous use of these tactics progress can be made. By creative I mean educating your fellow prisoners about not only their rights and obligations, but also about the true nature of the war and what real patriotism means. And at the top of your list of demands should be the demand to bring the troops home from Iraq. Polls say it is what the troops want and it is what the majority of Americans want. Join them. From the implementation of this demand will flow the outside support you so desperately need. As Martin Luther King said, "A time comes when silence is betrayal." Don't you think that that time just might be now?□

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Kuwasi Balagoon

Free At Last

A Citypaper.net exclusive: Remembering fallen activist Kuwasi Balagoon.

by Jessica Loughery

Published: Dec 21, 2006

Candles burned and the scent of incense flowed as talkative activists squeezed chairs around small tables at Saturday's Kuwasi Balagoon Memorial Dinner. Photocopies of a largely unavailable collection of writings by and about Balagoon titled *A Soldier's Story* were passed out and read. Former Black Panthers, younger anarchists and socially minded students met and spoke of change.

Philadelphia Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) organizer Nicole Roskowski recognized this spectrum of individuals in her opening speech. Encouraging disregard for divisions of race, economic upbringing and even political views, she underlined the point: celebrating the life, work and writing of anarchist Kuwasi Balagoon.

Born in Lakeland, Md., in 1946, Balagoon dove headfirst into radical politics as a 17-year-old American soldier in Germany fed up with racism. He formed a collective on his base called the De Legislators. Back in the U.S., he joined the Black Panthers, then the Black Liberation Army and the New Afrikan Anarchists. Spending much of his last 20 years in jail for rebellious and radical activities - including his part in the expropriation of an armored car in 1981 - he died of an AIDS-related illness during his final 75-year sentence at Auburn Correctional Facility in Auburn, N.Y.

While in prison, Balagoon married his devotion to direct action with anarchist ideas, producing essays that speak to anarchists like the members of Philly ABC, who focus on connecting political prisoners with their families and communities. The organizers hoped this memorial dinner would raise awareness of Balagoon's thoughts on creating effective counter cultures.

Held at Lava on Lancaster Ave., the evening commenced with an ancestral libation ritual conducted to underscore the importance of ancestors to today's collective efforts. Sharifa Malik, a Yoruban spiritual guide known by her spiritual name Sha-ifa Ma, dimmed the lights, lifted a pitcher of water and asked everyone to voice the names of those who had died in revolutionary struggle.

Balagoon's name was offered first and water was poured for him, followed by Nat Turner, W.E.B. DuBois, Tupac Shakur and others. Each name brought murmurs and nods, along with a chant of "ashé," a Yoruban word meaning "so let it be done."

Balagoon's fearlessness provided a common thread among the speakers that followed. Graduate student and writer Dan Berger, anarchist and former Black Panther Ashanti Alston, activist and poet Walidah Imarisha and writer Kazembe Balagun offered poetry, essays and general commemoration that centered on Balagoon's determination - in the face of prison, illness and finally, death - to free his people from an oppressive system.

Alston, co-chair of the Jericho Movement, a Jamaica, N.Y. organization similar to Philly ABC, spoke as a comrade who shared goals with Balagoon. "If we're going to be free, we have to take risks," he said, noting that Balagoon would have gotten along with Harriet Tubman. He said as humans we all experience fear, but Balagoon's life teaches us to move forward for freedom, concluding, "I wouldn't be who I am today without Kuwasi Balagoon."□

Your Honor **by Kuwasi Balagoon**

your honor
since i've been convicted of murder
and have taken time to digest
just what that means
after noting what it means to my family
and how it affects people who read the newspapers
and all
i see now that i've made a terrible mistake!
and didn't approach this trial
in a respectful, deliberate or thoughtful manner
didn't take advantage of the best legal advice
and based my actions on irrelevant matters
which i can see now in a much more sober mind
had nothing to do with this case
i must have been legally insane thinking about:
the twenty five murders of children in atlanta since
Wayne Williams' capture
the recent murder of a man in boston by the police
the recent murders of two in chicago by police
the shooting of a five-year-old little boy in suburban calif
the lynchings in alabama
the mob murder of a transit worker in brooklyn
the murders of fourteen women in boston
feeling that this is evidence of something
and that there must
be a lesson in all this - i thought
murder was legal□

Right On! #1



*Newsletter of the New Black Panther
Party- Prison Chapter*

Editorial

Right On! Is the official newsletter of the New Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter* (NBPP-PC) and will be published quarterly as funds permit. The NBPP-PC is autonomous and independent of the New Black Panther Party (NBPP). Our 10-Point Program is that of the original Black Panther Party (BPP) founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale.

The NBPP-PC is a completely above-ground and legal political party based upon the application of Historical and Dialectical Materialism, the highest form of which is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to the Black Liberation Struggle. Our aim is to serve as a catalyst and embryonic form of a restored Black Panther Party that is an All-Afrikan Revolutionary Vanguard Party to lead the masses of Afrikan and New-Afrikan people in struggle against racist and capitalist-imperialist exploitation and oppression and for new democratic and socialist revolution.

We oppose racism and narrow nationalism; we support the struggles of all anti-imperialist and oppressed people for Liberty, Social Justice and Equality. Our purpose is to serve the people and stand beside them in the fight against all oppression. We practice the Mass Line, based upon the principle of "from the masses to the masses," by which we return to the masses their concerns and desires in the form of political line and programs to serve their needs and create people's power.

This newsletter is intended to be our collective educator and organizer. It is not intended to promote disruption of any correctional facility or violation of any rules pertaining to the governance of such institutions or the violation of any local, state or federal statutes. We stand on our First Amendment rights and the principles of free speech and freedom of the press.

This newsletter is free to indigent prisoners, but we ask all who can to send in a donation c/o Rising Sun Press.



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***The New Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter subsequently changed its name to the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter**





THE AWAKENED PANTHER

MESSAGE FROM CHAIRMAN SHAKA SANKOFA ZULU

October 27, 2005

Reprinted from Right On! No. # 1

Over the past several months, the New Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter (NBPP-PC) has received many letters from prisoners from across the empire inquiring about our Party and if we are affiliated with the New Black Panther Party (NBPP), allied with the Nation of Islam (NOI). We are not affiliated with the NBPP or NOI. This was the starting point of our political journey, but as we studied and learned more about the original Black Panther Party (BPP), and the international revolutionary struggle in general, about the origins and development of class society and how this has come down on Black people internationally, we came to realize that the NBPP was too narrow and limited in its analysis, too much infused with race hatred, and not clear enough in its understanding of who and what the real enemy is, who our potential allies are, and how we can go about liberating our people from exploitation and oppression.

At present, our only organizational affiliation is with Chief Tom Big Warrior and the comrades of the Red Heart Warriors Society (RHWS), though we are open to making alliances with all who are genuinely anti-imperialist freedom fighters. We may at some point change our name, but for now, it reminds us of our starting point and the work we have to do in the prisons of Amerika. Our goal is to serve as the catalyst and embryo of an All-Afrikan People's Revolutionary Vanguard Party, picking up the fallen standard of the original Black Panther Party, and we welcome veterans of the old and new Panther parties, and revolutionary Black nationalists and internationalists from other formations and struggles, to join us.

We are quite certain that future events will force all of us to re-examine revolutionary Black consciousness in the light of revolutionary science (Historical Dialectical Materialism), which informs our consciousness and illuminates the inner workings of things and their connection with one another, and teaches us to base ourselves upon what is new and arising in contradiction with what is old, decadent and passing away. This revolutionary science is the product of generations of class struggle around the world, and it belongs to the proletariat (working class), which alone is capable of leading the revolutionary struggle all the way to the abolition of class society and to create a new world based upon equality and liberty for all.

SERVE THE PEOPLE!

We intend to develop our Party in such a way that it points like a compass toward this new world and to use the science of revolution to illuminate the path to it. We recognize that it is the masses of people who are the makers of history, and our cadre must be wholly dedicated to actualizing the slogan "ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!"

They must work day and night to serve the many interests of the people, which are completely and totally different from the oppressor's interests, which are to exploit and oppress the people and to promote ignorance, racism, sexism, individualism and all manner of reactionary thought and practice. As Chairman Mao, who

was a great inspiration to the original BPP, once said: "We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective."

Our common revolutionary objective demands strict discipline and adherence to the rules and programme of our Party. The first rule is to never steal from the people. We are not criminals! We are revolutionaries, and revolutionaries show their love for the people by serving them and fighting beside them against their oppressors. We will not use Panther politics to mask lumpen (criminal) behavior. In everything we say or do, let it be on behalf of the oppressed people here and in the Under Developed Nations (UDNs) in the grip of the Amerikan Empire.

REVOLUTIONARY PANTHER MORALITY

What is Revolutionary Panther Morality? This is the expression of the highest level of political consciousness shown in actual practice with the masses. Panthers must conduct themselves as fair and honest people, unselfish and upright at all times. We must be a beacon of light for others to follow and emulate. We all have this inner light inside us, but conditions within this oppressive capitalist system have inhibited most of us from shining brightly. We've been made cynical, burnt-out and self-absorbed, intimidated by the dark forces around us. The Party is not intimidated, because it knows that the future is coming up for grabs, and we must dare to SEIZE THE TIME!

Love is more powerful than hate. Hate burns you out, corrupts your judgment, blinds you and isolates you. That is why we forbid gender discrimination against wimyn and homophobic rhetoric against gays and lesbians, and also chauvinistic attitudes toward people of different ethnic or national backgrounds. We must unite as sisters and brothers and treat each other with love and respect. Together we are powerful, and we can change the world to make it better for future generations. We must start by cleaning our own house and purging ourselves of all that is negative and morally corrupt.

ON INDIVIDUALISM

Panther cadre must avoid the many pitfalls of individualism, which is the ideology of the capitalist-imperialist system. Some of the manifestations of individualism are:

1.) Commandist Behavior: Commandism manifests itself when a person thinks he or she has become so advanced in their thinking and has made such great contributions to the struggle that they no longer have anything to learn from their comrades or the masses, or they let their title go to their head and demand unquestioned obedience from those under them without discussion. They will attempt to assert complete control over others by throwing up what they have done in the past, and if that doesn't work, they will attempt to pull rank and say, "I am such and such, and I demand that you do as I say or else," or they will use their position to

retaliate if they or their ideas are criticized and attempt to kick people out of the Party without a hearing or good cause. Commandism is anti-democratic and a form of bourgeois (capitalist) thinking. It violates the principle of democratic centralism.

Panthers reject the notion of "Party Bosses" and believe in collective leadership and comradely criticism and self-criticism. We believe in inner-party democracy, discussion and struggle. Correct ideas always develop in contradiction with incorrect (or less correct) ones, and two line struggle is essential for advancing the understanding and political line of the Party and correcting (or improving) its practice. Education is the key to correcting this tendency and rooting out the ideology behind it.

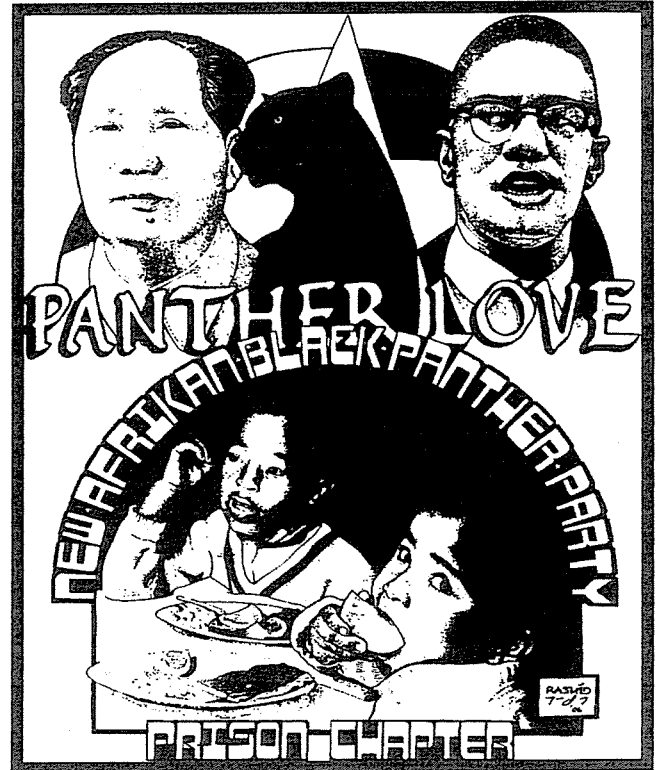
2.) Cliques: Some comrades will inevitably be brought into the Party by their friends and family members, and people will inevitably form close personal friendships within the Party. This is natural, and we have no problem with it. It only becomes a problem when favoritism and nepotism starts to creep in. This is a manifestation of individualism which can divide and weaken the Party. People who hail from the same neighborhood, city, region or country, or who have done time together, may feel a natural affinity for one another, but we have to keep this in check and not allow cliques to form or people to be treated as "outsiders" or "insiders" or be favored or disfavored on these accounts.

Again, education is the key to preventing this, and making a conscious effort to respect our diversity and each individual as our brother or sister and valued member of our Party and movement. People should not be liberal and let matters slide for the sake of friendship or fall into the "Homey" thing or factionalize with others.

3.) Pride and Egotism: This is another manifestation of bourgeois consciousness that can be dangerous and destructive to Party unity. It is a form of Liberalism and can manifest itself as comrades only wanting to perform easy tasks and not hard ones, or only "important" tasks and not mundane ones, or seeking "glamour" over obscure work. This can particularly affect leading comrades or veterans who get the attitude that they are too important to do physical labor or that they deserve "posh" accommodations at the Party's expense, and so on. Some would rather pose with guns than get up early in the morning to feed breakfast to poor children or want to make speeches and not sell newspapers or hand out leaflets.

These things manifested themselves in the practice of the old Panther Party and contributed to its demise. Division of labor is necessary, but all Party members must be humble servants of the people and true socialists. To remain a tightly knit organization, we must share in the hardships as well as the dangers and put the people's interests ahead of our own.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



PANTHER LOVE:

ADDRESSING THE SURVIVAL NEEDS OF THE PEOPLE, BUILDING PAN-AFRIKAN UNITY & SOWING THE SEEDS OF WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

"International capitalism cannot be destroyed without the extremes of struggle. The entire colonial world is watching the blacks inside the U.S., wondering and waiting for us to come to our senses. Their problems and struggles with the Amerikan monster are much more difficult then they would be if we actively aided them. We are on the inside. We are the only ones (besides the very small white minority left) who can get at the monster's heart without subjecting the world to nuclear fire. We have a momentous historical role to act out if we will. The whole world for all time in the future will love us and remember us as the righteous people who made it possible for the world to live on." - George Jackson, 1970

The primary motive of a true revolutionary is love of the people - not just the people in your family, your neighborhood, or your country, but the people of the whole world, and particularly the generations of people yet unborn. It is the duty of a revolutionary to represent and fight for the future in the struggles of today.

Not everything is possible, but what is possible is for human society to, at long last, break free of the Epoch of Exploitation, that has, since the rise of the Patriarchy and the institution of Slavery, chained human society to a succession of forms of political economy based upon class exploitation and oppression. It is not just possible...It is necessary, because unless we do so, the present

monopoly capitalist system (imperialism) will be the end of our evolution. It will bring on the extinction of our species, (and all our relations), by its wanton destruction of the ecosystem on which our survival depends, and by the necessity of unending war on which imperialism's existence depends.

The leopard cannot change its spots, and imperialism cannot change its nature. It is driven by only one law, and that is the maximization of the rate of profit on investment of capital. Capital seeks the highest rate of profit like a vampire seeks blood. It cannot change its predatory nature. It can only put on a "human face" to conceal its fangs and lull its victims into a false sense of security, but everyone is on the menu. Money is the master, and people are the slaves, even the monopoly capitalists. They are bound by the *Law of the Maximization of the Rate of Profit* as if by an unbreakable curse, and they will do whatever serves this master regardless of the human cost, even to the point of their own self-destruction.

Money is a human invention. It is an abstract idea to represent value created by human labor to price commodities in the market of exchange. It is only as real as we agree that it is. Value is created socially by the masses of workers each doing their jobs, extracting wealth from the earth and transforming it by their labor and the application of technology into commodities for consumption. The labor power of the workers is itself a commodity, bought by the capitalists, and is the source of their wealth and power. The difference between the cost of the workers' labor power and the value created by it is the capitalist's profit, (less the cost of materials and overhead), and the rate of profit is the speed at which a profit is turned. Capitalists compete to invest where the rate of profit is highest.

The contradiction between the social nature of production and the private ownership of the means of production, (including the workers' labor power), prevents the social control of production and society and ensures the dictatorship of the monopoly capitalists over the whole of society. The politics of imperialism are dictated by the class interests of the monopoly capitalists. As it is the nature of the rate of profit to fall under conditions of automation, (as production becomes more capital intensive and there are fewer workers to exploit), the monopoly capitalists are driven to seek cheaper labor costs and lower overhead, (cheaper rent on land, cheaper raw materials and energy costs, lower taxes, and less safety and environmental protection regulation), and thus boost their rate of profit. This is the force that drives politics under imperialism and brings on wars as the imperialists contend among themselves to control the underdeveloped countries, (and their natural resources), and keep the people of these countries poor and down-pressed as a reserve of cheap labor.

The vampires seek the freedom to suck the peoples' blood, and their appetite only grows, it doesn't slacken. The alternative to this "free market" political economy is a "command" economy (socialism), where the people make decisions about what is best for them on a collective basis and decide how to develop their economy. As every movie buff knows, when you've got vampire troubles, it doesn't do any good to try to reason with or make deals with the vampire. You've got to get scientific on its ass. You've got to study and learn all about vampirism, what they can and can't do, what their weakness are and how to take them out. They are powerful and scary, but they are not invincible. You just have to go about things the right way, use the right weapons and pick the right time to do battle with them. Meanwhile, you've got to survive while you get your shit together.

Now, everybody knows that the monopoly capitalists hate socialism. They hate the word; hate the merest whisper of it. They hate it like a vampire hates holy water or the light of the sun. Even a little socialism, like nationalization of a country's oil reserves, drives them into a murderous frenzy. They want to privatize everything: That is, they want to own everything, and squeeze a profit out of everything and everybody. They don't want the people to control a thing.

Socialism is more than a break on the excesses of a free market economy dominated by the interests of global monopoly capitalists. It is the means to escape the Epoch of Exploitation altogether: A

means to slay the vampire and end vampirism once and for all, by abolishing the division of society into classes and all forms of exploitation and oppression that go with it. It is the dawning of a New Day.

All societies based upon exploitation are class dictatorships. The ruling class dictates to and oppresses the exploited classes in order to maintain the unequal and exploitative relations that have been created. But under socialism, the working class has seized the power to change these relations.

All governments consist of "special bodies of armed men," (and now wimyn as well), whose job it is to maintain the existing property relations in society. They are the military, secret agents, the police and prison guards and those who command them. After a socialist revolution, the class at the bottom, the workers, create their own state with their own special bodies of armed men and wimyn in order to transform the property relations in society. This is necessarily a protracted process that advances in stages. Step by step, they revolutionize society to uplift and empower the poor and create new social relations based upon serving the people's needs, promoting social justice and the highest interests of humanity, while preventing a capitalist restoration and a return to the old exploitative ways.

At a certain point, society takes a qualitative leap forward, and the need for a state withers away because the basic contradictions and divisions in society have been eliminated. The Epoch of Exploitation will be over, and the new Post-Exploitative Epoch, or Communism, will be a radically different new world, in many ways reminiscent of the Pre-Exploitative Epoch but on a global basis and with a much higher technological base. The operating principle will be: "FROM EACH ACCORDING TO THEIR ABILITY AND TO EACH ACCORDING TO THEIR NEED." Money will be a thing to show the kids in museums.

PANTHER LOVE

When we speak of "Panther Love," we are not just talking about serving the people as a form of charity, but as a means of creating a new social order based upon equality and true freedom. Panther Love is revolutionary love, liberating love, world changing love. We begin with the people's basic needs, their survival needs, because to make revolution, we must first survive. We are everywhere under the gun, and we are the victims and survivors of genocide.

Afrika is the poorest place on earth: That is, it is, under the guns of imperialism and neo-colonialism. Otherwise, it is the richest place on earth: Richest in natural resources and the cultural legacy of human social evolution. Afrika is where it all began. Every person on the planet can trace back their roots to Mother Afrika and to the first man and womyn in the genetic chain that makes us all one human family. Nowhere did the Pre-Exploitative Epoch last longer.

Its wealth is its curse. Capitalism emerged sucking the blood of Afrika. European imperialists rose to global domination by colonial domination, slavery and genocide, starting with Afrika. Technological advances in the building of sailing ships gave the European merchants mastery of the seas in the 15th Century. European nobles had gotten a taste for the riches and fine things of Asian craftsmanship during the Crusades. They were hungry for the opulence of silks and jewels, spices and teas, but their conflict with Islam cut them off from the traditional trade routes that connected the Near and Far East, until the Portuguese found an alternative route by sailing around Afrika.

The Spanish then discovered the Western Hemisphere by sailing west to reach the Far East. But even though there was a great market for the goods of China in Europe, there wasn't much of a market for the goods of Europe in China, until the Spanish started sending the silver extracted by Amerindian slave labor from Peru and Mexico. While the China Trade was the top end of mercantilism, the "meat and potatoes" was the "Triangle Trade" between Europe, Afrika and the Amerikas. This was based on transporting Afrikan slaves to the Amerikas (principally to Brazil and the Caribbean) to grow sugar to make rum.

Rum and guns and the goods of European manufacture were

traded to the Amerindians of North Amerika in exchange for furs for Europe and China to make hats and warm clothing for the rich, and rum and guns and the goods of European manufacture were traded to the Afrikans to get more slaves. The introduction of tobacco as a commodity on the world market inspired the colonization of North Amerika and the creation of tobacco plantations worked by the forced labor of local Amerindians, the transported poor of England and Ireland and Afrikan slaves.

Eventually, Afrikan slaves were exclusively employed on the southern plantations of British North Amerika. As the genocide and dispossession of the indigenous Amerindian nations opened more land for cultivation, cotton was introduced, and after the invention of the cotton gin, the rate of profit was so great that millions of Black slaves were imported and bred to work these plantations concentrated in the "Black Belt" South. This continued after the Civil War, when former slaves and poor whites were made share-cropping peasants tied to the land by the terror of the KKK and institutionalized racism and enforced illiteracy and poverty. Black people were forged into the New Afrikan Nation under these conditions of internal colonialism.

In Afrika, European colonialism pushed inland, as those fleeing enslavement moved inland, and here too, the European colonial-settlers established plantations and instituted forced labor to grow export crops and work the mines, raping Afrika of its great mineral wealth. The various imperialist powers of Europe carved up the continent into colonies and viciously suppressed resistance with genocidal violence. Countless millions of Afrikans and Amerindians perished in the centuries of primitive accumulation of capital that brought forth the dominance of capitalism in the world's political economy.

White racism emerged as justification for these great crimes against humanity, and Christianity offered its blessing for this "spreading of civilization," and "saving the souls of the heathens." Christian missionaries worked to pacify and control the colonized offering the crumbs of Christian charity and limited educational opportunities to a select class of elite Afrikans groomed in European prejudices and culture to act as go betweens and front men. But a few of these assimilated Afrikans, men like Patrice Lumumba, Amiclar Cabral and Agostinho Neto, ended up becoming the revolutionary intellectuals and leaders of the anti-colonial struggles that rocked Afrika in the post WWII period.

In the course of the world wars, and in their wake, great upheavals and revolutions rocked the imperialist world. In 1917, the Russian Revolution brought forth the world's first socialist state. Following WWII, triumphant revolution in China, led by Mao tse-Tung and the Chinese Communist Party, created a socialist people's republic in a formerly colonized Third World country. All across Asia, Africa and Latin America, anti-imperialist struggles challenged the reactionary dictatorships and colonial administrations with the support of the socialist countries.

Imperialism was seriously threatened, but it reasserted itself, and the U.S. emerged as the sole imperialist super-power. But the high tide of struggle in the 1960s shook up the system within the U.S. as well with the revolt of Blacks and other oppressed people, students, wimyn, and youth in general. The Black Panther Party emerged as the revolutionary vanguard of this mass upsurge. The Panthers combined vigorous community-based survival programs with revolutionary political education and armed self-defense.

Most successful was the Free Breakfast For Children Program, started by the Seattle Chapter of the BPP in 1968, which by the following year had been replicated by all of the Party's chapters across the country. Getting up early every morning, the young Panthers served a hot breakfast to tens of thousands of poor Black children every day. Mostly, the program was run out of churches and community centers. This demonstrated the Party's love for the people and commitment to the community's health and welfare. Other programs included "Liberation Schools," free clinics, free clothing and shoes, free ambulance services, and other creative applications of the dictum to: **SERVE THE PEOPLE!**

As Huey p. Newton, the BPP Minister of Defense, pointed out: "Politics

are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first their basic needs - food, shelter and clothing, and security for themselves and their loved ones." Demonstrating that these things could be obtained through self-reliance was the first step in getting the people to see the potentiality of their taking history into their own hands.

ADDRESSING THE PEOPLE'S SURVIVAL NEEDS

We must first of all make a concrete analysis of conditions to assess the most urgent needs of the people in different settings and then organize the appropriate programs, uniting all who can be united and interfacing with existing groups and services as much as possible. Everywhere Black people are concentrated, there are common problems; poverty, hunger, police oppression, illiteracy, unemployment, disease, crime, homelessness, hopelessness, mental illness and fear. Children wake up hungry, the elderly need help to survive, families of prisoners want to see and hear from their loved ones, the homeless seek shelter, and workers want better wages and working conditions. All of these basic needs and more need to be addressed by the Party and the people's mass organizations.

To accomplish this, the Party must initiate and build neighborhood councils composed of the veteran organizers and respected elders of the communities. Programs can be organized under these councils including the employment of people's security forces. These councils would serve as parallel government formations in the oppressed communities and the embryo of people's power.

FREE BREAKFAST FOR CHILDREN

The Party should set as its goal seeing that every poor Black child on the planet starts the day with a wholesome breakfast. This includes areas of Afrika where famine is raging. It will take an army of workers to achieve this goal, and it is an army we must build. Children are not hungry, even starving, because there is a shortage of food in the world, but because their families cannot afford to buy enough food, and there is no profit in feeding them.

Every basic unit of the Party should maintain a mobile field kitchen and stockpile of powdered eggs and milk and dry goods to make hot cereal and coco, so that it can set up to provide emergency breakfasts for masses of children in disaster situations. Party members should be rotated to do service in other regions and countries wherever poor Black people are, and we should be as active in Luanda, Kinshasa, Dar Es Salaam, Cape Town and Port Au Prince, as in Harlem, Detroit, Chicago, Compton and Oakland. This massive undertaking is central to the Party's work, and other programs such as supporting the establishment of grower's co-ops, food co-ops, liberation schools, daycare centers and free clinics should be unfolded around it.

COMBATING THE AIDS EPIDEMIC

AIDS/HIV is an epidemic particularly affecting Black people. AIDS kills some 6,000 people each day in Afrika. 2.2 million of the 3 million people who died from AIDS in 2002 were Afrikans. Almost 2/3rds of those affected by AIDS/HIV are in Afrika, and Black people make up a considerable number of the 9.8 million victims outside of Afrika. 40 million Afrikan AIDS orphans are predicted by 2010. To make matters worse, AIDS relief efforts have been backing off from condom distribution under pressure from the Bush administration in favor of abstinence education and offering bounties to girls who remain virgins.

In response to this problem, the Party should strive to distribute 100's of millions of condoms with a black panther logo and the words: **SURVIVE AND MAKE REVOLUTION!** in many languages on the packaging. The broadest international support should be sought to fund this effort. A mass publicity campaign involving buttons, posters, billboards, websites, and TV and radio spots should be waged, and in particular, mass youth organizations should be enlisted to help with fundraising and condom distribution.

The issue of finding sponsoring families, (both in-country and internationally), for AIDS and war orphans, should also be addressed by the Party. This is an area where the Party can

grandstand, creating media events where plane-loads of orphans from Afrika are united with host families in America and Europe. These families can also be enlisted in mass mobilizations to call attention to the issue and the obstructionism of the imperialists.

OVERALL HEALTH CARE AND PUBLIC HEALTH

The situation presents a wide range of problems calling for a variety of programs including: free clinics, free pre-natal care and maternity centers, immunizations, sewage treatment and composting, drug and alcohol rehabilitation programs, abuse shelters, hospices, public health education and free ambulance services. The "barefoot doctor" program developed in People's China can be replicated, training volunteers in traditional herbal medicines so they can go deep into the countryside to provide medical and health services. Well digging crews can address the problem of potable drinking water, particularly in the urban shantytowns and poor villages. Portable public chemical toilets can also be used, swamps can be drained and so forth.

ASSISTING PRISONERS AND THEIR FAMILIES

The Party's work among prisoners revolves around the strategy of: "TURN THE IRON HOUSES OF OPPRESSION INTO SCHOOLS OF LIBERATION, AND THE OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES INTO BASE AREAS OF CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION!", and the struggle for prisoners' rights and against cruel and unusual punishment, including capital punishment, the sentence of life without parole, and indefinite confinement in SHU (Special Housing Units) without review. We raise the demand: "NO INCARCERATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!" and call for amending the 13th Amendment to abolish all slavery. Special human rights watchdog committees should be organized to monitor prisons, sentencing and parole proceedings. Legal defense funds should be created for political prisoners and movement lawyers trained and retained to free them.

Free bus rides and overnight accommodations should be organized for the families of prisoners, and they should be organized to press for prison reforms. Mutual aid associations should be formed among these families, and the Party should carry out political education among them. Particular attention should be paid to the welfare of children of prisoners.

WAR REFUGEES

Contention between rival imperialist corporations, (particularly between U.S. and French-based multinationals), and rival factions has led to brutal genocidal wars between tribes and ethnic groups and warlordism, (particularly in the Congo), causing millions of deaths and even more displaced people, who are crowded into refugee camps. These masses, who are the witnesses and survivors of genocide, suffer from malnutrition, shock and often debilitating wounds. Particular attention should be paid to their survival needs.

BUILDING PAN-AFRIKAN UNITY

In rejecting the narrow nationalism on which the New Black Panther Party was founded and returning to the original 10-Point Program of the BPP, the NBPP-Prison Chapter adopts a broader perspective. We reject hate and playing the racial blame game. The old definitions of "nationalism" no longer apply. The new reality doesn't fit the language. The New Afrikan Nation is no longer a predominantly peasant nation concentrated in the Black Belt South but a dispersed nation of predominantly proletarian composition. We are part of the multinational U.S. working class and the international working class. It is also true that we are part of the Pan-Afrikan *Nation*, and comprise a significant portion of its proletariat. We still suffer national oppression, but not in the same old way.

The emergence of U.S. imperialism as the sole superpower and the headquarters of global imperialism has changed the situation. The principle enemy and oppressor of the people of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Angola and Mozambique is no longer Portuguese imperialism, as it was in the 60s and 70s. Throughout Afrika, the rising force and dominant vampire is U.S. imperialism,

(along with its pack of junior partners), exercising neo-colonial domination. Many of the forces that resisted direct colonial rule have dropped their Marxist and Afrikan Socialist politics and become eager allies and clients of U.S. imperialism, as if the problem of the fox in the chicken coop was to get a bigger fox.

The same superpower and headquarters of the New World Order is now the principle enemy and neo-colonial slave master of the whole Afrikan Diaspora. European imperialism still exists in Afrika, and it is fighting (by proxy) to retain some measure of its old feeding grounds in Afrika (and elsewhere), but it is the Amerikans who are consolidating their grip. The practicality and desirability of Pan-Afrikan unity is now infinitely greater than ever before. It is based primarily on class interests and anti-imperialism rather than a vague sense of cultural nationalism or desire for racial separatism.

INTERCOMMUNAL NEWS SERVICE

It is important to have a regularly published newspaper, that is a collective organizer, that links up all the fronts on which the Party is active, and that is published in all the necessary languages. This can be accomplished with internet computer technology, and it is also possible to run a news wire on the net to supply raw news to Panther Radio outlets. These local radio shows can also be carried on the internet. Everywhere the Party organizes, it should distribute its newspaper, translated into the local language, with local sections added on. Besides English, the paper should be available, in print and on line, in Spanish, Portuguese, French and Arabic and major Afrikan languages.

Afrikan and New-Afrikan people share a common history – Slavery and Colonialism – and a common destiny – Liberation! We need a line of communication and education to understand our history, our situation and the collective corrective action to effect our common liberation. Pantherism is the glue to hold together the Pan-Afrikan World. Each country must form its own vanguard party and army of liberation to carry forward New-Democratic Revolution and advance to socialism, but it must also be guided towards a Union of Afrikan People's Republics, a union as unbreakable as a bound together bundle of arrows.

SOWING THE SEEDS OF WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Understanding the role that the Party must play is also understanding the role others must play and how these roles fit together to serve the highest interests of humanity. The Party cannot be all things. Its special purpose is to represent the future in the movement of the present and illuminate the path forward. It is a Black revolutionary nationalist party that recognizes that class struggle and socialist revolution is the path forward. Black people alone cannot make this revolution, not even all the people of color in Amerika acting together can do that. A significant section of the white workers and people in general must commit themselves to this revolution, and to lead this requires a vanguard party of the whole U.S. proletariat acting as a detachment of the whole world proletariat. What we can, and must, do on our own is use our struggle to create more favorable conditions for this revolution, by liberating, (to the greatest extent possible), the ground under our feet, creating base areas for revolution in our communities and culturally, socially and politically asserting our will and desire for all-the-way revolution.

Too many people have become addicted to the insanity, and pulling a new order out of this chaos is a great challenge, but the struggle is a great teacher. We must use the struggle and let it teach us, sowing the seeds for the ultimate show-down with imperialism, sowing the seeds for the people's victory. Comrade Jackson's words at the top of this essay are more glaringly true today than when he wrote them more than 30 years ago. They call out to us to be the "righteous people,...who can get at the monster's heart." To perform this service, we must be worthy. We must kick our addiction to the insanity and purge ourselves of hate. We must nurture and fill our hearts with love, Panther Love!

We must commit ourselves to a long and protracted struggle, one

that will test and strengthen us, perfect us, and make us worthy to win the love and respect of the whole world and future generations. We must: "DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN!"

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Reprinted from Right On!, No. # 1

Pantherism & the New Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter by Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

Reprinted from Right On!, No. # 1

1.) What is a Panther?

A.) A Panther is anyone who has felt the yoke of capitalist colonialism and racist oppression. It is someone who has been denied the political rights of self-determination and economic independence. A Panther is the mother, son, daughter, father, and cousin of the oppressed Black people. He/she has decided to stake their future on the principle of: "From the Masses to the Masses." Panthers are the servants of the people. They love the people, believe in the people, and fight by the side of the people. The Panther is humble, but when the people are threatened and backed into a corner, she/he will spring into action until the threat is eliminated.

2.) Why do you refer to your ideology as Pantherism?

A.) Pantherism is the ideology of revolutionary Black Nationalism. Pantherism incorporates the fundamental tenants of revolutionary socialism. Socialism is the rule of the working class. When we say: "All Power to the People!", we mean the working people having control over the basic means of production and distribution of goods; land, oil, mines, factories, transportation, warehouses, and so on as well as the government and military. We are talking about confiscating the wealth of the super-rich exploiters, the bourgeoisie, through a revolutionary war of liberation. This will require the organized power of the people. Pantherism teaches that Black liberation requires that the working class as a whole must embrace the idea that: "Another World is Possible," and that they must step forward to take history into their own hands. The working class in the U.S. must decide to throw its weight and power behind the international campaign to smash imperialism. Pantherism also demands that we oppose both narrow (Black bourgeois) nationalism and reactionary (American) patriotism with revolutionary Black Nationalism and proletarian (working class) internationalism. Each people have the right to self-determination, so we say: "Black Power to the Black People!" and "Indian Power to the Indian People!" "Arab Power to the Arab People!," and so on, but also we support the unity of all oppressed people.

3.) Why is there a need for the New Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter?

A.) We believe that the Black Panther Party (1966 to 1971) suffered an untimely demise before it could mobilize the weight of working class Black People to advance the Black liberation struggle to victory. Thereby, it left a legacy to be picked up and carried on from one generation to the next. No other party or organization has inspired and mobilized Black people like the old BPP did. The Party's demise was caused by internal weaknesses, egoism and factionalism, combined with an intense campaign of government infiltration, assassination and false imprisonment called COINTELPRO in which more than 2,000 Party members were arrested and many were killed. The late Khalid Muhammad created the New Black Panther Party in 1990 as a split from the Nation of Islam (NOI), and we consider these to be our brothers and sisters, but we have fundamental ideological and political differences with

them. We believe in class struggle not racial separatism. Our motivation is love for our Black people, not hatred of anyone, and we believe that all oppressed people must unite against our common oppressor, the imperialist capitalist system.

Though our New Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter was founded in the prisons (in 2004), we do not confine our organizing to them. We see the NBPP-PC as the embryo of a new vanguard party following in the footsteps of the original BPP. The Party made errors, and we intend to learn from and not repeat them, and these are different times which require fresh analysis and creativity. In many respects all of America is like a prison these days, at least for Black and other oppressed people. According to U.S. Justice Department statistics, "In 2003, 6.9 million people were on probation, in jail or prison, or on parole at year end 2003 — 3.2% of all U.S. adult residents or 1 in every 32 adults." More than 2 million people, nearly half of the imprisoned people in the world, are incarcerated in the U.S. That is three and a half times as many as in 1970. The Patriot Act and the creation of the Office of Homeland Security go way beyond the FBI's COINTELPRO campaign in violating people's rights.

I want to clarify that when we refer to the BPP existing from 1966 to 1971, we are referring to its revolutionary period. It limped along until 1981, increasingly sinking into reformism and gangster-like rhetoric and activity before its final demise.

4.) How does Pantherism deal with other oppressed nations and people?

A.) As comrades! We are willing to work with all genuinely anti-imperialist and anti-racist people and organizations. We stand for the absolute right of all oppressed people to determine their own political destiny, to decide how to use their own economic resources and organize their own political economy to meet the needs of their people. Historically, Black people in America's strongest ally has been the American Indians, the indigenous people of Turtle Island. They have stood with us for four centuries in resisting colonialism, and we have lived among them as runaway slaves and fellow guerrilla fighters in many campaigns. Osceola, the Seminole war chief, led Indian and Black people in military actions that repeatedly defeated the slave masters and the U.S. Army of occupation, and there are many other examples.

The BPP cultivated alliances with many other revolutionary formations representing diverse ethnic groups such as the Young Lords Party/Puerto Rican Revolutionary Workers Organization and FMLN, the Brown Berets and La Raza Unida Party (Chicano), I Wor Khun (Chinese Americans), Ang Katipunan (Filipino Americans), the Young Patriot Party (Appalachian whites), and the White Panther Party, the John Brown Liberation League, SDS, Weathermen and so forth. In 1970, some 10,000 to 15,000 people, representing many parties, groups and collectives from across the U.S. and internationally, answered the BPPs call to attend a Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia. Due to the already developing internal schism within the BPP, this momentous development was not followed up on. Resurrecting the Party will help to rekindle these important links.

5.) Why name the NBPP-PC newsletter Right On!?

A.) In honor and remembrance of the Black Liberation Army (BLA). When the split occurred in the BPP in 1971, the comrades of the South Eastern Beltway, who argued for an effective guerrilla counter-offensive against police/FBI assassinations, were expelled from the Party and forced underground to continue the struggle while the Party HQ in Oakland, CA became openly reformist and abandoned the cause of revolution altogether. Heavily infiltrated, the BLA faction was quickly smashed. Support committees for the imprisoned POWs and the families of those who were killed, like Twyman Meyers, Big Frank, Zayd Shakur and many others, rallied around the newspaper Right On! While we recognize that the comrades of the BLA fell (and were pushed) into a trap leading to their destruction, we honor their spirit and sacrifice. We, however, have no intention of falling into this trap ourselves.

6.) What are the issues the NBPP-PC will be addressing?

A.) Our Ten Point Program and Platform specifically addresses the most important needs of Black people. We demand power to determine our own destiny, decent housing, health care, education, jobs, and an end to police abuse and murder of all Black people regardless of their social or economic class. We demand the freedom of all political prisoners and POWs. We demand reparations and a fair shot at impartiality within the criminal justice system and a UN plebiscite to be held within the Black colony. Our 10-point Program will serve to stimulate the initiative and creativity of oppressed Black people and unleash a power that will convince the capitalist oppressor that we will not continue to be his permanent slaves. Each step we take in organizing and mobilizing the people will be creating base areas of political, cultural, social and economic power.

7.) What about prison issues?

A.) First of all, we want to amend the 13th Amendment, that perpetuates the status of "slave" for prisoners, and we want to extend voting rights to include prisoners and, in the 10 former slave states, those who have been convicted of felonies. We believe that capital punishment, the sentence of life without the possibility of parole, and indefinite confinement in SHU cells without review; constitute "cruel and unusual punishment," prohibited by the Constitution and international standards on human rights, as does torture, deprivation of food and proper medical care, and other oppressive practices common in U.S. prisons.

We believe prisoners are entitled to fair and humane treatment, to religious freedom, to maintain contact with their families, to continue their education and receive job training, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, to join political parties and organizations, to form and join labor unions and in general to lead productive lives as citizens while they are incarcerated. There are many people who have been railroaded into prison by the police and courts whose cases should be reviewed and who should be released with compensation.

Capitalism is a criminal system, and it promotes criminality and a criminal mentality, and revolution is the solution. Only the masses of oppressed people themselves can effectively deal with the problem of crime, and we must do so as part of the class struggle. Our goal must be to transform the prisons into "schools of liberation" and win prisoners to a revolutionary outlook and to become servants of the people.

8.) So, basically you do advocate certain reforms and legal forms of struggle?

A.) Yes, at this time, there is not a revolutionary situation in the U.S., and our Party is a completely legal and above-ground one. We don't advocate comrades doing anything illegal. We don't advocate terrorism, riots, or individualistic acts of violence, and we view these as counter-productive to the basic tasks of doing revolutionary work in a non-revolutionary situation. This doesn't mean that we are accommodating to the system or that the fundamental changes that are necessary can be achieved through

reforms or that imperialism can be voted away. Real revolution, the transfer of power from one class to another, can only be achieved by the masses, who are the makers of history. The job of the vanguard party is to make them conscious and lead them in creating people's power from the grassroots up.

We recognize that the super-rich class will not concede its dictatorship over society peacefully, and that revolutionary war will be necessary. There isn't any fix that can buy us off and prevent our carrying the class struggle all the way to victory. But we cannot confuse one stage of the struggle for another, and there are no short cuts. As the Chinese sage of "The Art of War," Sun Tzu, pointed out, battles and wars are won or lost before they are fought. We must know our enemy and know ourselves to achieve victory. These imperialists are not going to change their nature. They are driven by one thing, and that is to maximize their rate of profit on investments regardless of the human cost and the destruction being done to the sustainability of life on this planet. Ultimately, the people have no choice but to end their rule and create an alternative political-economy to provide for their survival needs and bring the epoch of exploitation to a close.

Raising the people's consciousness to this situation, and organizationally creating the means for them to bring their power to bear, is necessary to lay the basis for revolutionary change. People still have illusions about "democracy" and who really rules, and they feel powerless and are disunited. So we have to proceed one step at a time, keeping the end goal in sight, and be prepared for a protracted struggle. We have to use struggle to create more favorable conditions for struggle, and grow in our understanding and capabilities.

9.) What do you have to say to prison officials who might tend to view the NBPP-PC as a "security threat group?"

A.) Well, we are not an STG as defined by law. We don't threaten the security of the correctional institutions or promote racial violence or anything like that. We are not a gang, and we present an alternative to gangsterism. The situation in the prisons, the violence, racism and gangsterism was created by them and their policies, so they should look in a mirror if they want to see an STG. We are promoting a solution to all that. Political prisoners are model prisoners who inspire others to give up their criminal mentality and behavior and live lives of service to the people. They call these bastions of oppression "correctional institutions," well that's what we want them to be. Pantherism is a positive ideology and force that inspires people to be self-disciplined and to use their time productively.

10.) Are you optimistic about the future?

A.) Yes, Panthers are revolutionary optimists! We believe that the future will be bright, because we shall dare to make it so! Our motto is: "Dare to Struggle and Dare to Win!"□





The New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter: Our Line

by Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, Defense Minister, NBPP-PC

Introduction

In this paper, we outline the political and ideological line of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter. The NABPP-PC, an all-Afrikan people's revolutionary party, proposes through its work and example to spread its line to the general NABPP on the outside, and to all revolutionary-minded New Afrikans, and ultimately to expand the Party into a broad international vanguard of all Afrikan people the world over. We are in full accord with the analysis set forward in "The Panther and the Elephant," which this paper intends to further illuminate.

The Vanguard Party

As a vehicle for coordinating masses of people for action, organization is necessary. Planning is necessary, and so is assigning roles and tasks to those most capable of performing them, and holding them accountable for performing their assigned tasks completely and to the best of their abilities. Coordinating the activities of the active forces of the Afrikan Nation in America towards the achievement of full democracy and national liberation requires a genuine vanguard party based among the masses. No revolutionary or genuine national independence struggle has ever succeeded without a party to organize and coordinate the energy of the struggling people into focused result-oriented action.

"From the People to the People" is the Mass Line - the opposite of top-down organizations. The NABPP-PC practices and promotes the Mass Line. In applying this, the Party workers must go among the People, and, by living with them and struggling along side them, experience and learn their needs, ideas and interests. The Party then - applying the principles of Historical and Dialectical Materialism - returns the People's unorganized ideas to them in a comprehensive form, coordinating their collective actions, resources and abilities around their needs and thereby aids and organizes them in solving their own problems.

As a revolutionary vanguard party, the NABPP-PC realizes that strategic or tactical inflexibility runs counter to the organic nature of a mass-based leading party. Such a party must operate within the limits of existing concrete conditions as they develop and change, and it cannot attempt to drive people to stick stubbornly and mechanically to methods of struggle which actual conditions do not support or allow. It has been by failing to exercise flexibility and initiative and practicing "commandism" that many would-be revolutionary movements in the past have failed and have given vanguard parties a bad name.

Our strategic and tactical decision-making process is that of Democratic Centralism, which does not contradict applying the Mass Line. Nor does it go against maintaining flexibility and initiative and being creative in our political work. Democratic Centralism is the method by which our Party determines, through intense internal discussion, debate, and then majority agreement, the Party's overall strategic and tactical line. The basic principle is to raise criticisms and ideas up and to implement down. Once a strategy and tactical approach is decided, the lower bodies of the Party can then exercise a great deal of initiative and creativity in applying the line in practice, adapting to the particularities of local conditions.

At the heart of any democratic process is the need and right to be informed of all issues relevant to making accurate analysis and correct decisions. Therefore, Party cadre must never stop learning, (and teaching the People), and must never hold stubbornly to views not supported by the ongoing experience of the Party. Our sources of learning are our people's life experience, books, and especially our practice. We must never stop learning.

Essential to democratic practice is criticism and self-criticism. All Party members must feel free to criticize other Party members and leaders, line and practice within the context of internal Democratic Centralism. The Party must also be open to listening to the criticisms of the masses. If what is unproductive or harmful cannot be criticized, then how can what is productive and good be determined?

The Party will exercise greater or lesser degrees of centralism, depending upon the freedom and necessity of the struggle in a given time and place. For example, security considerations may restrict the ability to hold discussions and force the leadership to assume more authoritative methods at times, restricting certain information, to protect the cadre or the Party as a whole. But overall, our goal is to promote democracy and collective decision making. In all cases, we must adjust and adapt new, varied and creative tactics and approaches to maintain the initiative in our work and avoid becoming predictable and thus susceptible to being out maneuvered and defeated.

Classes and Class Struggle

On the point of classes and class struggle, we adopt the analysis presented in "The Panther and the Elephant," we also add in relation to the Lumpen Proletariat that the NABPP-PC, as its name implies, is an autonomous chapter of the NABPP centered within the prisons. The vast majority of prisoners in the U.S. are proletarians, but many come from a lumpen background, and all are influenced by this perspective in the context of prison culture. The lumpen class overlaps with the proletariat, (drifts in and out of employment), but maintains an outlook that opposes a proletarian class outlook. The lumpen's confused and backward values stem from its position of preying upon others and general ignorance, which can be corrected through education and struggle, and through guided practice in a mass organization like the Black Brigade. A minimum condition for the acceptance of lumpen class militants into the Party must be a period of re-education and practice inside a Party-affiliated mass organization like the Black Brigade, where we can observe their practice, and they can remold their class outlook and develop into a full-time, all-the-way revolutionary.

Contradictions in Proletarian Versus Lumpen Perspectives

Many people when presented with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist idea that that only the proletariat can lead in making all-the-way revolutionary class struggle question why this is, and why some other class, (without changing its class perspective), cannot lead such a struggle. One reason is because the proletariat is the only class that has no real stake in preserving the class relations of the capitalist system, but has everything to gain in taking control over the social wealth it has itself created by its labor and the tools it uses to create it. Another reason is

that the proletariat, (in contrast to the lumpen), has the conditioning in patient work, social unity and cooperation necessary to wage the protracted class struggle required to abolish all exploitation and oppression. Basically, it is our social practice that determines how we think and not how we think that determines our social practice.

The proletariat has a strong sense of family commitment and unity and a sense of respect for and commitment to the community. These values grow out of the routine of going to work each day in the social environment of the workplace to provide for the needs of one's family, and not only maintaining employment but also engaging in domestic labor in the home, rearing children, and taking part in the social life of the community. This requires and instills stability, discipline and responsibility as well as cooperation with one's peers.

The class conscious worker can be of two sorts, the militant and the revolutionary. The militant worker takes the sense of commitment beyond the family into the workplace and will stand up to the bosses for workers' rights, even to the extent of jeopardizing one's employment, freedom and safety by participating in strikes and job actions. The revolutionary worker takes the sense of commitment even farther and challenges the oppressive social order to change the social relations for all and put an end to class exploitation and oppression once and for all. The revolutionary is inspired by a great love for the people and sense of duty to the masses and to future generations.

The revolutionary worker doesn't swagger or boast and has little sense of ego. He or she is serious-minded and self-disciplined. The revolutionary knows that like a strike, the revolutionary struggle must be a united mass struggle, and that it will take quite some time to succeed. Each contribution is important, and the end result is to benefit the overall society. In contrast to the proletariat's practice and outlook, the lumpen schemes and preys upon others to acquire survival needs and personal wealth, which renders him or her indifferent to the effects visited upon others and society as a whole.

The lumpen mentality mirrors - on a smaller scale and with less sophistication - that of the big gangsters (the monopoly capitalists), and amounts to a ruthless drive for immediate self-gratification, power, control and "respect," (even though their lifestyle is anything but respectable), through deception, corruption, violence and intimidation of others. These tendencies are what lies behind certain lumpen aspiring to be perceived as "crazy" and unpredictably violent.

Translated into the revolutionary movement, the lumpen tendency has some thinking that militant swaggering, posturing, and "talking shit," is acceptable behavior for revolutionaries, which is very wrong and demonstrates political immaturity and lack of a true proletarian outlook. Such posturing leads to actions of a reactionary, adventurist and provocateur nature, that invites enemy attack that the movement is unprepared to deal with and alienates the masses. Comrade Sundiata Acoli, (a member of the old BPP and BLA), observed that just such lumpen tendencies contributed to the downfall of the old BPP and the general Black Liberation Movement in America. (See Sundiata Acoli, "A Brief History of the Black Panther Party and its place in the Black Liberation Movement," (1985), which is posted on the internet and was recently reprinted in the Summer Issue of Leviathan, the newsletter of the Black Brigade).

Also, because they are conditioned to seek immediate and short term benefits in their daily practice, the lumpen generally lack the resolve to pursue and stick with tasks that require hard work and patience. We in the NBPP-PC feel that a major factor that led to the old BPP's destruction was the failure to raise many of the Party's members' world view to that of the revolutionary proletariat and allowing the Party and its leadership to become saturated in lumpen ideology, values and practice.

The motives behind revolutionary violence are fundamentally different from the reactionary violence of the lumpen, who model their violence after that of the big gangsters. Revolutionary violence is rooted in the collective resistance of the masses organized against the violence of the big gangster bourgeoisie system of repression and exploitation. History is made by the collective masses, with the genuine revolutionary

vanguard serving to raise their consciousness and organize their force into collective revolutionary struggle. Correct thinking is the catalyst, just as intelligence draws order out of chaos - out of the chaos of noise - music, and out of chaos of images and color - art.

Raising the Lumpen Outlook to a Revolutionary Proletarian Outlook

To serve in the capacity of a truly revolutionary vanguard, the Party must consist of committed, disciplined people who have the outlook of truly revolutionary workers; people who are committed to work every day in a patient and disciplined way until the conditions for a revolutionary seizure of power by the masses arise. Without remolding their class outlook, the lumpen will pursue ultra-leftist militant acts of exhibitionism and spew forth "Off the Pig!" rhetoric, and when this provokes repression from the Establishment, they will flip-flop to right opportunism, turn rat and become enemy agents, or run for cover. Lacking correct analysis, self-discipline and patience, they will vacillate left to right, and they will confuse one stage of the struggle for another and try to skip the stages that require hard work and tenacity.

These elements disdain to apply the Mass Line, ignore the Democratic Centralism of the Party, fear Criticism and Self-Criticism and lean towards individualism and "commandism," indulging in personal attacks and attempts at intimidation and coercion of other Party members and the masses through threats and force. Their unremolded lumpen ideology is a corrosive to building Party unity and maintaining discipline, and it makes them easy prey for recruitment by the enemy. The lumpen are capable of "the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices, or of the basest banditry and dirtiest corruption."

A large part of our work in NBPP-PC is to properly educate and re-orient the lumpen through ideological and political training and bringing as many of them who are capable of "the most heroic deeds and the most exalted sacrifices" into the active work of the struggle as possible, and thereby expand the Party while struggling against opportunism, both of the "left" and right varieties. We know that in this work, the enemy will unceasingly attempt to infiltrate its agents of repression and seek out the weak links among us to turn them into their snitches and agent-provocateurs, and we must be vigilant to guard against this, without becoming paranoid. In the struggle, "ideological and political line determines everything," and we must rely on ideological and political training and commitment to practicing the Mass Line, Criticism and Self-Criticism and the Democratic Centralist method of determining what should be done and how to do it.

We realize that the lumpen are our brothers and sisters, and we do not desire to make war on them, rather we look upon their wrong ideas and lack of understanding as loads upon their backs, and we endeavor to help them cast them off. "Cure the sickness to save the patient," is our goal. However, we are not naive idealists, and we realize that there are those who lack the moral fiber and will to change or courage for the struggle. Some people have no integrity or loyalty, and those who, after struggle, persist in wrong ways must be purged from the ranks of the people's movement.

Before someone is recruited into the Party, they must be tested and prove themselves in the people's mass organizations, like the Black Brigade. They must show proof of both good character and advanced understanding of what needs to be done. Words are cheap. Practice is the measure of commitment and the way consciousness develops.

Our goal is to be more than a prison organization. The struggle of our New Afrikan and Afrikan people worldwide cries out for vanguard leadership. With the Black proletariat concentrated in America and Europe and our peasantry concentrated in Afrika, we have an internationalist duty to provide revolutionary proletarian leadership and to set an inspiring example. Our struggle against imperialism and neo-colonialism is a class struggle of international dimensions. We have much to learn and much to do. We must become good at learning and resolute in struggle.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

The Panther and the Elephant

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The Elephant is large and powerful and is unsurpassed in direct confrontation. The Panther is agile and stealthy and is unsurpassed in indirect confrontation. The Elephant relies on his size, thick skin and

tusks to meet his enemy head on, while the Panther blends into the night, exercises patience, and employs the art of surprise and ambushes his prey. His intelligence and cunning are greater weapons

than his formidable fangs and claws.

In the "Art of War," the ancient Chinese sage, Sun Tzu, proposes that two types of forces and maneuvers are called for. He called these *CHENG* and *CH'I*. These would be regular and special forces and direct and indirect maneuvers. The purpose of *CHENG* forces is to engage the enemy, and the purpose of the *CH'I* forces is to defeat the enemy.

In advancing the cause of Black Liberation, both types of forces, *CHENG* and *CH'I*, are needed. Or to put it another way, both a vanguard and a mass form of organization is needed. The mass form of organization is based upon programmatic unity, and includes people of various political, spiritual and cultural orientations. In the case of the Black Brigade, its basis of unity is service to the Nation of Africans in America. The vanguard form of organization is based upon a higher level of unity, application of the Science of Revolution, which is Historical and Dialectical Materialism, and commitment to being a full time revolutionary.

Classes and Class Struggle

The Proletariat is the class that must sell its labor power to the capitalist class, submitting to exploitation, to survive. In other words, it is the working class, the class of "wage slaves." This is the only class with nothing to lose but its "chains," and thus is the only class capable of leading the United Front Against Imperialism to make all the way revolution and advance society to communism or classless society. Other classes have more or less of a stake in the capitalist division of society, even though they are compelled to resist and to revolt against the Monopoly Capitalist Class dictatorship and the imperialist system to some degree.

In this historical period, the most advanced application of the Science of Revolution is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, but one need not be a communist with a capital "C" to be part of the Vanguard force. However, one must be a revolutionary nationalist, and as Mao put it: "Revolutionary Nationalism is applied Proletarian Internationalism." There is a difference between the Black Nationalist Movement and the Proletarian Internationalist or Communist Movement, but the two are inexorably intertwined.

The Nation of Africans in America is divided into classes, though overwhelmingly it is a Proletarian Nation. There is also a Black Bourgeoisie (Bush-wa-zee), which is divided into National and Comprador sections, the latter being those who objectively serve the ruling class of the white colonial-settler regime. Clarence Thomas and Condoleezza Rice are examples of this grouping. The National Bourgeoisie are more independent, and those who got rich through sports or the entertainment industry are examples.

The Petty Bourgeoisie is the strata in the middle between the rich class and the working class. It includes the professionals, (like doctors, educators and lawyers), small business owners and middle and lower management. Though they may actually make less money than the upper strata of the industrial proletariat, their relationship to production is less direct, and they are more likely to reflect the outlook of the employing class and to nurture hopes of becoming big bourgeois themselves.

Some sections, such as the intellectuals, or the semi-proletarian artisans, can be won to become relatively firm allies of the revolutionary proletariat. On the other hand, sections of the middle class are the historic base of fascism. The upper strata of the industrial proletariat, or "Labor Aristocracy," were the vanguard of the unionization movement, but due to the super profits engendered by imperialism and the exploitation of the Third World countries, the monopoly capitalists were able to bribe this strata with a higher standard of living and middle class aspirations. Their class consciousness was dulled and the white workers particularly were rallied around US national chauvinism and anti-communism.

Now, as a result of increased globalization, this strata has been greatly reduced by the outsourcing of their jobs overseas by the multi-national corporations and the downsizing of their US workforce. This has greatly reduced the power of the industrial workers and the number of unionized workers overall. The largest section of the Black proletarians are part of the great mass of non-organized workers who have no unions, (and in most case no health coverage), and live from paycheck

to paycheck barely getting by. Linked to them are their dependents and the de-classed poor; welfare and disability recipients, pensioners, the marginally employed, and the jobless and homeless.

There is also the Lumpen Proletariat. "Lumpen" literally means "broken." The Lumpen make their living by illegal means; as petty gangsters, drug dealers, pimps, con-artists and thieves. They reflect the mentality of the big gangsters and monopoly capitalists and feed parasitically off the people, but some have the potential to be won to a proletarian outlook and become revolutionaries. Unlike the big parasites, they do not enjoy immunity from prosecution for their crimes and often end up spending most of their lives in prison.

The Black Nation in America

Black people were forged into a nation in America under conditions of slavery and segregation. Stripped of their national cultures, languages and identities under slavery, they were amalgamated into a new nation based upon their common African origin and features. Four hundred years of oppression and exploitation shaped the national identity and culture of this nation. Originally centered in the "Black Belt," or "Cotton Belt," of the Deep South, where most Blacks and many poor whites were reduced to a condition of being made share-cropping peasants after the overthrow of slavery. KKK terror and Jim Crow segregation laws denied them a political voice, even though they were the majority, and the region was made an internal colony of the US with Third World-like conditions.

Mechanization of cotton picking and the demand for industrial workers in the industrial centers, particularly during WWI and WWII, encouraged a massive exodus of Black people from the South to the North and the West. Huge urban ghettos sprang up and become new internal colonies of the US. From Harlem to Compton, these centers defined the faster-paced urbanized culture of Black America in the 20th Century. New music and worldliness replaced the rural life style and outlook.

The national liberation struggles of the people in the former European colonies in Africa and throughout the Third World were echoed in the civil rights and Black Nationalist movements within the US. Revolutionary Black Nationalist groups, like the Black Panther Party, sprang up to challenge both racism and imperialism and begin the struggle for socialist revolution. The high tide of struggle in the US in the 60s and 70s coincided with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in People's China and the Vietnam War and numerous other national liberation struggles and attempts to establish socialism in Africa, Latin America and Asia.

The US emerged victorious from the Cold War, and the ebb in struggle internationally, (with the right-wing coup in China following Mao's death, the collapse of the former Soviet Union and Socialist Bloc and the defeat of socialist forces in Africa and elsewhere), was mirrored by a decline in the Black Liberation Struggle here too. But the emergence of the New World Order and sole-superpower domination only served to intensify exploitation and the aggressive and predatory nature of US imperialism.

Neither the Neo-Liberals nor the Neo-Conservatives saw a need to continue the pattern of Cold War Liberalism and concessions to common people. The decline of the Left was more than matched by the rise of the extreme Right. Backing both Islamic and Judeo-Christian religious fundamentalism, the stage was set for the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq and increased pressure on all the oil-producing countries by US-Anglo imperialism. Under the cover of the "War on Terror," major attacks on the democratic rights and protections of the American people have been made and steps have been taken to build a more efficient police state.

Since the end of the Cold War, a massive increase in the number of people incarcerated in the US has taken place, (mostly Black and other people of color), so that America now accounts for nearly half the imprisoned people in the world. Affirmative action programs have been cut back and social welfare programs have been dramatically slashed. The ruling class is aggressively waging class struggle against the working class and poor while the Neo-Cons are aggressively suppressing the Neo-Liberals, characterizing them as the "Radical Left."

The white, capitalist, colonial-settler state was built upon genocide and dispossession of the indigenous nations and the kidnapping,

enslavement and exploitation of the African people, and this oppression continues to this day. Legal desegregation has not altered the condition of super-exploitation of Black people in America or in Africa. Civil Rights is still an issue. White Racism is still an issue. The right to self-determination and national liberation is still an issue. The Nation of Africans living in America has the right, and the necessity, to struggle for solutions to its problems as a nation. This includes the right to define and govern its own territory and to transform the internal colonies of exploitation into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution.

At the same time, it also includes the right to fight for full civil rights for all within the US, including prisoners and those convicted of felonies and the so-called "illegal aliens." We say: "NO INCARCERATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!" and: "AMEND THE 13TH AMENDMENT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY FOR ALL!" And we say: "IF YOU ARE HERE, YOU HAVE A RIGHT TO VOTE AND TO RESPECT OF YOUR CIVIL RIGHTS!" It is the white-settler colonial regime that are the real "illegal aliens." Every bit of this land was stolen from the indigenous nations. These indigenous nations have historically been the main ally of the African people in America. Long before there was an "Underground Railroad," the path to freedom led to the Indian nations. Many of the so-called "illegal aliens" are in fact Native Americans from south of the border drawn by the whites. The Red-Black Alliance is key to national liberation within the US.

Pan-Africanism

Just as African people were formed into a new nation in America, so too African people internationally have been formed into a new type of nation by conditions of colonialism, slavery and racism. This Pan-African movement and nationalism links the primarily proletarian New Afrikans of America and Europe with the primarily peasant Africans of Africa. The African Diaspora created new conditions for both building All African Unity and advancing World Socialist Revolution.

The anti-colonial wars of national liberation following WWII, led to numerous attempts to build African socialism in several countries. Undermined by CIA and European-hatched assassinations, coups and tribal conflicts, these were rolled back, and a destabilized condition of neo-colonial domination prevails in Africa. Dire poverty and conditions exist across Africa. Famine, AIDS, alcohol and drug addiction, warlordism and religious and inter-tribal strife weigh heavily on the African peoples. Rich in natural resources, Africa remains the poorest place on Earth, while everywhere people of African descent are faced with racial discrimination.

Building Pan-African Unity is vital to the uplifting of the African people everywhere and particularly here in the US. Conversely, supporting the Black Liberation Movement here is vital to continuing the struggle for liberation and socialism in Africa. This calls for new forms of organization and struggle as well as the renewal of previous forms. The Black Panther Party needs to be renewed not only in the US but internationally and the Black Brigade needs to be built both nationally and internationally.

In supporting and building ties with Africa, it is important to include elements of the national bourgeoisie and all classes in contradiction with imperialism and neocolonialism, uniting all who can be united. The principles of New Democratic Revolution need to be applied.

New Democratic Revolution

National liberation involves a two stage revolutionary process to advance to the building socialism. First you have to liberate the country from imperialist neo-colonial domination and their agents and address the question of: "LAND TO THE TILLERS." Since the emergence of Monopoly Capitalism and modern imperialism, the bourgeoisie has proven incapable of leading democratic revolution against remnants of the old feudal order, and this duty has fallen to the proletariat and its vanguard.

The national bourgeoisie can be a vacillating ally in this struggle, in which the peasantry is the main force, but the ideological and political leadership must come from the proletariat. Even within the internal colonies of the US, the principles of New Democratic Revolution have some relevance, particularly in overturning the feudal remnant of the 13th Amendment, which perpetuates the status of slave for those convicted of crimes, and the unfinished civil rights struggle.

In the 3rd World, the New Democratic Revolution is advanced by means of People's War, surrounding the cities from the countryside and creating people's power on a national level before liberating the urban centers and consolidating state power. The people's war in Nepal is a classic example of this strategy.

Strategy and Tactics

The Black Brigade is needed to confront and engage the colonial-settler power structure frontally creating institutions of people's power locally. The basic unit of people's power must be neighborhood councils composed of the veteran fighters and respected elders of the community. We can then organize programs for the people's security and social welfare under these committees.

Private security firms can be created and licensed to operate under contract to the neighborhood councils, supported by voluntary neighborhood security patrols. These can present offenders with the option of having their cases decided by the people's council instead of being turned over to the municipal authorities. The council can levy fines, order that restitution be paid and/or mandate community service. It can also banish offenders from the community.

The security officers would be armed, equipped and trained to handle this role in a professional manner. Besides dealing with the problem of crime in the neighborhood, the people's security force can also monitor and collect evidence on police complicity and corruption. Over time, it can displace the police as the force most relied upon by the people to handle their security issues, empowering the people's councils to function as a parallel government.

Besides addressing the issue of the people's security, the neighborhood councils would also initiate and coordinate all manner of social service and survival programs taking up the slack of government cut backs and responsibility to see that the hungry are fed, the homeless are given shelter, the sick and injured are provided with medical care and health services and in general that the needs of the people are addressed. In addition, the councils would work to promote the political economy of the neighborhoods by assisting in the creation of worker's coops and consumer's coops and in the countryside grower's coops.

An important link to be forged is between the urban oppressed communities and the rural communities where most of the prisons are located. Regular transportation and housing for families visiting prisoners needs to be established. As part of the drive to extend voter rights to prisoners, uniting with the progressive forces in the communities where the prisons are located is important. These include family members who have relocated to be close to their loved ones.

Our general strategy must be to: "TRANSFORM THE IRON HOUSES OF OPPRESSION INTO SCHOOLS OF LIBERATION, AND TO BUILD THE OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES INTO BASE AREAS OF CULTURAL, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL REVOLUTION." There is a dialectical relationship between these tasks. The more we are able to succeed at one aspect the better we will do at the other.

The vanguard force has the principle task of providing political education to the masses and making them conscious. They must represent the broad and revolutionary viewpoint of the proletariat. They must also act as shock troops and jump in as needed when a highly motivated and disciplined force is called for.

Conclusion

While a revolutionary situation does not at present exist in the US, as Sun Tzu pointed out: "BATTLES AND WARS ARE WON OR LOST BEFORE THEY ARE FOUGHT!" The Panther and the Elephant, the CH' and CHEN warriors and forces of the people, must be organized now so that when a revolutionary situation does present itself, the people will not be unprepared.

"IT IS RIGHT TO REBEL!" against tyranny and national oppression, and we must "SEIZE THE TIME!" and "DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN!" Many fine comrades and heroes of the people have sacrificed themselves to illuminate the path forward. We have our duty to the future generations.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Chairman Shaka Assaulted by Guards

On Sept. 12th, while on his routine work assignment at Trenton State Prison, Bro. Shaka S. Zulu was made the victim of an unprovoked assault by three guards from the SHU unit, Sgt. Alaimo, C.O. P. Williams and C.O. F. Martin. These guards

are now claiming that he assaulted them. Comrade Shaka Zulu #244128, is asking for people to send letters of protest to Commissioner Devon Brown, Department of Corrections, PO Box 863, Trenton, NJ 08625, requesting that the Commissioner personally look into this matter, that he be cleared of these bogus charges, that the guilty officers be fired, and that he be transferred to another institution pending his release. □

A Modest Proposal for the Abolition of Slavery in America in the 21st Century

"Single acts of tyranny may be ascribed to the accidental opinion of a day; but a series of oppressions, begun at a distinguished period and pursued unalterably through every change of ministers, too plainly prove a deliberate, systematic plan of reducing [a people] to slavery." — Thomas Jefferson: Rights of British America, 1774.

United States Constitution, 13th Amendment

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 4

No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

With the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in December of 1865, it would seem that slavery was officially abolished in all areas of the U.S., but for the seemingly minor exception of punishment for a crime. Yet, notwithstanding the occupation of the South by the Union Army, the ink was not dry on the parchment when the dreaded "Black Codes" began to be enacted to put the newly freed slaves back into chains.

Ex-slaves who could not prove they had regular employment were arrested and ordered to pay a stiff fine. If they could not pay, they were hired out in involuntary servitude. Black children were condemned to serve as apprentices in local industry. The chain gang and contract labor became a regular feature of the political economy, alongside sharecropping, Jim Crow segregation, lynching and KKK terror. Deprived of the vote, citizenship was an empty cup.

Despite the gains of the Civil Rights Movement, the chain gang is back and so is contract labor for prisoners. In the ten former slave states, those who have ever been convicted of a felony are denied the right to vote, as are all of the more than two million prisoners throughout the U.S. All across America, we have witnessed the rise of a new era of slavery, as prison populations have more than trebled in the past three decades. The lines between the criminal justice system and free enterprise have been blurred with the rise of the prison-industrial complex.

The mostly Black, Hispanic and Native American prison populations are ground down by cruel and unusual punishment while being denied a political voice and basic human rights and dignity and are subjected to exploitation by the multinational corporations as a captive labor force. This has nothing to do with rehabilitation. You can't teach citizenship through slavery!

To put an end to this cruelest of oppressions and violation of the inalienable rights of the People, we call for the immediate amendment of the 13th Amendment to end slavery for all, and the extension of universal suffrage to all, including prisoners. We declare all elections not based upon full universal suffrage to be invalid and powers not derived from the consent of the governed to be usurpations.

**NO INCARCERATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION!
BOYCOTT THE ELECTIONS!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

The New Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NBPP-PC)
The Red Heart Warriors Society (RHWS)



NEW BLACK PANTHER PARTY – PRISON CHAPTER

RULES OF DISCIPLINE

Unity, discipline, coordination and commitment are essential requirements of Party membership. And they are essential for accomplishing the Party's objectives of uniting the New Afrikan Nation here in Amerika and all Afrikans in an organized and determined struggle for liberation from imperialist and neo-colonial domination. In pursuit of achieving these aims, Party members must adhere to basic Party discipline, namely:

Principles of Subordination

1. Individuals are subordinated to the collective.
2. The minority is subordinated to the majority.
3. The lower level is subordinated to the higher level.
4. The entire membership is subordinated to the Central Committee.

Points of Discipline

1. We will not steal from the people, bully them, take liberties with them, nor disrespect them, nor use Party membership or rank to gain personal advantages or benefits from Party members or the people.
2. We will practice and promote respect for the rights of individuals, oppressed nations and peoples, including the disabled, wimyn, children, elderly, gay/lesbian, all ethnic and racial groups, and especially the working classes of all nations and nationalities.
3. We will practice and defend the "Right of Free Speech," and to assemble and protest.
4. We will fearlessly speak the truth and expose lies and corruption.
5. We will treat the false beliefs and prejudices of others as "loads upon their backs" and endeavor to enlighten and uplift them.
6. We will strive to set the best example for the people through upright conduct and honesty, leading and educating by example.
7. We will not be used to spy upon the people nor reveal their secrets to their enemies.
8. We will serve the people "heart and soul" to the best of our abilities.
9. We will conduct ourselves with honor and strive to be the people's pride.
10. We will not practice discrimination within the Party's ranks based upon gender or sexual orientation. All ranks and leadership positions within the Party will be equally available to men and wimyn, with their qualifications being determined by their proven abilities and commitment, and they will be equally respected and obeyed by lower ranks.
11. We will practice criticism and self-criticism.

Violations of Party rules and discipline are disruptive of Party unity. Of primary importance in preserving Party unity is to educate all rank and file members of the Party in its rules of discipline and the General Directives of the Party. It is also important that they hold the Party's leadership to account, whether deliberately or by error, for deviations from these principles.

THE GENERAL DIRECTIVES

At this early stage of organizing our party, our energy must be focused upon forging our cadre into a tightly knit organization capable of building and rebuilding itself and ultimately leading the Afrikan and New Afrikan masses on many fronts in a successful struggle to achieve liberation from imperialism and neo-colonialism, to reclaim our independent history and identity as a people, and to ally our forces with other revolutionary peoples to deal Monopoly Capitalism the *coup de grace*.

The Party's main developmental goal is to perfect its line by promoting and adhering to the most scientific method to find correct solutions to the problems of Afrikan and New-Afrikan people suffering under imperialist oppression and exploitation. The spirit of our ideology is making concrete analysis of objective conditions. We are not an idealist, adventurist, or opportunist organization. Our Party must be fresh and on time, knowing the actual problems of our people and finding the correct solutions. We must honor and pay tribute to our leaders and fighters of yesterday, while advancing, developing and correcting their analysis and praxis in solving the problems of today.

In building a tightly knit organization of cadre, we must commit ourselves to relentless study, of our history, of various revolutionary theorists and practice, and also, we must advance that history, and the methods we adopt, in the process of developing our own revolutionary practice. And we must continually educate and uplift the Party members and the masses.

The New Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter is open to all loyal and sincere members of the Afrikan and New Afrikan working class and radical students, intellectuals, peasants and lumpen who have developed clear working class consciousness and discipline,

while we must remain unceasingly vigilant in preventing infiltration by enemy agents, whose aim will be to disrupt the Party and undermine our struggle. Our goal is to expand the Party, drawing in the best fighters from the masses, while maintaining its integrity.

The Party is the key to our liberation struggle, and all external influences must be subordinated to our loyalty to the Party as our unifying political force. Therefore, we must not allow ourselves to become provoked, baited or taunted by opportunist, ultra-leftist or enemy forces into premature, adventuristic actions and practices. As the leading element in organizing the Afrikan and New Afrikan masses, the Party must remain clear-headed, well-informed, and honest with the people in its analysis, decisions and actions.

Political work must lead over all other Party endeavors. Towards this end, frequent meetings must be held, political education must be stressed, and serious political commitment must be demanded of all members. Party members and leading cadre must dedicate themselves to serious study of all root problems and issues that affect the lives and welfare of our Afrikan and New Afrikan people.

We must be good at learning and never cease learning – from our people and their experiences, from books and from our own life experiences and those of our Party. We must continually educate ourselves and the people, going into questions deeply and using dialectical and historical materialism, which does not teach us what to think, per se, but how to think. We must observe the dictum: "KNOW THE ENEMY AND KNOW THYSELF."

We must struggle against all forms of negative thinking which undermines the Party's and the people's morale and confidence, spreading fear, confusion, mistrust and defeatism. We must resist tendencies towards individualism, commandism, gossip, slander, bullying and towards either overestimating or underestimating ourselves or the enemy.

The comrades and the people must understand that the enemy will employ dual tactics, offering reforms with one hand and coming down with repression with the other, employing both deception and force. The people must be made to understand that no oppressor can indefinitely continue to oppress the people when faced with their determined and organized resistance.

The people must cease to view the enemy with awe and believe in their invulnerability or god-like omnipotence. Ultimately, it is the people who are really powerful and who, when united, cannot be defeated. Inspiring fear, self-doubt, disunity, and slavish passivity are the oppressors' tactics. They rely upon ignorance, alienation, apathy, cynicism and lack of leadership to maintain control.

Our political education work must penetrate everywhere, including within the enemy's ranks. We must write leaflets, letters, essays, pamphlets, books, plays and poetry, draw graphics and cartoons, compose posters, songs and slogans, and spread them far and wide. We must struggle to win over all whom we can to join the struggle.

In every respect and every aspect of our work, we must practice revolutionary responsibility, carry out tasks to completion and to the best of our abilities. We must respect the opinions and work of others and strive to be open-minded and fair. We must not pick fights or hold grudges. The solution to almost every problem is to rely on our comrades and to rely on the people.

We must hide nothing from our Party comrades and from the masses of our people, tell no lies, expose lies whenever they are told and conceal nothing. We must not factionalize nor let others factionalize with us. All should be open and aboveboard, and we should follow the principle of: UNITE DON'T SPLIT!

CRITICISM AND SELF-CRITICISM

Criticism, in the positive usage, is the examination, analysis and evaluation of the comparative worth of the ideas, actions, policies, prejudices and practices of others. Self-criticism is, of course, this same principle applied to oneself. But it also applies as the method of critically examining our line and practice and openly admitting when we have made mistakes, including to the people, whose criticism we must welcome.

Criticism and self-criticism are wholly necessary to human progress and to the building of a genuinely revolutionary movement. Revolutionary nationalism elevates criticism and self-criticism to a conscious principle and incorporates it into the day to day functioning of the Party. In its positive usage, it helps us to correct what is wrong, make adjustments and resolve differences between individuals and groups. In the words of Franz Fanon, "Self-criticism has been much talked about of late, but few people realize that it is an AFRIKAN INSTITUTION."

DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

(Operating with a Central Committee)

Too often the comrades have an incomplete or incorrect idea about what democratic centralism is all about. It is exceedingly important that this aspect of our organizational structure be understood by all the members. Democratic centralism, and its key feature – the Central Committee – are scientific organizational concepts formulated by V.I. Lenin, which enable a vanguard party (and the mass organizations it provides leadership to or influences) to function with the unity and impact of a clenched fist, as well as be able to perform many separate tasks independently with the desired coordinated effect.

Democratic centralism combines aspects of inner-party democracy with a centralized command structure in conformity with the objective and subjective conditions the Party must face, balancing the objective needs of the actual concrete conditions and the need for a unified and coordinated Party with the subjective need of the individual members to participate fully in the decision-making process and have their opinions respected. We recognize the need and primacy of having centralized authority; to steer the Party and hold the members to binding discipline – on penalty of punishment or expulsion. – But we also recognize the need for drawing on the collective wisdom of the whole Party and the importance of inner-party discussion and struggle to sum up practice and arrive at correct decisions regarding political line and practice.

By absorbing the democratic discussion and input of the whole Party, (both majority and minority opinions), the Central Committee can best arrive at decisions and programs to be implemented by the whole Party. The principle of: CRITICIZE UP AND IMPLEMENT DOWN, best describes this process. Once a decision is reached, the minority has the right to reserve their opinions (until the next discussion), but the whole Party must unite to carry out the decisions of the Central Committee. Party members must

not publicly criticize the Party or its leadership outside the channels of inner-party discussion nor reveal inner-party business to anyone outside the Party. This is factionalization, as is attempting to form rival headquarters to the CC within the Party.

The Central Committee is the highest body of the Party, except for a Party Congress composed of elected representatives of the whole Party. The Chairman is the spokesperson of the CC and the Party and its highest ranking member. The CC will also have a General Secretary and a standing Political Bureau (Politburo) composed of the heads of the various "Ministries" (such as the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of Information, and so on) and other key members of the CC.

As the Party expands, so will its organizational structure, but the principles of democratic centralism will remain the same. Lower bodies will be subordinated to higher ones and the minority will be subordinated to the majority. The "Basic Unit" of the Party will be the "Collective" or local cell composed of comrades living and/or working together. Chapters will be composed of various collectives and be headed by a "Captain."

The basic guiding principle is to keep it simple and practical and to afford the comrades engaged in particular work the greatest latitude to be creative in the application of the Party's line and directives. All work and meetings should be summed up and reports made to the next highest body on up to the CC. Comrades have the right to appeal up to the CC if they believe they have been wrongly treated by their superiors in a serious matter.

AN OBJECT LESSON FROM THE PAST

One of the successful tactics used in the FBI's COINTELPRO program of disruption of the old Black Panther Party was its use of "Brown Mail," private correspondence purported to be from leading or rank and file Party members or supporters authored by FBI agents imitating the handwriting of those people and mailed from the appropriate city. In particular, the feds set out to drive a wedge between two of the Party's leading members, the Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton, and the Minister of Information, Eldridge Cleaver, (who was then in exile in Algeria).

Instead of turning this mail over to the Party's Chairman, Bobby Seal, for internal investigation of apparent attempts at factionalization, and to check out the allegations they contained, these leaders kept the "Brown Mail" secret, believing the lies contained, and began conspiring against one another. The Party was eventually split apart as each carried their line differences to extremes instead of struggling for reconciliation through inner-party democracy.

Other members were summarily expelled and declared "Enemies of the People," based upon "Brown Mail" they knew nothing about, as "Commandism" replaced democratic centralism. Alliances were sabotaged, and masses of Party members and supporters quit in confusion and disgust at the bitter infighting and paranoia generated.

We must not underestimate the skill, (born from long experience), that the political police have acquired at sowing disruption and division. Nor should we ignore the summed up experience of the people's revolutionary forces at combating this by developing protocols designed to combat it, such as democratic centralism.

Another important protocol is to refuse to talk to the police or FBI beyond stating your name and address (or prison number). Fools who ignore this rule are often suckered in and turned to become informers or agent provocateurs. Some brag and show off to people (particularly of the opposite sex) about things that should not be talked about, when they don't even really know who they are talking to, or if their phone is tapped, or whatever.

Another thing we must avoid is falling into the trap of "Legalism," and believing that just because our actions are legal that the enemy won't break the law to set us up on bogus charges, violate our rights, or commit illegal acts, including murder, to silence us. This IS a fascist dictatorship! The window dressing of "Legality" and "Democracy" cannot be taken for reality.

The necessity of doing legal, aboveground work makes us vulnerable, and retaliation only plays into the State's hands and allows them to brand us as "terrorists" and escalate their attacks. There is no safety in being a revolutionary, even in a non-revolutionary situation, and we have to accept that. We also have to minimize the danger by relying on the masses to defend us, by exposing the true nature of the beast, and by making the enemy pay a high price in exposure when they commit crimes to attack us.

Millions of people get screwed by the system, get railroaded into jail or prison, or murdered by the police, just because they are Black, Mexican, Indian or Puerto Rican. These are not revolutionaries, but this IS a class dictatorship! Even poor and working class whites, who may have voted for Bush, get screwed every day. This class dictatorship is a criminal enterprise through and through, and that is why we need to make a revolution.

We have to steel ourselves for struggle and be strong, have courage, and do what must be done. If we worry too much about what they might do to us, they will automatically win, because we will be distracted from what must be done. □



FROM THE DESK OF A PANTHER



The Ten Point Program and Platform New Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that Black and oppressed people will not be free until we are able to determine our destinies in our own communities ourselves, by fully controlling all the institutions which exist in our communities.

2. WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every person employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the American businessmen will not give full employment, then the technology and means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE CAPITALISTS OF OUR BLACK AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES.

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of our fifty million Black people. Therefore, we feel this is a modest demand that we make.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR THE SHELTER OF HUMAN BEINGS.

We believe that if the landlords will not give decent housing to our Black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people.

5. WE WANT DECENT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT-DAY SOCIETY.

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of the self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and in the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else.

6. WE WANT COMPLETELY FREE HEALTH CARE FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE.

We believe that the government must provide, free of charge, for the people, health facilities which will not only treat our illnesses, most of which have come about as a result of our oppression, but which will also develop preventive medical programs to guarantee our future survival. We believe that mass health education and research programs must be developed to give all Black and oppressed people access to advanced scientific and medical information, so we may provide our selves with proper medical attention and care.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE, OTHER PEOPLE OF COLOR, ALL OPPRESSED PEOPLE INSIDE THE UNITED STATES.

We believe that the racist and fascist government of the United States uses its domestic enforcement agencies to carry out its program of oppression against black people, other people of color and poor people inside the United States. We believe it is our right, therefore, to defend ourselves against such armed forces and that all Black and oppressed people should be armed for self defense of our homes and communities against these fascist police forces.

8. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO ALL WARS OF AGGRESSION.

We believe that the various conflicts which exist around the world stem directly from the aggressive desire of the United States ruling circle and government to force its domination upon the oppressed people of the world. We believe that if the United States government or its lackeys do not cease these aggressive wars it is the right of the people to defend themselves by any means necessary against their aggressors.

9. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK AND OPPRESSED PEOPLE NOW HELD IN U. S. FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, CITY AND MILITARY PRISONS AND JAILS. WE WANT TRIALS BY A JURY OF PEERS FOR ALL PERSONS CHARGED WITH SO-CALLED CRIMES UNDER THE LAWS OF THIS COUNTRY.

We believe that the many Black and poor oppressed people now held in United States prisons and jails have not received fair and impartial trials under a racist and fascist judicial system and should be free from incarceration. We believe in the ultimate elimination of all wretched, inhuman penal institutions, because the masses of men and women imprisoned inside the United States or by the United States military are the victims of oppressive conditions which are the real cause of their imprisonment. We believe that when persons are brought to trial they must be guaranteed, by the United States, juries of their peers, attorneys of their choice and freedom from imprisonment while awaiting trial.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE, PEACE AND PEOPLE'S COMMUNITY CONTROL OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

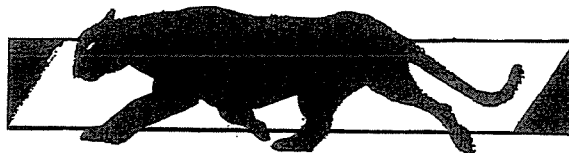
We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are most disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpation, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

All members and potential members must study and memorize our Ten Point Program and Platform.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson
Minister of Defense

Shaka Sankofa Zulu
Chairman



Twenty First Century Political Prisoners: Real and Potential

By Russell Shoatz

Ever since the mid 1960's, there has been a struggle in this country over whether or not it holds Political Prisoners (PP's). In particular, whether or not Blacks fighting against racism should be looked on as PP's when jailed for related offenses. Moreover, that struggle intensified after it was later learned that the federal, state and local governments and their agencies conspired and carried out it's counter-intelligence program known as COINTELPRO. Furthermore, it was discovered that COINTELPRO not only targeted Blacks, but also Native Americans, Whites and many groups and individuals who had absolutely no idea that this was taking place... even after suffering from it's suppression, repression, jailings and deaths.

Never-the-less, in time, it became accepted amongst a sizeable segment of people that there were, in fact, PP's jailed in this country: former Black Panthers, white anti-imperialists, American Indian Movement members, MOVE members, Black Liberation Army fighters, Puerto Rican nationalists and Chicano/Mexican fighters; as well as all of their offshoots and supporters.

Furthermore, the struggles surrounding these groups and the fight against racism and this country's aggression in Vietnam caused many otherwise politically unconscious prisoners to join the fight, which created a new segment of PP's, who, after going to prison for committing social crimes, became politically active there. George Jackson remains a model of that type of PP.

By and large, however, those PP's struggles have been kept on the margins for over 30 years. Although they still remain strongly supported by those aware of them, outside of the government's (suppression) forces. Ironically, it is the ongoing government suppression that is causing many to examine the whole subject of PP's and how it should be viewed and dealt with. In that regard, what's becoming clearer every day is that in addition to the above "Real Political Prisoners," there's literally hundreds of thousands of other "Potential Political Prisoners" being held in prisons in this country! Some fall in the below categories:

Death Row Convictions, 3 Strike and Mandatory Sentences, Life Without Parole, Juveniles Sentenced as Adults, Immigration laws, Environmental/Ecological Defense, Muslims and "Suspected" Foreign Terrorists, Gang Members, Right-Wingers, 1980's Mariel, Cuban Immigrants (boat people).

Note: Some of the "Real Political Prisoners" are also Prisoners of War (POW's): namely those jailed for fighting to gain independence or self-determination for their peoples.

Since the catastrophic events on "9-11," it's roundly agreed that this country jails and holds PP's suspected of being "terrorists," or in league with them. Indeed, the government goes out of it's way to "terrorize" the general public with warnings of what the (other) Muslim "terrorists" will do if they are not given more power to imprison and ruthlessly suppress anyone they choose.

On the other hand, hardly a day goes by without the public being bombarded with images of the rounding up and jailing of migrants from Mexico, Central America or Haiti. Joining them, moreover, are sensational shots of police with guns drawn trying to identify, catalog and arrest (so called) dangerous gang members. And, of course, the ongoing battles over the death penalty, "3 Strikes" and mandatory sentencing law cannot escape the consciousness of the majority of this country's citizens.

In fact, the only categories within the aforementioned 10 that are not widely known and debated are life without parole, juveniles sentenced as adults, environmental/ecological defense, the 1980's

Mariel, Cuban migrants and right wingers, although the Oklahoma City bombing is a exception.

Regrettably, we cannot reach a consensus on a definition as to just what makes one a PP, the above notwithstanding, which leaves this author to adamantly insist on viewing all of his 10 categories as "Potential Political Prisoners!" Simply because clear, (to some), "political" considerations overshadow the actual alleged criminal acts that landed them in prison. Let's examine them:

1. Death Penalty: Against 90% of the world's laws and only kept so that politicians can appear "tough on crime."

2. Three Strikes and Mandatory Sentences: Instituted by "tough on crime politicians" after their failure to address the underlying causes of the crimes.

3. Life Without Parole: Only practiced in a few states and should be outlawed because it violates the Equal Protection Clause of the Constitution, but "tough on crime politicians" protect it.

4. Juveniles Sentenced As Adults: Only applies to certain states and is against international law altogether! Again, "tough on crime politicians" protect this violation of the Constitution and international law.

5. Immigration Law Violators: Migrants commit no crime in crossing artificial borders seeking to better their lives! The government recognizes that when it allows certain immigrants, (like "regular" Cubans), to stay in the country.

6. Environmental-Ecological Defenders: They almost never harm any people, but instead concentrate on disrupting the work of people who themselves are attacking everyone by destroying the environment and ecology that sustains us. They too must be suppressed by our "tough on crime," clueless politicians.

7. Muslims and Suspected Foreign Terrorists: Since 9-11 thousands of Muslims and "suspected" foreign terrorists have been jailed, but less than a handful have been convicted of anything! The overwhelming majority are victims of a ruthless bunch of status-climbing public bureaucrats, politicians, conflict profiteers and plain old racists!

8. Gang Members: This group is very, very rarely offered any comprehensive programs designed to channel their energies into anything productive! Why? Because most of our educators and politicians, having already failed them before they joined gangs, choose to abandon them to the police, courts and jail system.

9. Right-Wingers: They're usually close to the government, (as far as immediate aims go), and are allowed to do pretty much as they choose. They, however, are targeted for suppression whenever their "political and law enforcement allies" think they're becoming too independent.

10. 1980's Mariel, Cuban Immigrants (boat people): In the past, the government tried to return them to Cuba, with no success. So, to cover the politicians total lack of ideas about what to do about them, they're just kept beyond the law's ability to do anything but keep them locked up.

Finally, there's another little understood and/or accepted factor, that, although not touching all 10 categories, still accounts for more of the hundreds of thousands of 21st Century "Potential Political Prisoners" than any other, the so-called "War On Drugs." I will not go into this in depth, except to state that this "War" accounts for 4 of our categories

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175 Progress Drive
Waynesburg, Pa. 15370



Some Books of Interest to Perspective Party Members

**Available From: Left Books, 5274 West
Pico Blvd., Suite 203, Los Angeles, CA
90019**

On May 2, 1973, Black Panther Assata Shakur (aka JoAnne Chesimard) lay in a hospital bed, while local, state, and federal police attempted to question her about the shootout on the New Jersey Turnpike that had claimed the life of a white state trooper. Long a target of J. Edgar Hoover's campaign to defame, infiltrate, and criminalize Black nationalist organizers and their leaders, Shakur

This intensely personal and political autobiography belies the fearsome image of JoAnne Chesimard long projected by the media and the state. With wit and candor, Assata Shakur recounts the experiences that led her to a life of activism and portrays the strengths, weaknesses, and eventual demise of Black and White revolutionary groups at the hands of government officials. The result is a signal contribution to the literature about growing up Black in America that has already taken place alongside *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* and the works of Maya Angelou.

Leftbooks.com price \$14.95

How Europe Underdeveloped Africa

By Walter Rodney

The Guyanese historian ranges over five centuries of world history to explain how "Africa lost power." The world capitalist market and subsequent industrial revolution was launched by the African Holocaust.

Leftbooks.com price \$23.95

Howard University Press, Index, 288pp

The Wretched of the Earth

By Frantz Fanon

Preface by Jean-Paul Sartre

Written while Algeria was fighting for liberation from French colonialism, a struggle in which a million Algerians were killed, 40,000 of whom were tortured to death, *The Wretched of the Earth* is Frantz Fanon's searing polemic addressed to freedom fighters in Africa and around the world.

Waging a revolutionary struggle required the raising of people's consciousness. "Neither stubborn courage nor fine slogans are enough...the political education of the masses is seen to be a historic necessity," wrote Fanon.

The best known feature of this classic is Fanon's insistence in reaching out to the "people of the shanty towns ... the lumpen proletariat." Fanon urged that revolutionaries seek out these dispossessed "one of the most spontaneous and the most radically revolutionary forces of a colonized people" and prevent them from being used by the colonizer.

Fanon also warned against the dangers of neo-colonialism in which an ostensibly independent country continues to be economically controlled from Europe or the United States.

Born in Martinique and trained as a psychiatrist, Fanon threw himself body and soul into the Algerian Revolution. He was wounded in combat and served as the Provisional Revolutionary Government's ambassador to Ghana. He was only 36 years old when he died of leukemia in 1961. Cancer robbed Africa of one of its leaders.

Leftbooks.com price \$14.00

Grove Press, 316pp

We Want Freedom: A Life in the Black Panther Party

By Mumia Abu-Jamal

Mumia Abu-Jamal provides the world with an important history of the founding of the Philadelphia Black Panther Party in his new book *We Want Freedom: A Life in the Black Panther Party*.

Mumia, known to the world as a wrongly convicted political prisoner held for 22 years in Pennsylvania's death row, is exacting and luminous in his history and his analysis of the Black liberation struggle.

An important book for anyone learning about one of the most important groups in the on-going struggle for the liberation of African-Americans.

Leftbooks.com price \$14.00
South End Press, 320pp

The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois

A Soliloquy on Viewing My Life from the Last Decade of Its First Century

As scholar, author, lecturer and organizer, Dr. Du Bois was a leader since the turn of the century in the movement for Black liberation. The story of his personal life is thus inseparable from the entire course of this struggle.

Among the first to grasp the worldwide aspects of Black liberation, he became a founder of the Pan-African movement, and soon joined the struggle against colonialism. Already in his 70s, he threw himself into the fight for peace during the height of the Cold War.

He died at the age of 95, on the eve of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and was hailed by all as the founder of the movement which led to the March.

The Autobiography is not only the life story of one of the greatest minds of the 20th century. It is a panoramic view of the great social revolution of our time.

Edited by Herbert Aptheker. Includes a selected bibliography of Dr. Du Bois' writings, a calendar of his life, reference notes, and 16 pages of photos. Paperback, 448pp.

Leftbooks.com price \$14.95

By any means necessary

By Malcolm X

"We want freedom by any means necessary.
We want justice by any means necessary.
We want equality by any means necessary."

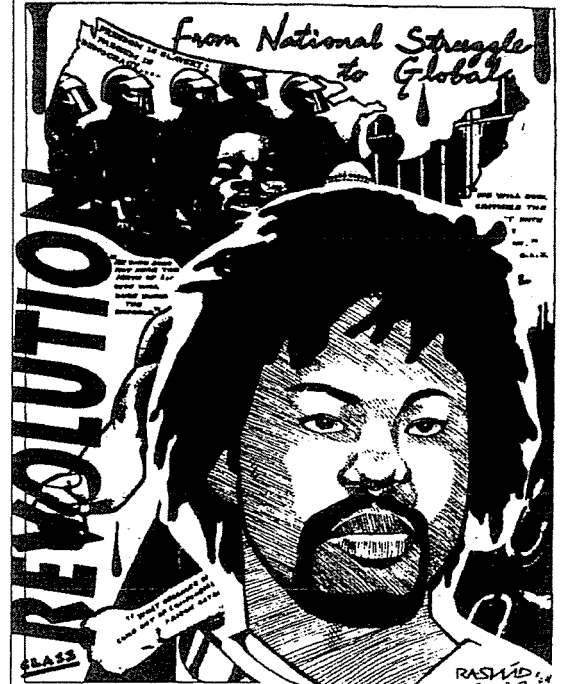
"The thing that I would like to impress upon every Afro-American leader is that no kind of action in this country is ever going to bear fruit unless that action is tied in with the overall international struggle"

Through these speeches from the last year of his life, Malcolm X takes his place as one of the twentieth century's outstanding revolutionary thinkers and leaders. Malcolm sought, as he put it, to "internationalize" the fight against racism. He condemned Washington's war in Vietnam, solidarized with the African freedom struggle, and championed the revolutionary victories of the Chinese and Cuban people. Readers will follow the evolution of Malcolm's view on building political alliances, Black-white intermarriage, woman's rights, capitalism and socialism, and self-defense against racist terror gangs — all in his own words.

Leftbooks.com price \$15.95

Pathfinder Press, 214 p.p., Index, Pictures

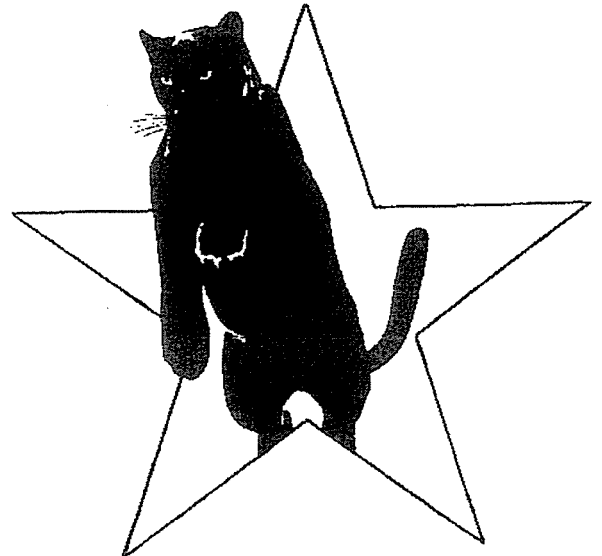
Two Essays by Kevin (Rashid) Johnson

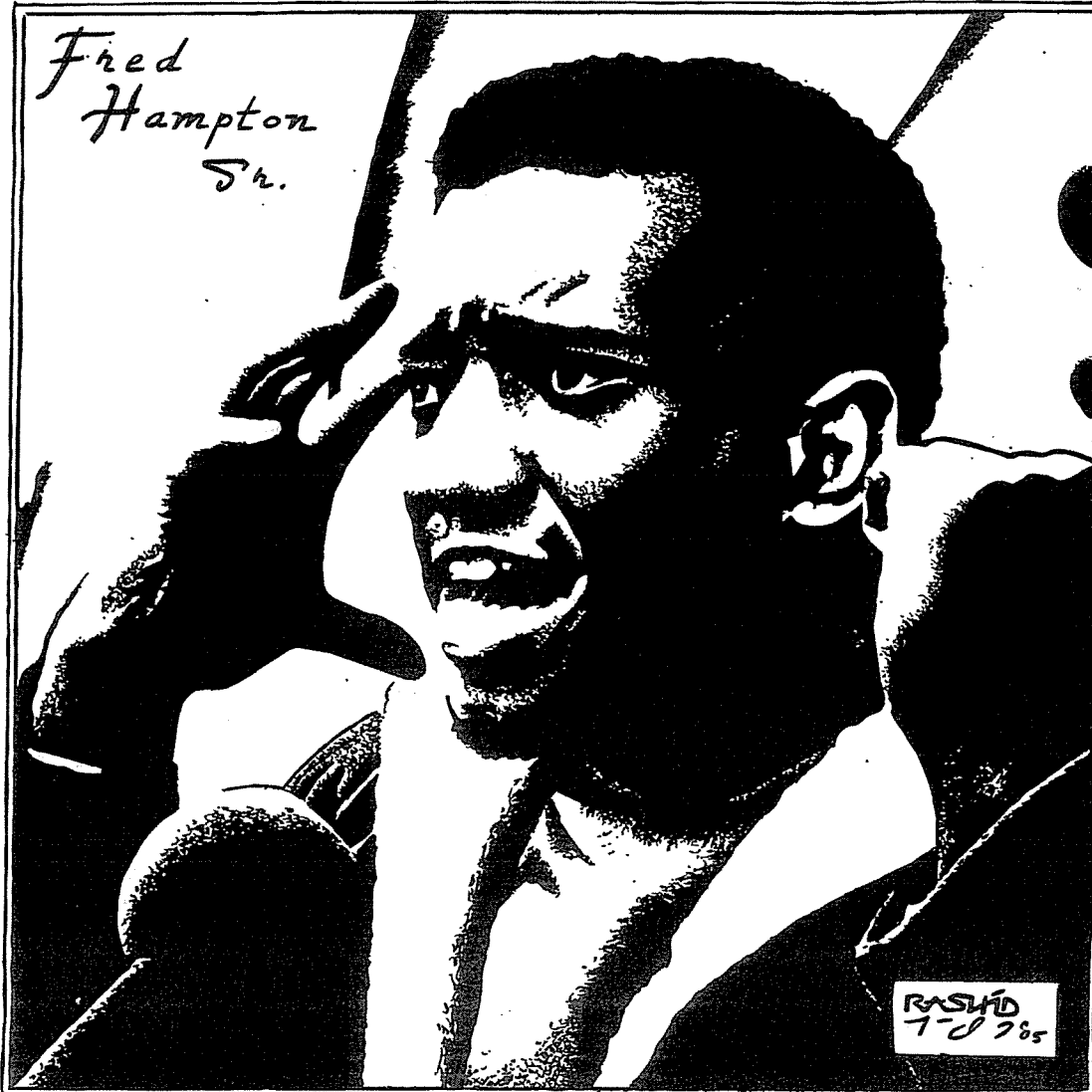


A Biography of Revolutionary Development
A Theory Towards Combating American Imperialism
(Part One)

Two Essays by Kevin (Rashid) Johnson
#185492 Red Onion State Prison
PO Box 1900
Pound, VA 24279

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Homewood, IL 60430





*"You can jail a revolutionary but
you can't jail a revolution !!"*

Right On! #2



Winter '05-'06

Editorial

First off, we have changed our name to the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) so that there won't be any confusion with the New Black Panther Party (NBPP). As we explained in *Right On! #1*, this was where we started from, politically, but deeper study and struggle showed us that there are serious flaws in the ideological and political line of the NBPP, and we have moved on. We don't hold any animosity towards the comrades of this Party, and we think that the struggle itself will teach them that our national oppression as Black people is rooted in class oppression, and the nature of our struggle for national liberation must be revolutionary class struggle.

We want to thank everyone out there for the encouraging response and positive feedback we have received to our first issue, and we will keep distributing it, as it contains basic principles

on which we will be building our Party. We will revise the name in the 2nd printing, but otherwise it will stay the same.

This second number focuses on the issue of "Fascism in Amerika." We uphold the analysis of our martyred brother, Comrade George Jackson of the BPP, that the U.S. is, (and has been for some time), a fascist country, and that fascism reached its highest form in Amerika. This is a sign of weakness in the monopoly capitalist system, which is overall in decline and moribund. It has long since stopped serving to play any progressive role in history and is a hindrance to the further development of (indeed it threatens the continuation of) human society.

The trend today is towards a more open and blatant form of fascism, which is an indication of monopoly capitalism's growing weakness and decline, and the answer is not to attempt to appease it but to build a revolutionary movement to get rid of it. To this end, we dedicate our lives. As representatives of the New Afrikan people and nation, we have our own strategy and style for contributing to this we call "Pantherism." It was initiated back in the late 60s and early 70s by the

original Black Panther Party (BPP) created by Chairman Bobby Seale and Minister of Defense Huey P. Newton.

Times have changed since then. The number of people imprisoned in Amerika has quadrupled. Social welfare programs and other concessions won by the people's struggle have been rolled back. The gap between the "haves" and the "have nots" is now wider than it has been in 100 years. The U.S. emerged from the Cold War as the sole imperialist superpower and is now aggressively attempting to consolidate its hegemony over the peoples and nations of the whole world. Yet despite this apparent strength, we in the "Belly of the Beast" recognize that strategically it is a "Paper Tiger," and the united struggle of the people of the world can defeat it, if we; DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

RIGHT ON! is the official newsletter of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), a legal, above-ground political organization dedicated to political education and service to the people. Nothing in this publication is intended to promote or provoke the violation of any law or security regulation of any correctional facility. We are opposed to racism of any sort and encourage prisoners to educate themselves to, and use only, legal means to redress their grievances in accordance with the rules and regulations of their respective correctional institution.

The NABPP-PC is not a "gang" nor is it a "Security Threat Group," and we refuse to be labeled as such by those who would, in violation of the First Amendment, trespass upon our right to speak freely. We expect our members and supporters to be disciplined men and women and conduct themselves in such a way as to be a credit to our New Afrikan people and our Party. We urge all prisoners to use their prison time productively, to reject criminal ways and ideology, to study and seek truth, and to prepare themselves mentally, morally and physically to be true servants of the people.

TRANSFORM THE IRON HOUSES OF OPPRESSION INTO SCHOOLS OF LIBERATION! RIGHT ON!

Message from Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

In August of 1967, FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover labeled the Black Panther Party "the greatest internal security threat to the country." With this single statement, he set in motion an illegal campaign of infiltration, disruption, frame-ups and assassinations of BPP leaders and members culminating in the assassination of more than 40 Black Panthers in a two-year time span (1969 to 1971), and the arrests of hundreds more on bogus and fictitious charges totaling many hundreds of years of false incarceration in prisons across the country. The Party was the target of 233 of 295 actions of the FBI's secret Counter-Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) conducted under Hoover's personal direction.

Fred Hampton joined the Party the following year after a stint with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Maywood, Illinois. Because he was a people person, charismatic and dedicated, he rapidly rose to the position of Chairman of the Chicago-based BPP Illinois chapter and caught the attention of J. Edgar Hoover, who singled him out for special persecution, (along with other Panther leaders, including Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, Eldridge Cleaver, Bunchy Carter and Carl Hampton.) Utilizing counter-insurgency tactics, perfected over years of domestic and international repression, targeting those with leadership qualities on the assumption that if you cut off the head, the body will soon die, the FBI began the set-up of Chairman Fred Hampton.

Upon the assumption of his responsibilities as Chairman of the Chicago Panther organization, Comrade Hampton set about the political work of organizing Panther cadre to serve the needs of the people through the BPP programs of free breakfasts for children, the free clothing give-away, free medical clinics and the legal defense fund that not only assisted the Panther Party cadre but also members of the community who fell into the cold and calloused hands of the Chicago police. The Illinois chapter also set out to form an alliance with the Black P. Stone Nation, an apolitical street gang putting itself unwittingly at the service of COINTELPRO by engaging in lumpen criminal activities. Bringing the thousands-strong street gang under the political tutelage of the BPP was viewed with alarm

by the FBI who stepped up their disruption tactics.

To prevent the Black P. Stone Nation from putting their manpower and energy at the service of the people, The FBI's COINTELPRO operatives employed the "Brown Mail" tactic of sending fake private correspondence to leaders of both groups with the intention of sowing distrust, jealousy and animosity with the intent of driving a wedge between them and if possible promoting violence. When the BPP national office in Oakland, California announced that it was considering making Chairman Hampton its national spokesman, the plot to assassinate him was hatched by the FBI and the Chicago police.

On December 3, 1969, William O'Neil, a paid COINTELPRO informer that rose to become head of Panther security in the Chicago area and Chairman Fred's personal bodyguard, met with his FBI contact and gave him a detailed map of Fred Hampton's apartment, and that agent passed the floor map on to the officers in charge of the assassination. The map pointed out in careful detail how to find the Chairman's bed. When Chairman Fred, his eight-month pregnant fiancé, Deborah Johnson (Akua Njeri), 17-year-old Verlina Brewer, "Doc" Satchel, Blair Anderson, and Mark Clark, a Panther leader from Peoria, returned home from a long day of political work in service to the people, they were met at the door by William O'Neil, who had made some Kool-Aid mixed with Seconal (sleeping pills) that in trust and love they accepted without question. When the Panther brothers and sisters succumbed to the drug, William O'Neil slipped out the door and informed his FBI contact that he had done his dirty work.

At 4:30 AM on December 4th, 14 armed police and FBI agents kicked in the door pumping a volley of bullets into Comrade Mark Clark killing him instantly and wounding Comrades Verlina, Blair and "Doc." Two officers then made their way to Chairman Fred's room, still pumping bullets, shooting Sister Deborah, (who was pregnant with Fred, Jr.). Fred Hampton never awoke from his drug-induced slumber. They riddled his body with bullets.

The people lost a towering revolutionary giant, and the Party lost a tremendous organizer and leader. But the struggle against the national oppression of Black people and U.S. capitalist imperialism continues. In Fred's own words: "You can kill a revolutionary, but you can never kill the revolution." The government is still trying to criminalize and oppress the original Black Panthers. In San Francisco, a California judge recently threw former BPP members Ray Boudreaux, Richard Brown, Hank Jones and Harold Taylor into jail for refusing to cooperate in a grand jury investigation of the killing of a police officer that they were cleared of 30 years ago.

In another case out of Chicago, the state is seeking extradition of Brother Joseph Pannell (aka Gary Freeman), who has been living as a librarian in Canada for the past 30 years, in connection with the wounding of a Chicago police officer in the arm, which Pannell claimed was in self defense. Brother Pannell says he fled jurisdiction after Chairman Fred Hampton's murder, because he knew he could not get a fair hearing. It is well known that the BPP advocated and practiced armed self-defense and that they and others who stood up to the system were being targeted for unprovoked attacks by the police. Brother Pannell was doing political work outside a Chicago high school when the incident occurred. The wounded officer gave two completely contradictory stories as to how the shooting occurred. In one version he claimed he was approaching the brother on foot to check his ID, in the other he claimed he was sitting innocently in his patrol car.

Twenty-one year old Fred Hampton's murders were never brought to justice. But, the Chicago City Council unanimously approved a resolution introduced by former Alderwoman Marlene C. Carter commemorating Dec. 4, 2004, as "Fred Hampton Day in Chicago." Fred Hampton's son, who survived the murderous attack that killed his father, was himself made a political prisoner and could not attend the ceremony. The struggle continues!



**"IF YOU ARE ABOUT PEACE THEN YOU
ARE ABOUT REVOLUTION.
YOU CAN'T BE ABOUT PEACE AND NOT
BE FOR REVOLUTION!"**

- Fred Hampton

**ALL POWER TO
THE PEOPLE!**

**From Benton Harbor,
Michigan to Clichy-sous-Bois,
France:**



The International Oppression of Youth of Color

**By Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, Minister of
Defense NABPP-PC**

As a policy of atomizing the Nation of Afrikans in Amerika, the U.S. ruling class has cultivated a sense of isolation from the rest of the Afrikan world. The reason behind this policy is to keep us from seeing ourselves as part of Afrika's people around the world, a common people suffering common conditions of oppression and exploitation at the hands of a single system of imperialism.

Close scrutiny of the recent revolt of Afrikan and Arab youth in Clichy-sous-Bois, and across Europe, demonstrates the reality of a common condition of oppression in Europe and the U.S. for people of color. The conditions that sparked the youth uprising in France mirror those that we face in Amerika, an example being those that sparked the 2002 Black uprising in Benton Harbor, Michigan.

Benton Harbor is a small, Black, working class town with a history of racist oppression by the local police and judicial system. Police chases, beatings, shootings and false arrests in Benton Harbor had taken their toll on the Black people of Benton Harbor, where Black children and youth were regularly killed by the police at a rate 14 to 28 percent higher than the national average.

Benton Harbor had gone from a town with a vibrant economy to one of dire poverty in just a few short decades. This was affected by its relationship with the predominantly white town of Saint Joseph's across the river. Most of the property in Benton Harbor is owned by residents of St. Joseph's, and most of the major job and revenue generating opportunities were taken out of Benton Harbor and moved to St. Joseph's, (the hospital, courthouse, water department, etc.), leaving the Black town without jobs or basic infrastructure and its people owning nothing.

The police department, (located in St. Joseph's), is 99% white. The jail is situated so that it is the first building you see upon crossing the river from Benton Harbor into St. Joseph's.

The routine brutality suffered by the Black residents of Benton Harbor psychologically conditioned them to fear police stops. It was the death of a fleeing young Black motorcyclist named Terrance Shurn, during a police chase, that ignited the uprising in Benton Harbor. Eyewitnesses reported seeing one police car driving closely behind Shurn and bumping into his bike's tires, while another police car drove him off the road and into an abandoned house. The next day, police attempted to break up a vigil being held by the youth's family, which incited anger and the ensuing two days and nights of street battles with the police.

Much like Benton Harbor, and the U.S. inner cities in general, Clichy-sous-Bois, France, (where the youth uprising that spread to over 400 European cities and towns in less than two weeks began), is a small working class ghetto of single family public housing units isolated from France's metropolitan areas. The ghetto's residents are mostly Afrikans and Arabs lacking regular jobs and forced to pay high rents, which leaves them in a cycle of poverty. The town doesn't even have a cinema or library.

For Clichy's youth, police brutality, harassment and humiliation are routine. Many abuses occur during the frequent raids of homes as police claim to be looking for "illegal immigrant" squatters to deport. Carloads of police suddenly swarm young men out walking, under the pretext of making "identity checks." As in Benton Harbor, Clichy's youth have a reasonable fear of police stops. The French Interior Minister, Nicolas Sarkozy, publicly described the residents of these ethnic working class ghettos as "scum" and "filth" to be "scoured with industrial cleaner."

The uprising, which began on October 27, 2005, was sparked by the deaths of two teenage boys resulting from their fleeing from and being chased by the police. The two teens, Buena Traore and Zyed Benna, fled from police who chased them into an electric power substation,

where they were electrocuted to death. Weary of the repression by the French police, who were in Sarkozy's words, "waging a war without mercy" against the "riffraff" of the public housing ghettos, the Afrikan and Arab youth rose up.

The youth revolt took the form of burning thousands of cars, including police cars, and spread to other cities where poor Afrikan and Arab people are concentrated and oppressed, including in Germany and Belgium. These disempowered youth, like those in the Amerikan cities, have endured the humiliation of poverty, racism, and official oppression all their young lives. But inside there is a burning desire for liberation.

The mainstream imperialist media, as in all cases of such uprisings of the oppressed, have attempted to conceal, misrepresent and minimize the real causes of the uprising and vilify the participants. The same demonizations were used to discredit the urban Black uprisings that swept across the U.S. from 1964 to 1968 in response to poverty, racism and police brutality. In the wake of the 1960s rebellions, multitudes of government-funded studies were conducted which demonized our people and proposed to respond with a war against youth of color under which the prison-industrial complex was born as a mechanism to "restore order" and deplete and contain the Black Nation within Amerika. As H.R. Haldeman, Nixon's top aide, noted in 1969 in his now published diary: "Nixon emphasized that you have to face the fact that the problem is really the blacks. The key is to devise a system that recognizes this while not appearing to."

However, white riots against Blacks in Amerika have never been depicted as depraved in the same way that Black riots against racist oppression and systematic – indeed government sanctioned – discrimination, repression and abuse have been. In fact, government

and police officials often incited and participated in these riots in which Black communities were overrun by rampaging mobs of armed whites who indiscriminately beat up, maimed and killed innocent Black men, women and children, such as the 1863 NYC Draft Riot, the New York Riot of 1900, the 26 white riots that occurred during the "Red Summer" of 1919, and the innumerable lynchings that took place throughout the 19th and most of the 20th Centuries in Amerika.

Because the oppression and super exploitation of people of color is the norm in the imperialist countries, and the youth are particularly targeted for police repression, we must recognize the need for intercommunal (multi-ethnic) and Pan-Afrikan unity to resist this oppression and to struggle to put an end to the imperialist (monopoly capitalist) system and replace it with People's Power.

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) supports the righteous rebellion of the Afrikan and Arab youth in Europe against their oppression, and we call upon them to do more than vent their anger. We call upon them to form mass organizations to serve their people and defend their communities and to take up the principles of "Pantherism" to form a vanguard party to lead their struggle and link it to that of the New Afrikan and oppressed people of color around the world.

We understand that monopoly capitalism, which thrives upon the super exploitation of Third World people, both inside the imperialist countries and the neo-colonial countries of the Third World, cannot meet the needs or provide for the security of our people. We must do this ourselves by creating community-based People's Power. We must organize ourselves and link our struggles with those of the advanced detachments of the international proletariat IN ALL COUNTRIES to form a revolutionary United Front Against Imperialism.□

A Liberated Soul

by Hasan Shakur,

Minister of Human Rights, New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter

Reprinted from Right On!, No. # 2

As I sometimes sit and reflect – I always find myself in conflict with the surroundings around me. I find myself at odds with different personalities. I find myself at odds with passivity; hence, – I stand and make a difference. I know I will die or live a life in an eternal prison of the physical sense. Yet, I resist! I resist to the words of my comrade that echo in my head – "That's yo' life soldier, FIGHT!" I resist just as my mentor has done for practically his entire life. I resist with such intensity that I place fear into myself, not knowing at times my own boundaries. But I pose a question to you, the public, what are the boundaries of a dead man?

For you who know not who I am – I am Hasan Shakur, a product of an imperialist government, Human Rights Coalition (HRC) Advisory Council member, HRC-TX founder, Revolutionary Socialist to the 10th power and soon to be a soul liberator. You see – I was condemned to die by the Amerikan judicial system in the great Kountry of TeKKKs by the neo-nazicrats, who could give a damn less if my Black ass breathe or bleed. But, being a pupil of the great Comrade Maroon, I have learned to eschew the demented tricks of these parasites and continue to fight a system that many have come to think of as – INVINCIBLE.

At the very moment that I write this for your mind, brothas here have taken to heart their situation and came together to protest a system that is completely unjust on every single level; Brotha Gabriel, Brotha Egbuna, Brotha Reginald, and one of my closet comrades, Brotha Haramia. It makes me proud to the point of tears to mention these brothas' names, because I NEVER thought I would ever see anything like this in the TeKKKs criminal injustice system. More so as a couple of these brothas I have known almost ten years, and it makes me PROUD to say they are my people!

These brothas are on a DRIVE, and they have been protesting since NOVEMBER. They have been made subject to the same treatment that I have been going through for the last five or six years. BUT – as I always say – struggle has its own inner rewards, and it does no good to even get involved if you are unwilling to take the abuse, because it will

happen. These men have been repeatedly gassed, placed on food loaf [a brick of compressed food], endured months of cell restriction, (this is where you only come out of your cell for one hour a week), had their personal property taken, their mail stopped – you name it – and it has been done to them on a constant basis, yet, they have remained vigilant, and for that – I commend these Maroons!

As for myself, if it be the plan of the Creator - I will not be around much longer. My legal appeals have taken turns for the worse, and yet, the path of liberation continues to be my vocation, carving out a path for future revs to follow and carry the torch. I despise the class oppression that is the basis of this capitalist system and the racist national oppression that goes with it. Don't misunderstand me – there are STILL options left. I've still got another shot to overturn my DEATH SENTENCE, and I will SHOOT! So – if you want to get involved in helping me – you can, BUT I want you all to realize that this system of injustice is not just about me. I represent the fathers, sons, nephews, grandsons and brothers that constantly loose their lives to a complete farce of a system. A system that has been all about murderous oppression since 1492. The tricks are all the same, they just changed it from European to corporate Amerikan colonialism.

So I fight! I fight like there is no tomorrow. Because, for me,... I may not even see tomorrow. I fight like the system is trying to take my son from me, 'cause in truth,... they are! They built this system on IOUs, and the payment is your sons and daughters. I fight like they just disrespected my mother, because the crack cocaine that flowed through her system - that she died of an overdose of -- they done that! They took a 40 year old Black woman off the face of the earth. I fight so that TOMMORROW won't have to! "That's yo' life in there soldier!" Fight... Fight... Fight... Now that I think about it, Haramia was talking to me that day! I remain...

A Liberated Soul,

Hasan Shakur
aka Derrick Frazier #999284

George Jackson

By Bob Dylan

I woke up this mornin',
There were tears in my bed.
They killed a man I really loved
Shot him through the head.
Lord, Lord,
They cut George Jackson down.
Lord, Lord,
They laid him in the ground.

Sent him off to prison
For a seventy-dollar robbery.
Closed the door behind him
And they threw away the key.
Lord, Lord, They cut George Jackson down.
Lord, Lord,
They laid him in the ground.

He wouldn't take shit from no one
He wouldn't bow down or kneel.
Authorities, they hated him
Because he was just too real.

Lord, Lord,
They cut George Jackson down.
Lord, Lord,
They laid him in the ground.

Prison guards, they cursed him
As they watched him from above
But they were frightened of his power
They were scared of his love.
Lord, Lord,
So they cut George Jackson down.
Lord, Lord,
They laid him in the ground.

Sometimes I think this whole world
Is one big prison yard.
Some of us are prisoners
The rest of us are guards.
Lord, Lord,
They cut George Jackson down.
Lord, Lord,
They laid him in the ground.

Huey P. Newton on the Murder of George Jackson

28 August 1971

(Excerpts of the stirring eulogy that was delivered at Comrade George's Revolutionary Memorial Service on August 28, 1971, by Black Panther Party Minister of Defense, Huey P. Newton)

"When I went to prison in 1967, I met George. Not physically, I met him through his ideas, his thoughts and words that I would get from him. He was at Soledad Prison at the time; I was at California Penal Colony.

"George was a legendary figure all through the prison system, where he spent most of his life. You know a legendary figure is known to most people through the idea, or through the concept, or essentially through the spirit. So I met George through the spirit.

"I say that the legendary figure is also a hero. He set a standard for prisoners, political prisoners, for people. He showed the love, the strength, the revolutionary fervor that's characteristic of any soldier for the people. So we know that spiritual things can only manifest themselves in some physical act, through a physical mechanism. I saw prisoners who knew about this legendary figure, act in such a way, putting his ideas to life; so therefore the spirit became a life.

"And I would like to say today George's body has fallen, but his spirit goes on, because his ideas live. And we will see that these ideas stay alive, because they'll be manifested in our bodies and in those young Panther bodies, who are our children. So it's a true saying that there will be revolution from one generation to the next.

"What kind of standard did George Jackson set? First, that he was a strong man, he was determined, full of love, strength, dedication to the people's cause, without fear. He lived the life that we must praise. It was a life, no matter how he was oppressed, no matter how wrongly he was done, he still kept the love for the people. And this is why he felt no pain in giving up his life for the people's cause.

"The state sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in the world, that occurs in the prisons. The ruling circle of the United States has terrorized the world. The state has the audacity to say they have the right to kill. They say they have a death penalty and it's legal. But I say by the laws of nature that no death penalty can be legal - it's only cold-blooded murder. It gives spur to all sorts of violence, because every man has a contract with himself, that he must keep himself alive at all costs.

"They have the audacity to say that people should deliver a life to them without a struggle; but none of us can accept that. George Jackson had every right, every right to do everything possible to preserve his life and the life of his comrades, the life of the People.

"George Jackson, even after his death, you see, is going on living in a very real way; because after all, the greatest thing that we have is the idea and our spirit, because it can be passed on. Not in the superstitious sense, but in the sense that when we say something or we live a certain way, then when this can be passed on to another person, then life goes on. And that person somehow lives, because the standard that he set and the standard that he lived by will go on living ...

"Even with George's last statement - his last statement to me - at San Quentin that day, that terrible day, he left a standard for political prisoners; he left a standard for the prisoner society of racist, reactionary America; surely he left a standard for the liberation armies of the world. He showed us how to act. □



George Jackson Lives!



THE PLAGUE OF THE PANTHER'S TEETH

by Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter

Introduction

By Kevin "Rashid" Johnson
Minister of Defense, NABPP- PC

The following essay exposes to the New Afrikan Nation, and to all oppressed people everywhere, the very real threat posed by Amerikan fascism as it is evolving. Comrade Shaka recognizes that so long as the principle enemy of the peoples of the world is able to conceal its true nature with liberal democratic window dressing, its victims will remain confused and distracted, believing that some democratic form of redress of grievances is possible, not that we should not employ all means at our disposal to combat this enemy.

Comrade George Jackson was out in front at recognizing the true nature of Amerikan fascism and of the need to make revolution to defeat it. The fascists also recognized the threat he posed as a great revolutionary thinker, and they assassinated him. He did not fear death, and neither should we. Death comes to all. To die for the people is a glorious thing. To die for the imperialists and reactionaries is *lighter than a feather*. It is in the spirit of George Jackson that we continue what he and the other Black Panthers began.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



**THE PLAGUE OF THE
PANTHER'S TEETH**

Revisiting George Jackson's Analysis of Fascism.

by Comrade Shaka Sankofa Zulu

The revolutionary nationalist must face the objective fact of re-examining everything we know today about the nature of fascism and its real role in modern day capitalist economics. Monopoly capitalism and its lieutenant sector, along with the bourgeois corporate media, have the people duped into thinking that fascism is a thing of the past, when a brief examination into the ideology and practice of Amerikkkan neoliberal capitalistic imperialism shows that fascism is alive and well.

In Amerikkka, fascism has many disguises, but its primary function consists in economic exploitation and the dumbing down of society, so that critical thinking becomes obsolete and, participation benefits state power. As militant revolutionaries, a part of the world-wide socialist movement to break the back and sever the spinal chord of Imperialism, we must accept the obvious fact that our enemy is a fascist enemy that's alive and breathing down our necks every second of the day. Fascism is monopoly-corporativism, and the class that wields this power is very small. This small class controls the major means of production and distribution in the world, but its primary power structure rests here in Amerikkka. This small group, controls what we today call "Globalization," and this class or group has positioned itself firmly against socialist revolution. Therefore, they are our primary enemy.

First and foremost, we subscribe to the idea that Amerikkka is a qualitatively different fascist state than the fascists we read about in books. Amerikkkan fascism stands undetected because no exact example or definition exists as to its characteristics. As stated by comrade George Jackson, "The nature of fascism, its characteristics and properties have been in dispute ever since it was first identified as a distinct phenomenon growing out of Italy's state-supported and developed industries in 1922." But we are able to identify Amerikkka as a fascist state, because of two distinct features of fascism: "its capitalist orientation and anti-labor, anti-class nature." When comrade George states that it has an "anti-class" nature, he is making reference to fascism's "anti-people" nature as well. Fascism has the ability to seduce progressive and non-progressive people into championing its politics. The astute fascist will be skilled in the science of appealing to the real and imagined needs of the people. It will position itself as the savior and protector of the people.

We will show in this pamphlet that all silly arguments to the contrary are a waste of time, and that the revolutionary leftist movement must prepare now - should already be prepared - to accept this fact. Here's Comrade George:

"Fascism exists in this country, and it exists in disguise, and the disguise takes the form of all those idiotic, ridiculous statements about a welfare state. If anybody with any intelligence at all can look at the united states and come up with a conclusion that this is a welfare state or any resemblance of a welfare state, it's pure chicanery, an evasion of fact, dereliction of duty, and in most cases what they're doing is really cleaning up the fact that they didn't oppose capitalism, they didn't oppose hierarchy when they should have opposed them, in the 30's and 40's. They didn't fight then."

This definition explains the real nature of this system, which leapt into monopoly-corporativism at the close of the Civil War. Capitalism-imperialism has finally completed its last and highest stage of reform. We have to realize that fascism is shattering and crushing any hopes of justice and freedom for the people, unless its a hope or freedom that's tied economically into the system of bourgeois capitalism. We must also realize that fascism cannot defeat a politically determined revolutionary people.

As Black revolutionaries, we recognize the existence of the Black Nation in diaspora. That is to say, we hold that the tens of millions of Black people scattered throughout the Amerikkkan industrial centers constitute an oppressed nation, a colony. We seek the liberation of that colony - as a nation, and not as a mere class or racial minority. The predominantly white Left must join us in this struggle, for it will be the center city colonies and the Indian reservation kamps that will serve on the front-lines of militant revolutionary struggle. We all agree that the

power to cripple imperialist militarism springs from the bosom of organized labor, however, the failure to define the Amerikkkan ruling class as fascist has lead to different views, which prevent unitary conduct and revolutionary struggle.

Comrade George had this to say on the problem:

"The second notion that stands in the way of our understanding of fascist-corporativism is a semantic problem. When I am being interviewed by a member of the old guard - and point to the concrete and steel, the tiny electronic listening device concealed in the vent, the phalanx of goons peeping in at us, his barely functional plastic tape-recorder that cost him a week's labor, and point out that these are, all manifestations of fascism, he will invariably attempt to refute me by defining fascism simply as an economic geo-political affair where only one political party is allowed to exist aboveground and no opposition political party is allowed. But examine that definition of totalitarianism comrade.

"No opposition parties are allowed in China, Cuba, North Korea or North Vietnam. Such a narrow definition condemns the model revolutionary societies to totalitarianism. Despite the presence of political parties, there is only one legal politics in the U.S. - the politics of monopoly-corporativism."

There is not one iota of evidence to dispute this position. The politics of Amerikkkan capitalism rest on a two party system, - but the both of them share the same parent: monopoly-capital. Last year alone which was an election year to decide the next President for four years, the Republicans spent over 200 million dollars raised from monopoly-corporativism. The Democrats were not too far behind, but the corporate bashing slowed the influx of huge donations from oil and military companies.

In my first pamphlet called "Dossier of Struggle" I laid down this line: I don't care who owned Mom and Pop stores, corporate power pays their rent by furnishing products to sell on the market. And if they refuse to adhere to the dictates of corporate interest, the ruling class will simply send in a Wal-Mart that will force the stubborn store into bankruptcy.

I have termed this the economic face of fascism, and it may leave the impression with some that this is "good ole fashion business," but let me rush to drop this line from the BLA study guide: "...We see many of our people go into retail trade business as soon as they are able to scrounge, borrow, or steal the bare minimum to become "black capitalists." Much to their disillusionment they generally find that to own a corner grocery store, liquor store, or whatever is a great hassle that requires total dedication, work, and sacrifice -- just to keep their heads above water. Unable to take full advantage of the discount which accrues to wholesale purchase, they cannot compete with the monopoly retail capitalist who either own the wholesale outlet outright, or make their purchase in such huge wholesale lots that their discount is enormous."

Attorney Lynn Stewart, who defended accused "terrorists," was hauled before the courts to neutralize her and to send a message to others; people have been detained in military barracks for suspicion of having sympathies for, or a picture of, Osama Bin Laden; 2.3 million people are incarcerated in prisons across the country. This is the disguised form of fascism that's hidden from public scrutiny.

People that are more concerned with the trappings of this pseudo mass society and its spectacular leisure sports; parades where strangers meet, shout each other down and often trample each other on the way home will never see the ugly reality of fascism. Amerikkkan fascism is so effective in emotionally appealing to people's desires and fears that when we point out to them that Amerikkkan capitalism has had 200 years to disguise and refine its face, and 50 years to consolidate fascist control of the country, they would simply dismiss us. Comrade George referred to fascism's early roots when he made this statement: "a great many of the early trends of amerikan history prepared the way for the ultimate success of fascism in its highest form."

50 YEARS OF FASCIST CONSOLIDATION

Fascism consolidated its power here in Amerikkka during the close of World War Two. This was the second world war for colonial markets and imperialistic economic-military dominance. The point here is that Amerikkka sat out this war for three years thinking perhaps that Great Britain and France would defeat Hitler, but when France fell under German military might and Britain faced imminent defeat as well, and it looked like the contest would be decided between Germany and socialist Russia, Amerikkka had to find a way to militarily get into the game, so it threatened and bullied Japan behind closed doors. In short, Japan was given the impression that it faced imminent attack from the military might of the Amerikkkan ruling class, so it hit first and gave the excuse Amerikkka needed to join the fight. Capital migrated to the U.S., because strategically it was physically removed from actual fighting on its land. Plus Amerikkka represented at that time the champion of finance and industrial capitalism.

If one was to go back and review the history of that time, it will be obvious that the U.S. ruling class's problem was not with Hitler, but the real source of its worries was Japan extending colonial dominance over the Pacific Islands and the Philippines, which were Amerikkkan colonies. This was the economic motive for their participation in the fight.

Much of the Amerikkkan monopoly capitalist ruling class supported Hitler, including President Bush's grandfather, Prescott Bush, who was Hitler's banker in the U.S. and was later convicted during the war under the Trading With the Enemy Act. Henry Ford was awarded the Iron Cross by Hitler. The Rockefellers, Morgan Trust and GM (to name a few) had major commitments to the Third Reich. They did not care about the Jews being interned in concentration camps. That only became a part of the agenda when France, Russia, Great Britain, and Amerikkka formed the allied force (the Jews were being interned and murdered in camps since 1939. Almost three years before Amerikkka got involved). Ponder on this:

"Hitler understood that German capitalism could not pull itself out of the depression without expanding across its boundaries to steal the minerals, seaports, factories, and workers of surrounding countries. By contrast, Roosevelt's strategy was to use the threat of U.S. military power to keep Germany and Japan out of important U.S. markets. But while Germany and Japan were definitely the aggressors, it must be understood that the United States had previously committed genocide against the Indians in the white man's invasion of the continent; kidnapped millions of people from Africa and brought them to the U.S. as slaves; stolen the land of Chicano people in the Southwest; annexed Hawaii and Puerto Rico; and spread its tentacles into much of Latin America by the 1930s. If the United States was more defensive than Germany during this period, it was primarily because it had so much stolen wealth to defend."

Roosevelt himself admitted that the U.S. government had become an appendage of the great financial interests going back as far as Andrew Jackson's administration. Even though there were powerful financial interests in this country backing Germany, the "smart money" saw the opportunity to come out of WWII as the top imperialist power and scoop up the colonial markets and resources of France and England by coming to their aid: Which is exactly what happened.

Because the Soviet Union was at this time a socialist country and the headquarters of the world communist movement, many socialist and revolutionary people saw the U.S. joining the Allied cause as a progressive step, and they tended to turn a blind eye to the actual class nature of the capitalist democracies and to forget that they are fundamentally class dictatorships with their own imperialist designs.

This ideologically and politically disarmed the workers and other progressive people and the oppressed generally by promoting the illusion of post-war partnership and democratic transition to world socialism, as well as the illusion that fascism was something other than monopoly capitalism stripped of the pretence of liberal democracy or human rights. People were not prepared when the U.S. imperialists immediately launched the Cold War at the end of WWII, turning on their wartime allies and the Left and progressive people at home, driving them from the trade unions, universities, Hollywood and the mass media in an anti-communist "witch hunt." Those who had been openly fascist before the war, such as

the Dulles brothers, Joe McCarthy, J. Edgar Hoover and the Bush clan, were now super-patriots, rehabilitated and leading the crusade.

Having failed to challenge the term "totalitarianism," a term devoid of class content, when applied to the Nazis regime, the Left was now tarred with the same brush, while the real history of Amerika, the genocide, slavery and cruel exploitation of the workers was white-washed away. Hand in hand with repression came concessions under the banner of Cold War liberalism, higher wages, improved working conditions, civil rights legislation, unemployment compensation and social security as well as graduated income taxes.

Of course, we are seeing all this disappear in the post-Cold War period. But still, many so-called "leftists" call on us to hitch our hopes to the Democratic Party and abandon thoughts of making revolution or building socialism. They seek to sidetrack the true Left and keep the oppressed masses "in their place."

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter NABPP-PC) must come to terms with this fact that we must organize ourselves for the eventuality of socialist revolution aimed at putting workers in power – a revolution to crush and smash monopoly capitalism – and overthrow fascism.

A TOOL OF REACTIONARY BRIBERY

The New Afrikan partisan connected to the revolutionary New Afrikan Black Panther Party understands that these loud debates with so-called "leftist elements" are only distracting us from the task of revolution. This ploy by so-called "leftists" to trick us into holding our revolution in abeyance has been exposed. We will fight this revolution without them, but if possible, the joint operation by both the New Afrikan and white leftist revolutionaries will make the task simpler. But we can't afford to wait while our oppressor is bribing and co-opting us to do its imperialistic work against world revolution. Comrade George said this:

"The shock troops of fascism on the mass political level are drawn from members of the lower-middle class who feel the upward thrust of the lower classes more acutely. These classes feel that any dislocation of the present economy resulting from the upward thrust of the masses would affect their status first. They are joined by that sector of the working class which is backward enough to be affected by nationalistic trappings and loyalty syndrome that sociologists have termed the 'Authoritarian Personality.' One primary aim of the fascist arrangement is to extend and develop this new pig class, to degenerate and diffuse working-class consciousness with a psycho-social appeal to man's herd instincts. Development and exploitation of the authoritarian syndrome is at the center of 'totalitarian' capitalism (fascism). It feeds on a small but false sense of class consciousness and the need for community."

While we accept the notion that the "gravediggers of capitalism" most certainly are the workers, however, our struggle is not simply one of proletariat verses the bourgeoisie; our struggle is a national liberation struggle, in which the whole of the Black Nation is oppressed and exploited by the ruling power structure. We must confront our oppression as an oppressed nation. We will not wait until the White Left becomes upset at the prospect of loosing their S.U.V. trucks before we move the central city against exploitation and fascist arrangement. The White Left must realize that in any fight against imperialism, New Afrikans will be on the frontline dying and sacrificing as revolutionaries and "it is our objective to move ourselves and the people into actions that will culminate in the seizure of state power. Our real purpose is to redeem not merely ourselves but the whole nation and the whole community of nations from colonial-community economic repression."

NEW AFRIKAN WORKERS ARE THE MOST DYNAMIC FORCE IN AMERIKKKA

The workers will awaken when they are approached with "clipboard in hand" and on it laid down a set of ideas and ideals as to how a particular set of socio-political problems should best be addressed. But these ideas and ideals should come from understanding the actual needs of the people. And we must not expect everyone to respond positively to the idea of revolution.

The degree and depth of "psycho-social conditioning instilled from birth" will work against us from time to time.

Another area that needs to be disputed pertains to this misconception that North American White workers by themselves are the only revolutionary force in this country. We reject that. The argument could be made that these particular White workers are the most greedy and individualistic class in all of labor's history. And if one desired to extend this argument and say that Amerikkkan workers seem to adore and admire its bosses and bankers, he/she will have a valid position to stand on. Example: How did all of those millionaires get power?

The argument that the rich simply paid their way into office is so silly that it barely merits response. The thing is this, trying to analyze what is happening with this system and the workers that propel it forward must be viewed from a historical position. And the historical record indicates that the rich never paid their way into power. They actually created this system that favors them. "On May 14, 1787, the constitutional convention with George Washington presiding officer, the work of framing the nation's constitution proceeded with fifty-five persons and only two were not employers!!!" So the rich merchants and putrid slave masters created this system to serve their own class interests. And don't forget the fact that New Afrikans were classified as three fifths of a human being, with no rights at all, while the Indians faced genocidal extirpation.

STAY FOCUSED

The New Afrikan revolutionist must refrain from the petty, squabbles that seem to immobilize others from acting to build the necessary structures for national liberation. The stupid argument by "leftist elements" to unite around John Kerry and the Democratic Party in order to defeat George Bush overturns Karl Marx's golden rule that the bourgeoisie "creates a world after its own image." They know they are betraying the people, but in their mind they aspire to be like the class that oppresses the world community, and now we are seeing it under the threat of George Bush wanting to completely totalitarianize the whole world, not just Amerikkka. We implore New Afrikan people to join the New Afrikan Black Panther Party, and to hell with Ralph Nader, to hell with John Kerry, and to hell with George Bush. Join the revolution!

THE ENEMY IN RADICAL CLOTHES

Fascism has proven over time to have three faces that sometimes fool people into thinking they are progressive or revolutionary. Comrade George put it this way:

"Historically it has proved to have three different faces. One 'out of power' that tends almost to be revolutionary and subversive, anti-capitalist and anti-socialist. One 'in power but not secure' - this is the sensational aspect of fascism that we see on screen and read of in pulp novels, when the ruling class, through its instrumental regime, is able to suppress the vanguard party of the people's and workers' movement. The third face of fascism exists when it is 'in power and securely so.' - During this phase some dissent may be allowed."

During the "out of power" phase, we see all kinds of language that convinces some people that this is a revolutionary group that's really for the people. This group participates in programs that awaken social awareness. You see them at anti-war demos chanting "No Blood for Oil!" They talk about putting pressure on George Bush, but "realistically admit" that "we" can't just pull out "our" troops just yet.

The second phase of "in power but not secure" is when all the people that supported this same sounding revolutionary group have moved to put them in the seats of power. During this period, the group spends very little time on building the country, but rather it has other pressing needs, which require the imprisonment of its former allies and comrades. The new group chases down all imaginary and credible threats to its existence.

The third phase of "in power and securely so" is that period when Neo-Liberalism has pacified the masses and suppressed the real Left. All the productive points of state and ruling class interest are now securely manned by the new shock troops. The state feels secure enough to allow us the luxury of faint protest. Take protest too far, however, and

they will show their other face. Doors will be kicked down in the night and machine-gun fire and buckshot will be the medium of exchange.

If the state is secure and strong, it will permit elections that cost the average person \$100 million or so dollars to get elected. And if a few Blacks are elected to the Congress or Senate, they will be confined and alienated by committees that restrict passage of anything. Congressman John Conyers every year keeps putting on the record his bill called H.R. 40 that calls for the study of reparations. This is only calling for the study of reparations, but each year the bill faces certain death by powerful committees. The amount of money being expended in these foolish elections could be used to build infrastructures that serve the needs of the people.

"Elections and political parties have no significance when all serious contenders for public office are fascist and the electorate is thoroughly misled about the true nature of the candidates. One cannot say all the people who vote are unaware, just as one cannot say the twelve hundred professors who backed Mussolini were all frightened. Those who are aware and still do nothing constructive are among the most pathetic victims of the totalitarian process."

We have to take to the streets and the communities where our vote in the people will do some good. The people will respond positively when they see constructive programs to better their condition and the building of people's power. Many times in the past we have approached people with programs that originate in our heads and they no where conform to the actual reality of the people.

Let's not delude ourselves any longer. We are dealing with a cold vicious class of cutthroats and compromise with them means putting bullets in our heads.

THE NEW AFRIKAN BLACK PANTHER PARTY - PRISON CHAPTER

The New Afrikan Black Panther is the individual that understands and perpetuates the ideology of New Afrikan revolutionary nationalism and strongly supports independence for the people based on "from the masses to the masses." The revolutionary Party will essentially comprise elements from the Black workers, the lumpen and lower-middle classes that have surrendered their non-proletarian ideology to combat the aggressive neo-colonial factions in leadership positions in the central cities of Amerikkka.

The neo-colonial agents must be exposed for their outright collaboration and betrayal of the people. The Black Panther has no needs that outweigh the importance of the struggle or the people. To win the people over to the importance of independence, the Black Panther must live with the people; struggle with them; study with them; fight beside them, and if need be, die for them.

THE MASSES OF PEOPLE

The meaning of "The People" comes through clearly when one thinks of their mother, father, sister and brother, but the broader concept is what's being referred to here. When we say "The People," we mean those people that support and actively mobilize and organize for revolutionary socialist government, those who no longer consent to be ruled as slaves and who realize that they have nothing to lose but their chains.

CLASS STRUGGLE

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter embraces class struggle as a means to organize, agitate, and educate the people. However our class struggle incorporates resisting our national oppression and the racist domination of the Black Nation, (i.e., neo-colonialism). Let me make it clear that the Panther has many enemies, including collaborationist Negroes and their slave masters; so to prevent these collaborators and class enemies from subverting the cause of revolution, we have to engage in class analysis and struggle. Example: The underclass does not benefit from the wealth accrued by monopoly-corporatism, but elements of the black upper-middle class have a stake in the maintenance of monopoly-capital because their big houses and lifestyle comes from it. These Blacks serve as managers and executives in these companies. They are what we today would call agents of fascism.

We are not talking about all upper-middle class Blacks, just the ones that hobnob with the likes of Condoleezza Rice and Clarence Thomas (or wish they could). These turn-coats work harder than the man to maintain economic disparity and the oppression of us. In short, the class struggle will be between two forces: New Afrikan people under the leadership of a progressive/aggressive, revolutionary vanguard party and its allies verses the monopoly capitalists (not all white people) and their functionaries.

ON SEXISM

The ugly head of sexism and gender disparaging has its roots, fundamentally, within the capitalist patriarchal system. We implore all revolutionaries to fight against the relegation of woman to second-class status within the revolutionary movement and in the broader society. Always remember that socialism is not just an economic system, but more than that, it is a new way of human relations. Comrade "Rashid" Johnson sent me a piece on wimyn and their role in struggle that will be quoted here:

"We can't generate People's war if we continue to act & to think as if all people are men, and as if all children are boys. We can't build a mass movement if we fail to allow wimyn a proportional share of power."

A LAST WORD

We implore all serious people to get connected with a progressive group in their community. The hour of procrastination won't save those people that sleep on park benches around the corner from your house. They need you now!

SEIZE THE TIME! DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN!

All my quotes/sources come from Blood In My Eye: The Political Thought of Comrade George Jackson, and the BLA Study Guide.

More Thoughts on Amerikan Fascism and Our Contemporary Situation

By Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

"If the tactics of the bourgeoisie were always uniform or at least homogeneous, the working class would have quickly learned to reply by equally uniform or homogeneous tactics. The bourgeoisie in all countries in practice inevitably elaborates two systems of governing, two methods of struggle for its interests and for the defense of its domination, and these two methods now replace one another and now interlace in different combinations. These are first the method of violence, the method of refusing all concessions to the labor movement, the method of supporting all ancient and dying institutions, the method of uncompromising rejection of all reforms. Such is the substance of conservative policy, which is more or less ceasing to be in Western Europe the policy of the landlord classes, and is ever more becoming one of the varieties of general bourgeois policy. The second method is the method of 'liberalism,' of steps towards the development of political rights, of reforms, of concessions, etc.

"The bourgeoisie passes from one method to another not through the malicious design of individuals and not by accident, but by force of the basic contradictoriness of its own position. A normal capitalist society cannot successfully develop without a stabilized representative system, without certain political rights being granted to

the population, which is necessarily distinguished by the comparatively high claims it presents with regard to 'culture'..."

V.I. Lenin, "Introduction to Marx, Engels, Marxism"

What is Fascism?

By Comrade Rashid

"The Fascist State organizes the nation, but it leaves sufficient scope to individuals; it has *limited useless or harmful liberties* and has preserved those that are essential. It cannot be the individual who decides in this matter, but only the State." – Benito Mussolini, 1922

"Fascism is capitalism in decline." – V.I. Lenin

In the late 19th Century, banking and industrial capital merged to form finance capital and ushered in the Age of Proletarian Revolution. V.I. Lenin pointed this out in *Imperialism the Highest Stage of Capitalism*. However, Lenin by no means meant that Imperialism (monopoly capitalism) would not itself continue to evolve until it was overthrown. In fact, he emphasized that we must define imperialism "as capitalism in transition, or, more precisely as moribund capitalism," or capitalism in decay, capitalism rotten ripe for revolution.

He emphasized that this decay was by no means negated by the rapidity of its growth, that the accelerated growth rate was symptomatic of its rottenness and parasitism. And that this decay manifested itself most profoundly in the countries richest in capital. Since Lenin's time, we have seen the evolution of Fascism as an even more virulent form of imperialism.

Lenin also recognized that in whatever stage of its evolution, capitalism balances two approaches to maintaining its power and control over the working masses 1.) The Carrot – bribery and liberal concessions, and 2.) The Stick – violence and repression. In Lenin's words:

"The receipt of high monopoly profits by the capitalists in one of the numerous branches of industry, in one of the numerous countries, etc., makes it economically possible for them to bribe certain sections of the workers, and for a time a fairly considerable minority of them, and win them to the side of the bourgeoisie of a given industry or given nation against all the others. The intensification of antagonisms between imperialist nations for the division of the world increases this striving. And so there is created that bond between imperialism and opportunism, which revealed itself first and most clearly in England, owing to the fact that certain features of imperialist development were observable there much earlier than in other countries."

Fascism emerged in Italy and spread to Germany and other countries which did not have the colonial base to extract super-profits from to compete with the Western Democracies in the employment of bribery for the workers. Thus they employed "the stick." Ironically, Fascism, founded in 1919 by Benito Mussolini, should come from the name of a bundle of sticks. The Italian name of the movement, *fascismo*, is derived from *fascio*, "bundle, (political) group," but also refers to the movement's emblem, the *fascis*, a bundle of rods (sticks) bound around a projecting axe-head that was carried before an ancient Roman magistrate by an attendant as a symbol of authority and power. In Mussolini's words:

"...For Fascism, the growth of empire, that is to say the expansion of the nation, is an essential manifestation of vitality, and its opposite a sign of decadence. Peoples which are rising, or rising again after a period of decadence, are always imperialist; and renunciation is a sign of decay and of death. Fascism is the doctrine best adapted to represent the tendencies and the aspirations of a people, like the people of Italy, who are rising again after many centuries of abasement and foreign servitude.

But empire demands discipline, the coordination of all forces and a deeply felt sense of duty and sacrifice: this fact explains many aspects of the practical working of the regime, the character of many forces in the State, and the necessarily severe measures which must be taken against those who would oppose this spontaneous and inevitable movement of Italy in the twentieth century, and would oppose it by recalling the outworn ideology of the nineteenth century - repudiated wheresoever there has been the courage to undertake great experiments of social and political transformation; for never before has the nation stood more in need of authority, of direction and order. If every age has its own characteristic doctrine, there are a thousand signs which point to Fascism as the characteristic doctrine of our time. For if a doctrine must be a living thing, this is proved by the fact that Fascism has created a living faith; and that this faith is very powerful in the minds of men is demonstrated by those who have suffered and died for it."

Dr. Lawrence Britt has examined the fascist regimes of Hitler (Germany), Mussolini (Italy), Franco (Spain), Suharto (Indonesia) and several Latin American regimes. Britt found 14 defining characteristics common to each:

1. **Powerful and Continuing Nationalism** - Fascist regimes tend to make constant use of patriotic mottos, slogans, symbols, songs, and other paraphernalia. Flags are seen everywhere, as are flag symbols on clothing and in public displays.
2. **Disdain for the Recognition of Human Rights** - Because of fear of enemies and the need for security, the people in fascist regimes are persuaded that human rights can be ignored in certain cases because of "need." The people tend to look the other way or even approve of torture, summary executions, assassinations, long incarcerations of prisoners, etc.
3. **Identification of Enemies/Scapegoats as a Unifying Cause** - The people are rallied into a unifying patriotic frenzy over the need to eliminate a perceived common threat or foe: racial, ethnic or religious minorities; liberals; communists; socialists, terrorists, etc.
4. **Supremacy of the Military** - Even when there are widespread domestic problems, the military is given a disproportionate amount of government funding, and the domestic agenda is neglected. Soldiers and military service are glamorized.
5. **Rampant Sexism** - The governments of fascist nations tend to be almost exclusively male-dominated. Under fascist regimes, traditional gender roles are made more rigid. Divorce, abortion and homosexuality are suppressed and the state is represented as the ultimate guardian of the family institution.
6. **Controlled Mass Media** - Sometimes the media is directly controlled by the government, but in other cases, the media is indirectly controlled by government regulation, or sympathetic media spokespeople and executives. Censorship, especially in war time, is very common.
7. **Obsession with National Security** - Fear is used as a motivational tool by the government over the masses.
8. **Religion and Government are Intertwined** - Governments in fascist nations tend to use the most common religion in the nation as a tool to manipulate public opinion. Religious rhetoric and terminology is common from government leaders, even when the major tenets of the religion are diametrically opposed to the government's policies or actions.
9. **Corporate Power is Protected** - The industrial and business aristocracy of a fascist nation often are the ones who put the government leaders into power, creating a mutually beneficial business/government relationship and power elite.
10. **Labor Power is Suppressed** - Because the organizing power of labor is the only real threat to a fascist government, labor unions are either eliminated entirely, or are severely suppressed.
11. **Disdain for Intellectuals and the Arts** - Fascist nations tend to promote and tolerate open hostility to higher education, and academia.

It is not uncommon for professors and other academics to be censored or even arrested. Free expression in the arts and letters is openly attacked.

12. **Obsession with Crime and Punishment** - Under fascist regimes, the police are given almost limitless power to enforce laws. The people are often willing to overlook police abuses and even forego civil liberties in the name of patriotism. There is often a national police force with virtually unlimited power in fascist nations.

13. **Rampant Cronyism and Corruption** - Fascist regimes almost always are governed by groups of friends and associates who appoint each other to government positions and use governmental power and authority to protect their friends from accountability. It is not uncommon in fascist regimes for national resources and even treasures to be appropriated or even outright stolen by government leaders.

14. **Fraudulent Elections** - Sometimes elections in fascist nations are a complete sham. Other times elections are manipulated by smear campaigns against or even assassination of opposition candidates, use of legislation to control voting numbers or political district boundaries, and manipulation of the media. Fascist nations also typically use their judiciaries to manipulate or control elections.

From Liberty Forum

George Jackson pointed out in his essay "Classes at War: Mobilization and Contra-Mobilization," That at home Amerika's liberal fascist mode took on the form of liberal democracy in the "New Deal," and after WWII as Cold War liberalism - which applied neo-colonialism in the 3rd World (namely replacing European colonial administrations with overtly fascist native ones under the pretense of promoting "democracy.") While at home, Cold War liberalism combined intense anti-Communist propaganda and McCarthyism with liberal concessions promoting opportunism in the trade unions and the Civil Rights movement.

The super profits generated from super exploitation in the 3rd World financed the bribery of a section of the industrial working class to the point where some unionized workers were actually being paid more than the value of their labor. This served the dual purpose of both winning the unions away from the "reds" and "radicals" who had built them and enabling the large multinational-based corporations to squeeze out and absorb the smaller national-based companies, who could not pay the higher wages and compete, allowing the monopoly capitalists to consolidate their control over the U.S. economy.

WWII had pulled the U.S. economy out of the "Great Depression." As Richard B. DuBoff pointed out in *Accumulation and Power: An Economic History of the United States*:

"Only the second world war ended the Great Depression. "Rearmament" com-menced in 1940, and over the next year, before the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, military spending jumped more than six-fold, to 11 percent of the GNP. It rose to 42 percent of the GNP in 1943-44. Under this mighty stimulus, real national product increased 65 percent from 1940 through 1944, industrial production by 90 percent... What had really happened between 1929 and 1933 is that the institutions of the nineteenth-century free market growth broke down, beyond repair... The tumultuous passage from the depression of the 1930s to the total economic mobilization of the 1940s was the watershed in twentieth century capitalism. After that nothing in the macroeconomy would ever be the same; there was no going back to the days of a pure, practically unregulated capitalist economic order."

The merger of corporate and state interests was a reality. As Fred J. Borch, the president of G.E., put it in a speech before the Economic Club of New York on November 9, 1964: "Overriding both the common and cross-purposes of business and government, there is a broader pattern - a consensus if you will, where public and private interest come together, cooperate, interact, and become the national interest." Mussolini would have applauded loudly.

Let us return again to Lenin, for it is impossible to really grasp what fascism is without firmly grasping what imperialism as the highest stage of capitalism is all about, for it is the economic essence that drives fascism and determines the form it will take:

"We have seen that in its economic essence imperialism is monopoly capitalism. This in itself determines its place in history, for monopoly that grows out of the soil of free competition, and precisely out of free competition, is the transition from the capitalist system to a higher social-economic order. We must take special note of the four principal types of monopoly, or principal manifestations of monopoly capitalism, which are characteristic of the epoch we are examining.

"Firstly, monopoly arose out of a very high stage of development of the concentration of production. This refers to the monopolist capitalist combines, cartels, syndicates and trusts. We have seen the important part these play in present-day economic life. At the beginning of the twentieth century, monopolies had acquired complete supremacy in the advanced countries, and although the first steps towards the formation of the cartels were first taken by countries enjoying the protection of high tariffs (Germany, America), Great Britain, with her system of free trade, revealed the same basic phenomenon, only a little later, namely, the birth of monopoly out of the concentration of production.

"Secondly, monopolies have stimulated the seizure of the most important sources of raw materials, especially for the basic and most highly cartelized industries in capitalist society: the coal and iron industries. The monopoly of the most important sources of raw materials has enormously increased the power of big capital, and has sharpened the antagonism between cartelized and non-cartelized industry.

"Thirdly, monopoly has sprung from the banks. The banks have developed from humble middlemen enterprises into the monopolists of finance capital. Some three to five of the biggest banks in each of the foremost capitalist countries have achieved the "personal union" of industrial and bank capital, and have concentrated in their hands the control of thousands upon thousands of millions which form the greater part of the capital and income of entire countries. A financial oligarchy, which throws a close network of dependence relationships over all the economic and political institutions of present-day bourgeois society without exception – such is the most striking manifestation of this monopoly.

"Fourthly, monopoly has grown out of colonial policy. To the numerous "old" motives of colonial policy, finance capital has added the struggle for the sources of raw materials, for the export of capital, for "spheres of influence," i.e., for spheres for profitable deals, concessions, monopolist profits and so on, and finally, for economic territory in general. When the colonies of the European powers in Africa, for instance, comprised only one-tenth of that territory (as was the case in 1876), colonial policy was able to develop by methods other than those of monopoly – by the "free grabbing" of territories, so to speak. But when nine-tenths of Africa had been seized (by 1900), when the whole world had been divided up, there was inevitably ushered in the era of monopoly ownership of colonies and, consequently, of particularly intense struggle for the division and the redivision of the world.

"The extent to which monopolist capital has intensified all the contradictions of capitalism is generally known. It is sufficient to mention the high cost of living and the tyranny of the cartels. This intensification of contradictions constitutes the most powerful driving force of the transitional period of history, which began from the time of the final victory of world finance capital.

"Monopolies, oligarchy, the striving for domination instead of striving for liberty, the exploitation of an increasing number of small or weak nations by a handful of the richest or most powerful nations – all these have given birth to those distinctive characteristics of imperialism which compel us to define it as parasitic or decaying capitalism. More and more prominently there emerges, as one of the tendencies of imperialism, the creation of the "rentier state," the usurer state, in which the bourgeoisie to an ever increasing degree lives on the proceeds of capital exports and by "clipping coupons." It would be a mistake to believe that this tendency to decay precludes the rapid growth of capitalism. It does not. In the epoch of imperialism, certain branches of industry, certain strata of the bourgeoisie and certain countries betray, to a greater or lesser degree, now one and now another of these tendencies. On the whole, capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before; but this growth is not only becoming more and more uneven in

general, its unevenness also manifests itself, in particular, in the decay of the countries which are richest in capital (England)."

In the space between WWI and WWII, monopoly capitalism plunged the world into the Great Depression, with the exception of the then socialist Soviet Union. The overtly fascist Axis Powers (led by Germany, Italy and Japan) formed a bloc to challenge the Western European imperialists and the U.S. for a redivision of the world's spheres of influence and domination. (After the Spanish Civil War, fascist Spain and Portugal remained "neutral.") There were strong movements towards overt fascism in the west, most notably in France, but also in England with the National Front, and in the U.S., where the KKK reached its peak strength in the 1920s and the American Nazis Party (and others of their ilk) held mass rallies. A significant section of the bankers, (including Prescott Bush, George W. Bush's grandfather, who was Hitler's banker in New York), and industrialists, like Henry Ford, (who was awarded the Iron Cross by Hitler), openly called for overt fascism in America. *Time Magazine* even made Mussolini its "Man of the Year."

While FDR and his "New Deal" did not pull the U.S. economy out of the Great Depression, it did stave off overt fascism and succeeded in pulling a significant section of the rising Left into the opportunist belief that socialism could be achieved through liberal democratic reform rather than revolution. Few identified the "New Deal" as a covert form of fascism.

When the Axis Powers made their bid to conquer Europe and grab up their rivals colonial possessions, and at the same time to invade and attempt to conquer the Soviet Union, the Left jumped to unite with their own bourgeoisie, forgetting the class struggle in the name of a United Front Against Fascism.

The Left had a hard time coming to grips with the rise of fascism and flip flopped on how to respond to it. At first it was seen as no big threat. Many former socialists and anarchists were recruited into its ranks during fascism's "left" phase, when it was out of power. Mussolini had himself been kicked out of the Socialist Party, and Hitler had been a police spy within the socialist movement. So they were familiar with how to conduct propaganda to appeal to sections of the working masses. After gaining power, the fascists moved against the Left with a vengeance. This too was hard for the Left to gauge and the tendency was to only recognize fascism in its overt form and see it as wholly outside the framework of bourgeois democracy.

THE CLASS CHARACTER OF FASCISM

"Comrades, fascism in power was correctly described by the Thirteenth Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Communist International as the open terrorist dictatorship of the most reactionary, most chauvinistic and most imperialist elements of finance capital.

The most reactionary variety of fascism is the German type of fascism. It has the effrontery to call itself National Socialism, though it has nothing in common with socialism. German fascism is not only bourgeois nationalism, it is fiendish chauvinism. It is a government system of political gangsterism, a system of provocation and torture practised upon the working class and the revolutionary elements of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. It is medieval barbarity and bestiality, it is unbridled aggression in relation to other nations.

German fascism is acting as the spearhead of international counter-revolution, as the chief instigator of imperialist war, as the initiator of a crusade against the Soviet Union, the great fatherland of the working people of the whole world.

Fascism is not a form of state power "standing above both classes – the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," as Otto Bauer, for instance, has asserted. It is not "the revolt of the petty bourgeoisie which has captured the machinery of the state," as the British Socialist Brailsford declares. No, fascism is not a power standing above class, nor government of the petty bourgeoisie or the lumpen-proletariat over finance capital. Fascism is the power of finance capital itself. It is the organization of terrorist vengeance against the working class and the revolutionary section of the peasantry and intelligentsia. In foreign policy, fascism is jingoism in its most brutal form, fomenting bestial hatred of other nations.

This, the true character of fascism, must be particularly stressed because in a number of countries, under cover of social

demagoguery, fascism has managed to gain the following of the mass of the petty bourgeoisie that has been dislocated by the crisis, and even of certain sections of the most backward strata of the proletariat. These would never have supported fascism if they had understood its real character and its true nature.

The development of fascism, and the fascist dictatorship itself, assume different forms in different countries, according to historical, social and economic conditions and to the national peculiarities, and the international position of the given country. In certain countries, principally those in which fascism has no broad mass basis and in which the struggle of the various groups within the camp of the fascist bourgeoisie itself is rather acute, fascism does not immediately venture to abolish parliament, but allows the other bourgeois parties, as well as the Social-Democratic Parties, to retain a modicum of legality. In other countries, where the ruling bourgeoisie fears an early outbreak of revolution, fascism establishes its unrestricted political monopoly, either immediately or by intensifying its reign of terror against and persecution of all rival parties and groups. This does not prevent fascism, when its position becomes particularly acute, from trying to extend its basis and, without altering its class nature, trying to combine open terrorist dictatorship with a crude sham of parliamentarism...."

— Georgi Dimitrov, (*The Fascist Offensive and the Tasks of the Communist International in the Struggle of the Working Class against Fascism, Main Report delivered at the Seventh World Congress of the Communist International*)

It is a big mistake to view overt fascism as stronger and more dangerous than covert fascism. Rather it is an expression of weakness and desperation. So long as they can, the monopoly capitalists will mask their dictatorship and maintain the illusion of liberal democracy.

Dimitrov had this backwards. The Axis Powers were from the start weaker than the more established western imperialists, and they were doomed from the start to lose their bid for world domination, but few in the communist movement, other than Mao Tse-tung, could see this. When ordered to subordinate the Chinese Red Army to the nationalist KMT, he only changed the army's name. He never surrendered control of it nor the liberated base areas it controlled to the KMT, whom he recognized as being fascist to the core. He never gave up the initiative of the Chinese Communist Party and its revolutionary orientation to the United Front Against Fascism.

Unfortunately, this was not the case elsewhere. Even the Communist International was disbanded in the interest of building closer ties with the Western "democracies." In America, the CPUSA completely let down its guard and abandoned the class struggle, and it deluded itself with the illusion of post-war cooperation between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and was completely taken by surprise when the U.S. initiated the Cold War. So were the CPs of Western Europe and the leadership of the Soviet Union.

Instead of rallying the workers and masses to resist McCarthyism, the Party ordered its cadre who were hauled before the House of Un-American Activities Committee to plead the Fifth like criminals and meekly accept being blacklisted. It liquidated the Party in the South without discussion, and it ordered half its cadre to go underground and await the onset of "fascism" and left them there. When the revolutionary upsurge came in the 60s, there was no communist vanguard party to give it leadership. It had thrown itself on its sword in the 50s. It was up to the revolutionary masses to create their own vanguard party.

Amerika is moving towards overt fascism, because of weakness:

"As in Italy and Germany in the '20s and '30s, business associations clamour for more deregulation and deeper tax cuts. The gradual erosion of antitrust legislation, especially in the United States, has encouraged consolidation in many sectors of the economy by way of mergers and acquisitions. The North American economy has become more monopolistic than at any time in the post-WWII period.

"U.S. census data from 1997 shows that the largest four companies in the food, motor vehicle and aerospace industries control 53.4, 87.3 and 55.6 per cent of their respective markets. Over 20 per cent of commercial banking in the U.S. is controlled by

the four largest financial institutions, with the largest 50 controlling over 60 per cent. Even these numbers underestimate the scope of concentration, since they do not account for the myriad interconnections between firms by means of debt instruments and multiple directorships, which further reduce the extent of competition.

"Actual levels of U.S. commercial concentration have been difficult to measure since the 1970s, when strong corporate opposition put an end to the Federal Trade Commission's efforts to collect the necessary information.

"Fewer, larger competitors dominate all economic activity, and their political will is expressed with the millions of dollars they spend lobbying politicians and funding policy formulation in the many right-wing institutes that now limit public discourse to the question of how best to serve the interests of business.

"The consolidation of the economy and the resulting perversion of public policy are themselves fascistic. I am certain, however, that former president Bill Clinton was not worried about fascism when he repealed federal antitrust laws that had been enacted in the 1930s." —

Paul Bigioni, (*Fascism then Fascism now?* Toronto Star, November 27, 2005)

The monopoly capitalist class is in trouble. Not because the Left is so strong, but because imperialism is moribund capitalism, and it is in decay from within. □

WAR IS A RACKET!

Marine Corps Major General Smedly Butler was a two-time Congressional Medal of Honor winner. After he retired, he was asked by a group of powerful right-wing, essentially fascist, businessmen to lead a military coup against the Roosevelt Administration. He refused. The following is a partial reproduction of his article in the progressive magazine *Common Sense*, November 1935, Volume IV, Number 11, p. 8. 25 cents.

America's Armed Forces in Time of Peace: The Army

BY MAJOR GENERAL SMEDLY D. BUTLER

The New Deal has dealt us a military and naval hand that makes us big time contenders in the war racket. Events in Ethiopia indicate that all too soon it will be our turn to play the cards. We ought to make a good showing. We're getting plenty of practice. Our army and navy have only recently completed their largest and most ambitious peacetime maneuvers. Our National Guardsmen have done even better. In the past two years, large National Guard forces have seen active service in 20 strikes in as many different states, from the Pacific Coast to New England, from Minnesota to Georgia. They have used gas, bullets, and tanks—the most lethal weapons of modern war—against striking workers. Casualty lists have been impressive. In one instance they erected barbed wire concentration camps in Georgia to "coordinate" striking workers with all the efficiency of the fascist repressive technique. There isn't a trick in the racketeering bag that the military gang is blind to. It has its "finger men" (to point out enemies), its "muscle men" (to destroy enemies), its "brain guys," (to plan war preparations) and a "Big Boss," (super-nationalistic capitalism).

I Was a "Racketeer"

It may seem odd for me, a military man, to adopt such a comparison. Truthfulness compels me to. I spent 33 years and 4 months in active service as a member of our country's most agile military force—the Marine Corps. I served in all commissioned ranks from a second lieutenant to Major-General. And during that period I spent most of my time being a high-class muscle man for Big Business, for Wall Street and for the bankers. In short, I was a racketeer for capitalism.

I suspected I was just part of a racket at the time. Now I am sure of it. Like all members of the military profession I never had an original thought until I left the service. My mental faculties remained in suspended animation while I obeyed the orders of the higher-ups. This is typical of everyone in the military service. Thus I helped make Mexico and especially Tampico safe for American oil interests in 1914. I helped make Haiti and Cuba a decent place for the National City Bank boys to collect revenues in. I helped in the raping of half a dozen Central American republics for the benefit of Wall Street. The record of racketeering is long. I helped purify Nicaragua for the international banking house of Brown Brothers in 1909-12. I brought light to the Dominican Republic for American sugar interests in 1916. I helped make Honduras "right" for American fruit companies in 1903. In China in 1927 I helped see to it that Standard Oil went its way unmolested.

During those years, I had, as the boys in the back room would say, a swell racket. I was rewarded with honors, medals, promotions. Looking back on it, I feel I might have given Al Capone a few hints. The best he could do was to operate his racket in three city districts. We Marines operated on three continents. The war racket operates at full swing in our own country today. Make no mistake. We no longer fulfill by our example as a nation the role of Leader in Disarmament and Peace-Maker to Mankind. Our present war preparations and military expenditures forever nullify the Kellogg Peace Pact to which we subscribed, and all our previous efforts to ease the burden of war throughout the world.

Defense or Offense?

It is commonly supposed that our armed forces are entirely defensive in nature, that they have nothing to do with the making of war or the creating of situations that lead to war. The General Staff states publicly, that the military organization "is founded on the principle that we must be unready for aggressive war, yet fully capable of defending ourselves. . . . To be defensive in motive, as we intend to be, a nation must surrender all thought of initiative." If this statement was a fact and effectively translated into reality, there would be little cause for concern. But close examination reveals that it is just another publicity release from that military sap factory known as the War Department. Training Regulations No. 10-5 of the War Department contain the official "Doctrine of War," for the United States. Section II, paragraph 2, says "Decision to go to war having made, operations will be carried into

hostile territory... the primary objective will be the destruction of (the enemy's) armed forces, and this demands that the strategic and tactical offensive be taken and maintained until a decision is reached." Section V, paragraph 6, says "the object to be attained by (military) training is to enable the Army to wage offensive warfare. While training must cover certain phases of defensive doctrine and police doctrine the Army must definitely understand that these are only means to the definite end--offensive warfare--and every individual in the military service must be imbued with the spirit of the offensive."

Our Ideal Never Defensive

Lest this seem to be the bellicose pipedream of some dyspeptic desk soldier, let us remember that the military ideal of our country has never been defensive warfare. Since the Revolution, only the United Kingdom has beaten our record for square miles of territory acquired by military conquest. Our exploits against the American Indian, against the Filipinos, the Mexicans, and against Spain are an a par with the campaigns of Genghis Khan, the Japanese in Manchuria and the African attack of Mussolini. No country has ever declared war on us before we first obliged them with that gesture. Our whole history shows we have never fought a defensive war. And at the rate our armed forces are being implemented at present, the odds are against our fighting one in the near future. The War Plans Section spends all its time creating blueprints for the "defense" of this country. This means, of course, vast schemes for foreign invasion and offensive ...

[End Butler]

Further commentary:

"I believe that if we had and would keep our dirty, bloody, dollar-soaked fingers out of the business of these nations so full of depressed, exploited people, they will arrive at a solution of their own ... and if unfortunately their revolution must be of the violent type, because the 'haves' refuse to share with the 'have-nots' by any peaceful method, at least what they get will be their own, and not the American style, which they don't want and above all don't want crammed down their throat by Americans."

General David M. Shoup, Commander of U.S. Marines, Congressional Medal of Honor winner WWII. May 14, 1966. □



NEOCOLONIALISM AND THE MURDER OF COMRADE FILIBERTO OJEDA RIOS

Reprinted from Right On!, No. #2, Winter '05-'06

We of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter are at a loss for words that will express our utter condemnation of the blatant murder of Comrade Filiberto Ojeda Rios on Friday September 23rd, 2005. Comrade Filiberto led the Puerto Rican Independtista Movement, a broad based coalition for the liberation of Puerto Rico and its colonized people from U.S. imperialism. On this day, while masses of the people of Puerto Rico were gathered at rallies to celebrate the 137th anniversary of their independence from Spanish imperialism, (many listening to a tape-recorded message from Comrade Rios), FBI agents and local police surrounded his safe-house and pumped 100s of bullets into it, almost bringing it down from bullets alone. They killed Comrade Rios and nearly killed his wife, Elma Beatriz Rosado, as well.

The murder of 72-year-old Comrade Filiberto, so reminiscent of the murder of Chairman Fred Hampton, should be cause for all genuine Latino and New Afrikan revolutionaries to stand in solidarity, along with all the oppressed peoples of the world faced with the ruthless beast of U.S. imperialism. We join our voices with those of an outraged world in demanding an international investigation into the cold-blooded murder of this freedom fighter.

In the words of Chairman Fred:

*“You can kill a revolutionary, but you
can’t kill the revolution!”*



CHRISTO-FASCISM & REVOLUTIONARY SPIRITUALITY

“Fascism, in short, is not only the giver of laws and the founder of institutions, but the educator and promoter of spiritual life. It wants to remake, not the forms of human life, but its content, man, character, faith. And to this end it requires discipline and authority that can enter into the spirits of men and there govern unopposed.” – Benito Mussolini, 1922

I was watching this propaganda on Fox-TV today attacking the separation of Church and State, and they showed this Black preacher, who was calling on Black people to get with the “Mainstream Evangelists” [ie: Christo-Fascists] to “bring back the golden heritage on which our nation was founded.” Now this is wrong on so many levels, it’s hard to know where to begin. First of all it’s a case study example of *historical amnesia*. This country was founded on genocide and slavery, and no sane Black person would want to bring that back, and second of all, it ain’t over yet.

But that’s not the whole of it, ‘cause if you look carefully at history, you’ll see that the Revolution of 1776 and the War of Independence were not led by Christian Evangelists. As Stephen Morris pointed out in “The Founding Fathers Were Not Christians,” (Free Inquiry, Fall, 1995):

“The Christian right is trying to rewrite the history of the United States as part of its campaign to force its religion on others. They try to depict the founding fathers as pious Christians who wanted the United States to be a Christian nation, with laws that favored Christians and Christianity.

“This is patently untrue. The early presidents and patriots were generally Deists or Unitarians, believing in some form of impersonal Providence but rejecting the divinity of Jesus and the absurdities of the Old and New testaments.”

In fact in 1777, the Continental Congress proclaimed the pagan Lenape Indian chief, Tamanend III, who had signed the Great Treaty with William Penn at the founding of Pennsylvania Colony, to be the “Patron Saint of America,” and they set aside May 1st as a national holiday in his honor. All through the Revolutionary War, and for some years after, it was celebrated by the soldiers and common people by dressing up in Indian regalia and holding “feasts of the common man.”

Speaking of the independence of the first 13 States, H.G. Wells in his *Outline of History*, says:

“It was a Western European civilization that had broken free from the last traces of Empire and Christendom; and it had not a vestige of monarchy left, and no State Religion... The absence of any binding religious tie is especially noteworthy. It had a number of forms of Christianity, its spirit was indubitably

Christian; but, as a State document of 1796 explicitly declared: 'The government of the United States is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion.'"

Thomas Paine, who was the leading propagandist of the Revolution, whose work *Common Sense* swung the majority of the colonists to support the declaring of independence and whose pamphlet, *The Crisis*, rallied the morale of the troops at Valley Forge, also wrote *The Age of Reason*, in which he tears *The Bible* to shreds as an authoritative text for moral guidance using no other source but *The Bible* itself. In its preface he wrote: "I do not believe in the creed professed by the Jewish church, by the Roman church, by the Greek church, by the Turkish church, by the Protestant church, nor by any church that I know of...Each of those churches accuse the other of unbelief, and for my own part, I disbelieve them all."

George Washington was no pillar of the Church, in fact according to Paul F. Boller Jr., author of *George Washington and Religion* (1963, Southern Methodist University Press, Dallas, TX), he never declared himself to be a Christian in any of his correspondence nor did he call for a clergyman on his deathbed. John Adams, the second President, wrote: "Twenty times in the course of my late reading, have I been upon the point of breaking out, 'This would be the best of all possible worlds, if there were no religion in it!'" And Thomas Jefferson, the third President, took a pair of scissors to his Bible and cut out the passages attributed to Jesus and threw the rest away. The original copy of the "Jefferson Bible" was buried under the Jefferson Memorial by Woodrow Wilson. Jefferson's commentary on the Christian Church was:

"The Christian priesthood, finding the doctrines of Christ levelled to every understanding and too plain to need explanation, saw, in the mysticisms of Plato, materials with which they might build up an artificial system which might, from its indistinctness, admit everlasting controversy, give employment for their order, and introduce it to profit, power, and pre-eminence. The doctrines which flowed from the lips of Jesus himself are within the comprehension of a child; but thousands of volumes have not yet explained the Platonisms engrafted on them: and for this obvious reason that nonsense can never be explained." — Thomas Jefferson (letter to John Adams, July 5, 1814)

Jefferson described the *Book of Revelations*, which is so central to the doctrine of the Christo-Fascists as "The ravings of a maniac." He also completely discounted the claim of Jesus' divinity.

"The day will come when the mystical generation of Jesus, by the supreme being as his father in the womb of a virgin, will be classed with the fable of the generation of Minerva in the brain of Jupiter." — Thomas Jefferson (letter to J. Adams April 11, 1823)

James Madison, fourth president and father of the Constitution, took an even stronger line writing:

"Religious bondage shackles and debilitates the mind and unfits it for every noble enterprise." — James Madison (letter to William Bradford April 1, 1774)

"During almost fifteen centuries has the legal establishment of Christianity been on trial. What have been its fruits? More or less in all places, pride and indolence in the Clergy, ignorance and servility in the laity, in both superstition, bigotry and persecution." — James Madison (Memorial and Remonstrance against Religious Assessments, June 1785)

So much for the religious views of the Founding Fathers, (and I could go on), but how then did Amerika get to be so steeped in Christian Fundamentalism? The answer is the defense of the institution of slavery.

From the start, there was a conservative element of slaveholders who reluctantly joined the ranks of the Revolution, though the South and the slaveocracy was overwhelmingly the stronghold of loyalty to the British Empire. They exerted their influence in blocking the inclusion of the kidnapping of Afrikans and the institution of slavery in Amerika in the listing of crimes of the British Empire in the *Declaration of Independence*, in what is remembered as the "Great Compromise,"

limiting the scope of the Révolution of 1776. And they also blocked ratification of the *Pittsburgh Treaty of 1778*, which recognized the sovereignty of the Indian nations to the territory west of the Ohio River and invited them to form a 14th state to be represented in the Continental Congress by the chiefs of the Delaware (Lenape) Nation.

Thus the liberal democratic ideal of "Liberty and Justice for All!" was compromised to the extent that it applied only to white people, and really only white men of property, as suffrage was so restricted. The American Revolution has since then progressed only in installments, and at each stage the dictatorship of an oligarchy of the rich has been preserved behind the window dressing of "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

While a few radical clergy, like General Muhlenberg, the Lutheran pastor, actively supported the Revolution, the overwhelming majority of the clergy did not. As today, they sided with those with property and power, and "rendered unto Caesar." This was particularly true in the South. The war in the South was primarily a guerrilla war fought by poor white people, who were marginal to the slaveocracy, led by commanders like Francis "The Swamp Fox" Marion, who also had some Black fighters in his command.

Reason could not uphold the contradiction between liberal democracy and slavery, so religion and racism were relied upon to justify its continuance and also the continued dispossession and genocide of the American Indian nations. Religious indoctrination was also employed to pacify the captive Afrikans and surviving Indians, strip them of their traditional spiritual orientation and cultures, and offer them "pie in the sky when you die" if they meekly submitted to their oppression. Missionaries, supported by the slaveowners and rising capitalist class, went among the masses spreading the "good news," promoting the image of a white Jesus and indoctrinating the poor whites with a belief in their racial superiority and the people of color with a belief in their racial inferiority.

The Christian church's main justification of the concept of slavery was based on the "curse of Ham" which appears in the Hebrew Scriptures (Old Testament) in Genesis 9:25-27. "*Cursed be Canaan! The lowest of slaves will he be to his brothers. He also said, 'Blessed be the Lord, the God of Shem! May Canaan be the slave of Shem.'*" Early on, the Puritans came up with the rationalization that the Indians were "Canaanites" and that this justified their extirpation. Later Christians believed that Canaan had settled in Africa and that his descendents had become black.

"The right of holding slaves is clearly established in the Holy Scriptures, both by precept and example." — Rev. R. Furman, D.D., ("Exposition of the views of the Baptists relative to the colored population in the United States in communication to the Governor of South-Carolina," 1838)

"[Slavery] was established by decree of Almighty God...it is sanctioned in the Bible, in both Testaments, from Genesis to Revelation...it has existed in all ages, has been found among the people of the highest civilization, and in nations of the highest proficiency in the arts." — Jefferson Davis, ("Inaugural Address as Provisional President of the Confederacy," Montgomery, AL, Feb 18, 1861)

This is the "golden heritage" that jackanape Black preacher was alluding to. Only today, the new "massah" is the multinational corporate oligarchy, the monopoly capitalist ruling class, that is struggling to consolidate its New World Order, to whom reason is even more of an obstacle than it was to the old slaveocracy. Reason exposes that the interests of the monopoly capitalists are diametrically opposed to the basic interests of the broad masses of humanity, indeed, to the very survival of humanity. Only such "ravings" as are contained in the *Book of Revelations* can serve to numb the brains of people to support their cause. Reason exposes the necessity to carry forward the American Revolution to sweep away their class dictatorship, and their ownership and control of the basic means of production, and initiate real government "of the people, by the people and for the people."

Now, there is an opposite pole to the Christo-Fascist movement, and that is revolutionary spirituality, the spiritual orientation of serving the people and standing tall against all oppression. People of all religious traditions and people who reject all religious traditions can unite around

this revolutionary spiritual orientation. People don't generally think of atheists as having a spiritual orientation, but that's just bushwah brainwash! Everybody has a spiritual orientation, though it may not be what they profess it to be. It is revealed by what they do, the stands they take, and how they live their lives.

Those who neither believe in a heavenly reward nor in eternal hellish punishment, who are willing to struggle and sacrifice in the interest of humanity, and particularly the interests of unborn generations to create a brighter future for all, demonstrate the highest degree of positive spiritual orientation. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Chinese Communist Party stated in his essay *Serve The People*:

"Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other."

This is what we refer to as "Panther Love." It is the highest form of spirituality. Sure, we get angry when we see harm being done to the people, and we hate poverty and injustice. We hate racism and sexism and the things people do out of blind prejudice and greed. But the real motivation of a true revolutionary is love – love for the people, love for our comrades, love for justice and peace, and love for the struggle that will liberate mankind.

We love our New Afrikan people, because you've got to love yourself to liberate yourself. But, we love all our sisters and brothers of all nationalities and ethnic backgrounds, and to us, "an injury to one is an injury to all!"

As we set up our study circles in the prisons, we are not going to exclude prisoners who seriously desire to study revolution because of the color of their skin. When we set up our free breakfasts for children programs in the oppressed communities, we are not going to turn away a hungry child because he or she is not Black, and when it comes to forming peoples' security patrols in the neighborhoods, we're not going to deny the right of warrior youth of non-Black ethnic backgrounds the right to protect and defend their communities. That's not what we're about!

Black people constitute a nation here in Amerika, and we are revolutionary nationalists, but we are also revolutionary internationalists, and there is a dialectical relationship between these two aspects of who we are and what we believe. We are part of the multinational U.S. proletariat and we are also part of the international proletariat. We are Pan-Afrikanists, and we stand for the unity of Black people everywhere in the world, and that is the fundamental basis of unity of our Party, but we also stand for building the international United Front Against Imperialism (UFAI), and that is our strategy for making world socialist revolution.

Our comrades are everywhere, from the Peoples Liberation Army fighters waging armed revolutionary struggle in the mountains of Nepal to the child in the school down the block who refuses to say the *Pledge of Allegiance* to the Amerikan flag. We extend our Panther Love to ya'all!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

The rise of Christo-Fascism, Zionism and Islamic Fascism, and the emergence of Soviet and Sino-Social Imperialism (the restoration of capitalism in formerly socialist countries), are all important topics we need to study and discuss in relation to fascism in the contemporary world, as are the links between the KKK and the Nazi-Fascist Axis and the contemporary U.S. ruling class. But we can't cover it all in this issue. We must know our enemies as well as ourselves, and there is a lot to learn. The NABPP-PC calls on you to organize study circles where you can, and at minimum, "each one teach one." An educated slave is a free man or womyn ready to prove it.

POWER ANYWHERE THERE'S PEOPLE!

"Power anywhere there's people. Power anywhere there's people! Let me give you an example of teaching people. Basically, the way they learn in observation and participation. You know a lot of us go around and joke ourselves and believe that the masses have PhD's, but that's not true. And even if they did, it wouldn't make any difference. Because with some things you have to learn by seeing it or either participating in it. And you know yourselves that there are people walking around your community today that have all types of degrees that should be at this meeting but are not here. Right? Because you can have as many degrees as a thermometer; if you don't have any practice, then you can't walk across the street and chew gum at the same time."

Fred Hampton, Sr.

Real Education: Return to the Source

By Russell "Maroon" Shoats

Reprinted from Right On!, No. # 2

"We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society."

These words were written over 40 years ago by the founders of the Black Panther Party. They are still relevant today, and are what this column will be directed towards achieving. One might ask, "Why should we take the time and effort to search out and learn our true history, especially when we are faced with so many other life and death concerns?"

Well, it's a very "complicated and harmful process that occurs amongst people who become disconnected from their past." Moreover, whether it's an individual who has either been adopted or abandoned prior to getting to know their parents, or whole peoples who have been forcibly disconnected from their past, like most Afrikans in the Diaspora, - as well as many Amerindians - they all suffer from "Historical Amnesia."

Thus, in the case of the individual, we are always leaning of the lifelong battles they wage in order to reconnect with their missing relatives and past, as well as to learn just what it was that caused them to become separated and endure all those years of agony and yearning. On the other hand, when whole peoples undergo such separations from their historical past, they invariably become easy prey to those who want to use them, because not having anything historical record to fall back on, they have nothing to compare things with.

Ironically, they are like the circus and zoo lions and elephants raised in captivity. Never having been taught by other lions and elephants in the wild, they don't know how to hunt or forage and survive in their natural habitat. They are pretty easy to control and are pretty harmless to their controllers.

Indeed, in early colonial Amerika, some of the more astute European slavers and expansionists were well aware of this phenomenon, and they argued and fought with their peers to have strict laws adopted that were designed to eradicate as much past knowledge from their enslaved Afrikans and their Amerindian foes as possible; including their traditional spirituality, languages, folklore, hair styles, diets, family patterns, their values and sense of right and wrong, their former group solidarity, and overall, their customs and self-identity.

Hence, your "Willie Lynch" codes, designed to sow perpetual division and terror among the Afrikans who were enslaved, and the mantra of: "The only way to civilize the 'Red People' is to kill the 'Indian' inside of them," became the foundation of race relations in Amerika.

Tellingly, one of the most powerful scenes in the "Roots" saga is when the white overseer is having Kunta Kinte whipped until he

agrees to accept his slave name, "Toby." Even a child can understand that the underlying goal was to separate Kunta and those other Afrikans watching from their past or cultural history.

To reinforce this policy, a system of rewards was institutionalized for those who showed the most servile compliance; extra food, Massa's old clothing, mates, and generally better treatment. This is pretty much still in operation today, although the rewards have been upgraded!

Today, a modern-day slave can hope to become a billionaire, a movie star, a general, or even the Secretary of State. Albeit the modern slave master he or she must serve is more often than not a large corporation.

Consequently, over the years, the Afrikans in Amerika have lost just about all of their original culture, which was replaced with practices that did not threaten their enslavers and oppressors. The Amerindians, were able to hold onto more of their culture, but by and large, they were prevented from developing it further, and in many cases saw it distorted and corrupted to a great extent.

So, among the Afrikans in the Amerikas, literally thousands of years of accumulated "know-how" (history and culture) was all but stripped from most of them. Note, I say know-how, because when the age-old keepers of West Afrikan history – known as *Griots* – would gather their people together to speak of their ancestral past (history), what they were doing was telling them: "This is where we have been, this is what we have learned." The same held true for the early Amerindians, and to some extent, it still does.

Unfortunately, the complicated and harmful process of being stripped of one's history and culture has never been well understood by most Afrikans in the Diaspora. So, they've attempted to move forward by educating themselves in every other way possible. Paradoxically, they

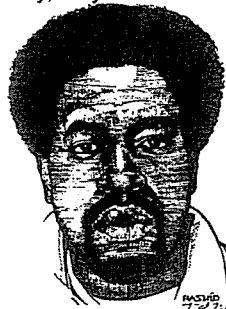
are the most technically informed and proficient segment amongst all of those who identify with an Afrikan heritage. Yet, by and large, they're also the most confused and easily led astray.

As the brilliant African educator, Carter G. Woodson, termed them, they are "*Miseducated Negroes*" – sort of like the circus and zoo lions and elephants who cannot hunt or forage, or live in the wild, and are easily controlled by puny handlers. Therefore, this column will be dedicated to serving up some of our true history, which lies buried in our "collective unconscious," awaiting the stimulus to be awakened to serve as one of the building blocks of our struggle for a fuller "sense of self" leading to a struggle for a fuller humanity.

Hopefully, it will be like when Marcus Garvey would thrill his audiences with *Griot*-style versions of Afrikan history and culture, or like during our "Black Is Beautiful" cultural revolution of the 1960s. For, as the esteemed scholar, C. Anta Diop, wrote, "To avoid a deformed Afrikan personality, one must be conversant with the full range of one's ancestral past....not just to establish pride, but to use it [thousands of years of know-how; from the great pyramids to Great Zimbabwe and Timbuktu] as the basis for constructing a modern [just and balanced] civilization in the post-colonial and neo-colonial era." And remember, Malcolm X told us that of all our studies, "history" is the one best suited to reward our efforts!

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Russell Shoats #AF-3855
175 Progress Drive
Waynesburg, PA 15370



PANTHERISM, UNITARY CONDUCT, AND THE ENEMY

By Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

"Settle your quarrels, come together, understand the reality of our situation, understand that fascism is already here, that people are already dying who could be saved, that generations more will die or live poor butchered half-lives if you fail to act. Do what must be done, discover your humanity and love in revolution. Pass on the torch. Join us, give up your life for the people." – George Jackson

Who will save us? We will save ourselves! To save ourselves require getting together by searching out those "elements" displaying in actual practice revolutionary proletarian consciousness and reaching those "elements" exhibiting or who have shown an identification with Pantherism, but remain uncommitted, though not due to moral flaws that contradict Revolutionary Panther Morality. Pantherism is the key to unity!

By consciously selecting the most advanced "elements" from among the Black masses for membership in NABPP-PC, the vanguard party of New Afrikan and Afrikan revolution, and a friend to all oppressed people, we are building a cadre of leadership capable of marshaling its energies and talents to move the Party forward, even under tremendous pressure from rightist repression.

National liberation struggle fundamentally conflicts with rightist polity and any vanguard party seeking to lead the people in progressive/aggressive struggle must prearrange training for cadre in the basics of protracted struggle in a defensive and offensive class struggle of liberation. That is why we ask all future Party members to

serve a minimum period of time in the Black Brigade, which is a mass-based organization that bring in all kinds of brothers and sisters interested in serving the Black Nation and prepares them for revolution. We want to throw the net as wide as possible in order to select from the best of the best.

RETHINKING OLD DEFINITIONS

We have the task of redefining in actual social practice the very words "brother" and "sister." The bourgeois definition given to us by our parents must be erased from our consciousness. Bourgeois education and long usage defined "brother" and "sister" as being based on biology alone, in order to discourage unitary social practice by the exploited slaves, sharecroppers and wage workers against the various ruling class forces.

The primary determinant of "brother" and "sister" springs out of the sociological and environmental process we call struggle. Take for example a group of people who have ideology, values, culture, history, economic oppression and colonialism in common, and based on this

commonality they organize themselves into a national liberation party demanding freedom — this party or formation will experience the ebb and flow of struggle including suffering and joy, and out of the struggle for freedom, will be forged new, higher relations that will be emulated by other oppressed groups, who will also become their "brothers" and "sisters."

This is the period where the very terms "brother" and "sister" ring from every hall, institution, street corner and house of the newly awakened nation and mean much more than the biological relationship of siblings. If I don't consider you my brother or sister, who are you to me? If we are of the oppressed class, we ought to be brothers and sisters in spirit and comrades in the struggle for liberation.

"Panther Love" is the glue here. We have to exercise "Panther Love," and we can't state this fundamental principle more clearly than Che Guevara when he said, "at the risk of appearing ridiculous, let me say that the true revolutionary is motivated by love." It is this abiding sentiment we must uphold with one another; Love should motivate and love should bind us together. Let love heal us and strengthen us.

CAPITALISM IS THE ENEMY

To be free from vampire capitalism requires that at some phase of the social revolution the vampire must be denied the blood of the people to suck. Here is how we define social revolution: it means the total break up of the existing system of wage slavery. The political and economic structure of monopoly capitalism has no redeeming values worthy of preservation. No part of it can be used in the new social order we are striving to build. Now we can't just get rid of every vestige of it overnight. Even after the monopoly capitalists are overthrown, aspects of the social organization of capitalism will linger on for quite a while, and we will have to struggle resolutely and consciously to root them out and replace them with new socialist relations. We can't stop half way.

The law that protects capitalist existence has lost its ability to be fair and impartial and so it must face the trash heap with its maker. We can't hate white supremacist oppression, but love its natural outgrowth, i.e., capitalism, which was born from the stolen resources and labor the people of Under Developed Nations (UDNs). Capitalist law was instituted and put in place to repress ethnic and national oppressed groups and to protect capitalist property relations, and since 95% percent of property is in the hands of a few families in amerika — the law basically protects and serves 5% percent of people who make up the ruling class. New laws and a new Constitution will have to be written and amended as we move forward — laws that reflect and protect the new socialist relations, serve the growth of people's power, and prevent a return to the old ways of exploitation and injustice.

As this is being written the vampire ruling class is going through an international fight over economic markets and resources that were divided between individual white nations for imperialist exploitation. No longer do various white nations claim individual Under Developed Nations (UDN's) as their exclusive domain to exploit as colonies, but that has not changed the drive and zest of former colonizers to impose privatization schemes micro-managed by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the scramble to control these is sharp.

NEO-COLONIALISM

The International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB), and other banking and financial lending institutions have come up with a slick way of re-imposing control over Under Developed Nation's (UDN's) by neo-colonial rule that consists of economic exploitation, economic aid, puppet governments and military assistance. Though the U.S. ruling class has emerged as the victor in this international fight, monopoly capitalists from all over Europe, Japan and elsewhere are moving their capital overseas to markets with cheap labor and no labor laws so they can make a huge profit on their investments, following the Law of the Maximization of the Rate of Profit. We must oppose this by international solidarity and struggle, sowing the seeds of world socialist revolution. And we must remember what V.I. Lenin said 100 years ago:

"Their can be no equality between the exploiters— who for many generations have stood out because of their education, conditions of wealthy life, and habits—and the exploited, the majority of whom

even in the most advanced and most democratic bourgeois republics are downtrodden, backward, ignorant, intimidated and disunited."

So-called leftist movements still haven't caught on to that statement from 100 years ago! That is a tale-tell sign of class collaborationism that our Party will expose to the people. We have to build our Party beyond the national boundaries of the United States wherever Black people are concentrated and particularly in Afrika. In this way we can help to unify the political consciousness of our people and coordinate our struggle against imperialist neo-colonial exploitation and racial discrimination and oppression.

So long as we are oppressed and discriminated against as Black people, there will be a need for the New Afrikan Black Panther Party and for "Pantherism." Together with our oppressed brothers and sisters of all ethnic and national backgrounds, we must rise as a mighty storm of struggle to sweep away imperialism and all oppression.

Dare to Struggle and Dare to Win! Dare to Seize the Time! All Power to the People!

Poems by Comrade Hasan

GIVEN EXECUTION DATE

POOF!

Just like that;
Dreams shattered!
Shredded to pieces;
Nothing remains;
Nothing but my face in the form of a paper doll
being entered into a document shredder!

Not to fret! My loyalties and duty to the Party
DO NOT FALTER!

As I tell all my comrades: Do not allow this to
break you, as it does nothing but push me even
further! It is fuel on an empty tank! It is a
thorn in my side which I wish to remove! It is
a thorn in the people's side which I will
remove!

At this very moment, I represent the 2.3
million people in this system's injustice
system. I represent the 3,000 plus people
sentenced to die at the hands of this
government, in its gulags across the nation.

I stand tall as a Panther committed to the
people's struggle! And as the Minister of Human
Rights, I will exemplify the epitome of Socio-
Revolutionary Consciousness!

DARE TO STRUGGLE! DARE TO WIN!

DEDICATION

to all who have dreamed
to all who have struggled
to all who have succeeded
to all who have failed
to all who have loved and won
to all who have loved and lost
to all who have dared to be
different
to those who are not afraid to speak

their mind
to the voiceless
to all the Kamaus, Shakas and Rudds
to all those that believed and
achieved
to all who have been forced into
silence
to all who are not afraid of adversity
to all the newborns awaiting breath

THIS IS DEDICATED TO YOU!

SCIENCE

Young Black male - ignorant brotha same color
as mine
gun in hand -left
nuts in palm -right
c-walkin' to the left
blood down the drain to the right

"Habari Gani Ndugu?"
"Nzuri Ndugu?"
"Nigga you's black - speak English!"
"Kweli Ju u!"
raped and pillaged
stripped of our identity
dreams of For Us By Us
crack for us and cooked by the U.S.
given to us but shipped in by them
hundred and fifty dollar Nikes
bling bling pinky ring
big pimping on 24's
pimping hoes - slamming Cadillac doors
while your child hungry, naked and homeless
broke, Black and disgusted
not to be trusted
at the post office door
with a 9 mili...

BLAH!

Damn - went postal
not west coastal
not east coastal
straight local joker
our insanity
makes us question our longevity
you you you or me
this is how it WASN'T meant to be
rotting inside a penitentiary with
a death sentence
hanging over me?
shit peep me when i speak
dropping science of the mind
my tech nine, my mac-ten
emulating life that i want to win
skin be my sin?
Hell naw my brotha
my ignorance is a death sentence
upliftment to righteousness is freedom
freedom of mind freedom of spirit, personal
freedom from bondage and chains on the brain
that makes us all

insane..

wake the fuck up gutter brain, brotha gotta
work it out, not strive for clout; 'hey yo,
what he talking bout?'
raise up; break yo-self..
from the chains that bound and gagged us for
years

Sambo, Tom..Ofae

keep it real because soon you gotta pay
not to me, but to your seeds
the impregnation of a nation that's pregnant
with

tomorrow's future choking on its umbilical
cord?

NOPE, 'cause what I am spitting is the ANTI-
dope

Can't be no dope and let the rope become a
noose

around your neck

..dragging you behind the truck of a king
nah what I mean

..but this type of shit is frightening because
I am

a menace to a society that is unbalanced
so you just spit the Truth and carry the

Knowledge
and that is the formula of Science.. ALL POWER
TO THE PEOPLE!!!

THE WHOLE WORLD

Look at the world around you

Ain't it a mess?

AK on one's shoulder and body protected
by a vest

Shit this is a police state if I ever seen one
Cops here to protect and serve
but

they the criminals - with a badge PLUS a gun
It's a trip I swear yall

walk with me and vibe

I said walk yall..cause we going to jail if we
DRIVE

I am straight up! Call me Chuck D or something
like that

Cause I am public enemy number one
or something like that

Callin' me a nigger, nigg, nigga or fool
but then they ask

"Why ain't no Black History REALLY taught in
school?"

How the hell do you figa?

Malcom, Martin and Medgar are my Black Hero's
NOT MY NIGGAZ!

Yeah brotha..this world is a trip
not my mama's world at all - it is deep
but yo -look at the world around
you and holla back... tell me what
you see...

AFRIKAN DREAMING

No smog to clog your lungs
worry-free lifestyle having fun
No Black on Black crime

killin' over nickels and dimes
No thoughts of one's sexuality
or the death penalty being my finality
No dreams clogging up my reality
No gun violence making me a casualty
No more thoughts about the color of my skin
just cause I'm Black - my skin's my sin
No wonder when we die - they clappin'
'cause NO way in hell this all will happen...

But imagine this...
conscious people - NO wilding out
our daughters not loose - ass hanging out

one's baby mamma - not found in a club
No gangstas, no thugs, no crips, no bloods
both parents in the home helping with homework
Not mamma with two jobs - no rest all work
some say I am a dreamer...
Well...
maybe I am..
but I say I am real...
real Black,
real conscious,
'cause I give a damn!!!□

THE BARE FACE OF U.S. CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

An Appeal on Behalf of Comrade Hasan Shakur and All Death Row Inmates
by Minister of Defense, Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

When Amerika's ruling elite wish to rationalize their violent schemes against other nations, (predominantly those of people of color), they manipulate and then cite "world opinion" as supporting their positions. By "world opinion," they generally mean the opinion of the rulers of other imperialist countries. They never consider the opinions of the REAL WORLD, which includes the people of color and the poor and working people generally, (who end up as the victims of their violent schemes), nor even of the Amerikan people as a whole.

This is because their intentions are typically self-serving and exploitative. In truest fascist form, the U.S. and European-based multinational corporations, which are the source of their wealth and power, serve only their interests, and the same is true of the political parties and governments they control.

Oddly however, when it comes to capital punishment, which is the most irrational form of state violence, they ignore the opinion of their European brethren who have long since abolished the practice. For many years now, the U.S. has been cited and criticized for violating international treaties and norms by continuing with this barbaric form of punishment.

That it is meted out predominantly and discriminatorily against people of color cannot be concealed, and it exposes the real white supremacist and racist core values behind the facade of democratic and multiculturalist propaganda the U.S. rulers promote to the world and claim to represent them. Actions speak louder than words.

On Human Rights Day 2005, The European Union issued a formal declaration asking Amerika's rulers to end capital punishment. With what our rulers consider to be "world opinion" ringing in their ears, and opposing capital punishment, one must wonder - why then does the Amerikan ruling class persist with this practice? It can only be explained in the context of the race practices and policies that have always been at the core of Amerikan politics and social control.

European societies are particularly sensitized to institutionalized state killing of their own citizens due to the not so distant experience of Nazi and overt fascist rule and its continuing reminders. The "ethnic cleansing" of Jews, Gypsies, Poles, Slavs and others prior to and during World War II, and the more recent "ethnic cleansing" in the former Yugoslavia, were carried out by white people against white people. And this struck close to home.

However, European and Euro-Amerikan imperialism was built upon genocidal practices and enslavement of indigenous people of color from Afrika to the Amerikas and Asia, and the massive wealth accumulated by the ruling elites of the imperialist countries is the basis of their power and their ability to continue to exploit the majority of the people of the world and steal their national resources. They have no qualms about murder on a grand scale of either white or people of color as exemplified by the imperialist wars they have caused and continue to perpetuate.

In Europe, the killing of white-skinned people was recognized as "genocide." In Amerika, which was founded on genocide, the killing of

dark-skinned people is, as Comrade Imam Jamil Al-Amin (H. Rap Brown) once put it, "...as Amerikan as cherry pie!"

As Dhoruba Bin Wahad stated in his recent comments on the execution of Stanley "Tookie" Williams in California: "The death penalty in Amerika has always operated as a legal instrument of racial terror. The death penalty evolved from, and assumed the psychological role of lynching. Least we forget, every Black man lynched was 'guilty of a crime'...[T]here is not one legal or 'Constitutional' right Afrikan people have in Amerika that white folks don't have the veto over, or not subject to judicial review, including the right to life. A Black man's life is subject to termination by a cop or agent of the state at any given moment - without recourse to appeal."

So in reality, all of us in Amerika who wear dark skins entered into this life with a state-imposed death sentence. The U.S. Declaration of Independence declares that the enjoyment of life is an inalienable right, but poor people of color were not included within that body of "We The People" on whose behalf that founding document was written - and we still aren't today. Therefore, we remain targets of oppression, repression and genocide. This is the design of the U.S. ruling class, and they could care less about "world opinion" regarding the death penalty.

In Texas - where they legally murdered Comrade Shaka Sankofa - Amerika's Kapital Punishment Kapital - our New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter's Minister of Human Rights has been scheduled to die on April 27. Hasan Shakur is a comrade who even before being recruited into our Party has struggled tirelessly over the years to bring a voice to the oppressed millions of poor and people of color locked away in cages in Amerika, and he has championed the human rights of the thousands sentenced to die by "legal execution."

Hasan Shakur (s/n Derrick Frazier) is not guilty of murdering anyone. The cops who arrested him, denied him his right to legal council and coerced a false confession from him, knew that. The judge who allowed this illegal "evidence" to be used against him in court, knew that. The all white jury who heard the case had to know it. And the appeals courts who upheld his illegal conviction based solely on this illegal "evidence" definitely know it.

The point being that racial terror and tradition demands that two Black men must die, even if one is innocent, for the murder of two white people in rural Texas. This is the logic of lynching. It is as Amerikan as cherry pie! Since we are deemed to have no rights, (really), because we were born guilty, because we were already sentenced to be marginalized, exploited and condemned in a thousand ways, there is no appeal (really).

Nonetheless, we must continue to resist and struggle for liberation, for Comrade Hasan, for all the condemned, for ourselves and future generations! We salute you Comrade! All Power to the People!

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson,
MOD, NABPP-PC

A Picture's Worth

By Walidah Imarisha

Overexposed photos
Show you only the outside:
In front of the steel
grating
Of a Texas prison visiting
cage
Tall and solid
Dark eyes
Stare out of dark skin
Arms clasped
As in prayer
And contemplation
In front of a barrel of a
chest
Face of stone
Because death row
Does not cultivate
Laughter.

He
Painted in prison colors
Branded with an image
Burned into the public's
vision
By racism
And too many episodes of
COPS.

But you have not seen
Him when
His child comes to visit
And a smile splits his face
As he presses his hand
eagerly
Against the bullet proof
plexiglass,
Hoping to feel
Some warmth
Leak through.

There are no pictures
To capture
The prison suicides he has
seen,
Bodies hanging from
sheets
That just yesterday
was a breathing human
being.
We have no snapshots
Of the tiers
Crying blood
Of inmates
Who were kissed
Too deeply by guard
batons.
There is no image
That can sum up
Watching your friend
Be escorted in shackles
Toward the hot stinking
pant
Of death.

If we could open his chest,
We could flash shutters at
A warrior's heart
Pumping struggle and
determination,
Fueling organizations
Headed from the cell
The size of a bathroom,
Organizing concerts
To stop violence
While every minute
is an assault.
We would capture
A mind constantly on the
prowl,
Head of a lion,
Proud untamed ready to
protect
its cubs
Ready to fight for its

family.
He sleeps three hours a
night
Because there is too much
work to do
And he knows
Better than anyone
We are never promised
tomorrow.
But sometimes
Photos
Are more than burning
flesh
And broken mirrors.
They can press truth
Tightly between glass
Lock it in
So you can not deny
The stark existence of
reality.

Because you can see,
If you look closely,
The shy tentative half
smile
Of the child he was,
The serious intense gaze,
Young eyes who saw too
much of the world
And yet still trusted
There was some good
Left in it



For Hasan Shakur,
www.hasanshakur.com

Support Statements for Comrade Hasan

"Derrick has an execution date set. Derrick will die on April 27 unless we can show that his trial, the investigation, the appeals, all of that – has great errors and that it would be unconstitutional to execute him. And, for Derrick's sake, and for justice's sake, why don't we simply prove his innocence while we're at it? There's DNA in his case and none of that DNA shows that he's the killer of the victims in the case. There's no physical evidence that shows that he's the killer. There's a confession that is questionable to say the least, and that's the only 'evidence' there is. We can prove that the DA coerced what witnesses said. We can prove that he didn't have an impartial jury. We can prove that his legal representation at trial and in later appeals was below expected standards. We can prove that mitigating evidence at the punishment phase was not presented. We can prove that funds to investigate important issues have not been given the defense by the courts. We can prove that attorneys have not done all that they can to give Derrick the legal assistance he is entitled to...I will do what I can, and I will always continue doing so. "

Knut Erik Paulli, Norwegian Human Rights Activist

"The United States of America is the last modern industrialized country in the world that still carries out the barbaric and macabre practice of the death penalty on its own citizenry.

"On April 27, 2006, the Amerikan power structure plans to execute Hasan Shakur, aka Derrick Frazier, for the crime of being born black and poor in America. His case reeks of judicial misconduct and the PCJH is in total support of Hasan's innocence and his right to an appeal, new trial and eventual freedom.

"We urge others to join in supporting Hasan Shakur and in working to kill the death penalty in Amerika."

Carol Williams, President, Peoples' Coalition for Justice and Humanity
www.justiceandhumanity.com
formerly the Deputy Minister of Information,
Black Panther Party, West Philadelphia Branch

"I became a part of the movement for change in the mid 60s. At that time the Black Liberation Struggle, which was, and still is, an important part of the world struggle against imperialism, was at its height. On the continent of Afrika, Black masses were daily sacrificing their lives in this cause. Throughout Asia and South America other millions were making similar sacrifices; and even in Europe, and from Canada to the Panama Canal, countless more were ready, willing and able to pay any price in that glorious struggle.

"For my part, I never dreamed that 40 years later we would still be fighting an uphill battle or that I would even be alive...since I thought like Che' when he said: 'Wherever death surprises us let it be welcome; provided our battle cry reach some receptive ear...'

"Too many of my comrades have either been killed or otherwise destroyed by the weight of our oppression for me to be anything but more fully committed to the ultimate destruction of imperialism. Now the state of Texas, already dripping with the blood of its original peoples and its unended slavery, lynching and executions, is bent on taking the life of our comrade, and my adopted son, Hasan Shakur.

"On everything I believe in and hold dear, I swear I wish I could trade places with him! Not only because I love him; not because I'm tired, but because my 62 years leave me less time to continue our fight than he would have. And I know that he would proudly and mightily push our cause to the limit!

"Alas, that's just wishful thinking. But if his life is taken, it is not wishful thinking for me to pledge to honor his memory by including him among my other comrades who have offered up their lives in our struggle and to vow that I too will settle for nothing less than the kind of sacrifices he and our other comrades have been called upon to offer – Straight Ahead!"

Russell "Maroon" Shoats, Black Panther/BLA, Political Prisoner/POW

"The New Afrikan Liberation Front (NALF) supports Comrade Hasan Shakur in his fight against the racist death penalty in Texas. It is no coincidence that Texas and the other former slave states account for the vast majority of executions in Amerikkka or that the vast majority of victims are Black. It is the modern form of lynching."

Khalid Abdur-Rasheed, National Spokesman, NALF

Legacy of Weyanoke



Celebrating the Red & Black Cultural Heritage

In 1619, one year before the Mayflower landed, about 20 Africans traveling aboard a Spanish ship were captured by a privateer, either a Dutch ship or an English ship flying a Dutch flag. When the pirates ran out of food they stopped at Pt. Comfort, now Ft. Monroe ("Freedom's Fort") in Hampton, Virginia, then sailed up what is now the James River. The pirates sold the Africans into indentured servitude to Jamestown's Governor Yeardley, who supplied them with food and water.

Knowing that he was acting against regulations forbidding trafficking with pirates, Yeardley hid the Africans away on his tobacco plantation across the Chickahominy River at Weyanoke, a few miles from where the Weyanoke Indians lived in what is now Charles City County, Virginia. "Weyanoke," in the Algonquin-related language of the Weyanokes, meant "sassafras," and referred to a tree commonly found in the area. The root of the sassafras tree was (and still is) used to make a deliciously aromatic tea with medicinal properties. Sassafras was the Jamestown settlers' first cash crop, and was marketed in Europe as a cure-all.

Thus was formed, at Weyanoke, the first African community in an English-speaking colony in North America. While these were not the first Africans in the colony, they are the first known to live together in a community.

Red-Black Prayer

We give thanks to Creator for each new day
We give thanks to the Ancestors, who watch over us
We give thanks to our Mother Earth, who sustains us
We give thanks to our Brothers and Sisters the plants and animals,

who give their lives so that ours may continue
We give thanks to the People whose work, care and love nourish us
We give thanks that Alkebulan and Turtle Island meet in us
We give thanks to Creator for all of these gifts
May they be transformed into positive thoughts,
careful and kind words,
appropriate and effective deeds

Aho
Ashé
Amen

"It is possible to recover that which has been shattered. The meaning of the recovery, reconstitution and reconstruction of history is that, that which has been dispersed and shattered within us can be made whole again. Thus through history we can redeem ourselves."

- Ivan Van Sertima

The Weyanoke Association has grown out of our personal need to restore "that which has been dispersed and shattered within us," and to encourage and help others to do the same. We became aware of the need to reconcile the 'Red' of our family trees with the 'Black' that the larger society gave us permission to acknowledge, before we heard anyone else talking about the subject. We were laughed at, accused of trying to deny our Blackness, and forced to choose between one and the other when filling out forms and when performing other official and social actions.

When I was a child in New York in the Fifties I was Colored, pronounced with a curl of the lip everywhere but at home. The Sixties

and early Seventies gave me permission to honor my theoretical African ancestors, and explore as many of the continent's glorious cultures as possible. Then I happened upon an old photograph. I remember saying to my father, "Who is this woman? She looks like an Indian." He answered, "That's because she is. That's my Cherokee grandmother." He had never mentioned her before. And still my mother said nothing about her Native ancestry until I put it to her as a direct question. When I asked, "Were any of your ancestors Indian?" she simply answered, "Yes." She made it clear I had already stepped over the line somehow by asking that question; I didn't push my luck by asking more. It was from my older cousin, much later, that I learned that the relatives my mother had lived with in Colorado were Shoshone.

When my husband Hugh and I moved to Hampton from Brooklyn in 1988, we discovered that the history largely buried under pavement in New York is much closer to the surface in Virginia. Information was so much easier to find that we were upon it almost before we started looking. We stumbled over people who remembered, had our glances held by books lying on a table or protruding an extra one-half inch from library shelves, and found important articles in random magazines picked up at the doctor's office. It began to look as if the Ancestors were encouraging us in our search.

We started visiting Hugh's many maternal relatives, most of whom were named Charity, in Charles City County. Hugh learned that his Native ancestors on that side were Chickahominy, Pamunkey and Mattaponi. We also learned that this, especially the Chickahominy admixture, was a touchy subject. Some people didn't want to talk about it, some denied it, and one went so far as to say there was no such thing as 'Indians' — they were just the mixed offspring of Blacks and Whites. We were told of hard feelings of long standing between the Black and the Chickahominy communities, but we couldn't get at the reasons. All we heard was the result, members of one community speaking in private about the other with muted anger. It sounded to us like a place still dealing with the British invasion of 1607.

In 1993 we decided to see if we could bring the topic out in the open for discussion. We applied for a matching grant from the Virginia Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy, and designed a six-month symposium series to take place at the local high school. Once a month we alternated speakers from the Native and African American communities, and supported them with panels that included authors and historians with roots in the county, tribal council members, professional genealogists, and individuals who were not necessarily 'degreed' but were generally recognized in the county as knowledgeable about local history. We kept in mind that Charles City is a rural and unpretentious community, and made sure there was ample opportunity for discussion, both formal and informal. We inspired the Superintendent of Schools to borrow two photo exhibits from the VFH, one Red and one Black, and display them in the lobby. We got a different local church each month to bring and serve food — wonderful food, like at the potlucks from your childhood — and everybody ate together in the school cafeteria. We had performances of songs and dances from both cultural traditions. Every month we plastered the county with posters, some of which were torn down. We sent press releases to every newspaper and radio or TV station from Richmond to Virginia Beach, and we talked about it to everybody we could catch.

What was the result? On the surface, nothing has changed. The Black and Chickahominy communities are still separate. But apart from truly wearing ourselves out, we put the subject on the local map. The new Chief and a member of the tribal council greet Hugh warmly whenever they see him. Genealogical information is more widely known in the county. The Black congregation of St. John Baptist Church, whose building was the sixth in the area to be destroyed by an arson fire, was invited to continue their worship at Samaria Baptist, the Chickahominy church. More people from the Black community are applying for membership in the Chickahominy Tribe. We haven't yet heard of any who have been admitted.

We aimed the series at current and former residents of Charles City, but people came from DC and New York. Somebody quipped that the trip had been worth it for the food alone.

We did learn the reason for the antagonism. Some of the Chickahominy — as is the case with some other Virginia tribes — resist the idea of having relatives in the Black community, probably supposing, with ample historical precedent, that the White community will consider them less 'Indian' if they admit to having them. After all, Walter Ashby Plecker's statement as head of Virginia's Department of Vital Records that there are no more Indians in the state, and his policy of deliberate alteration of state records to reflect his opinion, were not that long ago. Many of their 'Black' relatives, in turn, aren't happy about having been chopped off the family tree.

A memorable moment occurred when a Chickahominy woman cried while relating that the tribe had ostracized her because she married a Black man. An Assistant Chief responded with a warm, personal statement of tolerance for and appreciation of difference. The woman's husband was then told by the local historian that even though he might identify with the African American community, his grandfather had been one of the founders of the reorganized tribe. The wife was later seen being hugged by the Chief's daughter.

During the very first discussion period a White audience member, upset because she couldn't understand how we could leave the British out of the conversation, took us to task for it. Our explanation was, and remains, that information on the British is the constant background hum of American life; there is no shortage of such information, and there has been no attempt to suppress that portion of the country's history. On the contrary, it has been emphasized, and the British have been given credit for some of the accomplishments of others. Our focus was on two groups not receiving such preferential treatment.

Then in 1999 we decided our heritage needed to be celebrated, not just talked about. The 1619 'Arrival' of Africans into Jamestown had been observed twice previously in recent years at Jamestown Settlement, the first time successfully and the second with a token effort that left a sour taste in our mouths. Surely, we thought, we could do better than that even on a 'grass roots' level.

Our aim was to again honor both the Red and the Black, since for most African Americans the two are impossible to separate without dumping a goodly portion of family history. We sought to enable people to continue the discussion begun by the symposium series, to compare notes with others, and to enjoy an informal outdoor setting. We looked for Indians and Africans, dancers and drummers, vendors of food and non-food items, and speakers willing to share informal conversation with an interested audience. We decided to hold the event, called "Coming Together: The Link and Legacy of Native and African Americans," in our large front yard in Charles City. We paid for everything out of our own shallow pockets, and used all our discretionary time in planning. We sent out more press releases and flyers, and talked about it everywhere we went. We wore ourselves out again.

And oh my, what a moving experience it was. The gorgeous day, the pine woods, the drummed and chanted procession, the Native and African prayers to Creator and the Ancestors, the generous presenters, the informal conversations on history, genealogy and culture, the evocative fabrics and feathers, the singing, the horses, the fried fish sandwiches, the Fire Dance at the end, and the open hearts and minds of everyone in attendance, all contributed to an atmosphere of goodwill and exploration.

So we did it again the next year, and have been doing it every year since then on the second Saturday in August. From 2000 on, it has been held at the Harrison Lake National Fish Hatchery in Charles City, Virginia, thanks to the interest of the Project Manager there. The Hatchery has over 400 acres, including an area natural for a program, a wonderful 90-acre lake with a boat ramp, and extra fishing poles. City kids love it. We have tried to offer an informal, consistent opportunity for interested people to talk about the history and culture that have been largely left out of, or distorted in, most textbooks and encyclopedias, concerning the intimate relationship between Native and African Americans. We still pay for it out of our pockets, but are surrounded by interested people who volunteer to do certain tasks or donate particular items. Each Coming Together is a bit different as a result of the weather and the particular cast of individuals, but each is a precious experience. Every now and then we encounter

people who say, "I was at the very first Coming Together you had at your place..."

Which is, of course, how the Weyanoke Association was started. We reached a point at which more and more people were saying, "You need to have programs the rest of the year," and, "What can we do to help?"

So I booked a conference room in an old city-owned building and let it be known that anybody interested should come help us figure out what came next. After the usual airing of individual concerns and frustrations, and lots of genealogical sharing, we held a few more meetings devoted largely to getting to know each other. They were widely spaced due to the intrusion of real life. Then the dust settled, and we were delighted to discover in our midst people with clear minds, organizational skills and a willingness to work, some of whom were relatives. We eventually put together a succinct statement of 'who we are and what we do.' This in turn enabled us to formulate bylaws, and then to submit an application for tax-exempt status to the IRS, with a minimum of fuss and feathers. It doesn't seem so long now, but the whole process took us about two years.

We needed to be together in the same room to discuss all the issues that came up; the telephone and email just weren't enough, although we certainly used them. And it was very important to us to reach consensus – a Native concept – and not fall victim to European tendencies toward authoritarianism. We had many a hot debate over almost every organizational issue, as those in favor of traditional Native or African structures pulled against those wanting a more mainstream organizational development process. It all got done eventually. We are now recognized officially by the Commonwealth of Virginia as a legal body of Red-Black people "dedicated to acquiring and promoting a greater understanding and appreciation of our ancestry by encouraging education, raising public awareness, preserving historical information, and perpetuating our mixed heritage."

In the meantime, Hugh and I had started a professional *a cappella* vocal and storytelling ensemble in 1990. We called it *Legacy of Weyanoke* in honor of the 1619 settlement of Africans in the midst of the Weyanoke

Indians, in what is now Charles City County. All current and former members have Native ancestry as well as African, and we perform songs and stories from Africa to the Americas, both Black and Red. The idea was to raise money for the Association and supplement our income, through providing educational entertainment composed of folk-based songs and stories that were sliding further into obscurity with each passing day. We have performed at libraries, elementary school PTA programs, college Black History Month observances, church events, and summer festivals, mostly along the East Coast.

We gradually realized that the two organizations are complementary in more than one way. Legacy of Weyanoke isn't just a fundraising arm of the Weyanoke Association; it's members are an important part of spreading the Association's message. We began to involve the ensemble in all the Association's programs, as a way to add power to the presentations. It has been a challenge for some of us, after years of identifying only with the Black community, to give ourselves permission to identify also with the Red.

- Anita Harrell

7th Annual Coming Together

Saturday, August 12, 2006

1:00 PM to Dusk

Rain Location TBA

Harrison Lake National Fish Hatchery

11110 Kimages Rd. (county rte. 658),

Charles City, VA

The Weyanoke Association

P.O. Box 121

Charles City, VA 23030

804/307-8807

<http://www.weyanoke.org/>



The Truth Behind Prison Violence and What We Must Do
Statement from the Chicano Mexicano Prison Project, Feb. 10, 2006

During the first week of February (2006) hundreds of Mexicano Indigenous/Raza and African prisoners have been seriously injured and at least one death has been reported due to the brutal violence taking place between Raza and Africans locked up in jails and prisons in California. While many are surprised or find this brutal warfare to be something new, those of us involved in the struggle for the liberation of our peoples have known, have exposed, and have struggled against the conditions and situations which lead to the violence between oppressed nationalities.

Founded in 1993 as a project of Union del Barrio, the Chicano Mexicano Prison Project (CMPP based in San Diego, CA) for over 13 years has struggle daily to expose the human rights violations of Mexicano indigenous prisoners and those of other nationalities. We are one of the few Raza organizations, along with the Barrio Defense Committee (San Jose, CA), who are dedicated to doing this type of work. Our work has included organizing protests and pickets, regular community/barrio outreach, conferences, and the mailing of newsletters/newspapers every three months to thousands of prisoners locked up in concentration camps (prisons) through-out Occupied America (United States) - from Pelican Bay in California to Marion State Prison in Illinois. Many of our members, either have family in prison, have done time in prison, or as barrio residents, experience the same conditions which have led many of Nuestra Raza into prison. It is on this work and experience upon which we base our analyses and perspectives.

As we read the newspaper accounts, see T. V. reports, and statements from officials, in which they claim to be concerned for the well being of prisoners and that they are doing everything possible to bring calm to the prisons and jails, we can't help but be outraged by their hypocrisy and blatant lies. Not only do sources that we work with, but mainstream media accounts as well, have exposed time and time again, how prison officials and the government have either instigated violence between Mexicano Indigenous and African prisoners, or have created the conditions of over crowding and imposition of ignorance upon the mass majority of prisoners which have led to explosions of violence.

The "gladiator fights" organized by guards, as well as the denying of training and educational programs, limitations on visits, banning/censorship of reading material, lack of adequate medical services, and recreational/ exercise activities, have contributed greatly to an atmosphere of fear, anger, ignorance, and violence. Moreover, everyday the CMPP gets back issues of our newsletter from prisons labeled as "undeliverable" because of its progressive and revolutionary political content, proving that prison officials would rather keep prisoners ignorant and violent, rather than allowing them to grow politically and become productive members of the communities from which they come.

We are also greatly disappointed by those so-called activists and cultural workers who have never responded to our call for assistance and to work united with us in an effort to address the terrible inhumane conditions which exist in every prison: rape, the torture of the SHU cells (Security Housing Units), early death cause by lack of medical care, guard brutality (physical and psychological), and prisoner on prisoner violence. In fact, many have criticized us for working with prisoners or our political views, rather than doing something concrete to help our people. On the other hand, the majority of Hispanic middle class and professionals (sellouts) have called for more imprisonment and harsher conditions, joining the racist-U.S. ruling class in the oppression and genocide of the Mexicano Indigenous, African, and other oppressed people.

And not to be disrespectful, but we must also struggle to inform the masses of our people that no amount of "praying" (in any language or particular religion) is going to end prison violence and death. We must explain clearly to those "clergy" who were invited by the "devil" (prison, jail, and government officials) to go into the cells to talk "peace" to prisoners, that it is not religion which is oppressing us and therefore it will not be religion which will liberate us.

The reality is that the United States (Occupied America) is a prison of nations where a small rich-racist capitalist ruling elite, with the assistance of the neocolonialists (sellouts, uncle toms, and vendidos) oppresses the great majority of the Mexican-Indigenous, African, Filipino, Puerto Rican, and other nationalities, as well as poor whites. Moreover, this oppression not only takes place within the current borders of the United States, but throughout planet earth.

The truth is that the main objective of prisons is to keep under control (and colonized) the oppressed nationalities and at the same time bring billions of dollars of profits to construction and utilities companies, judges, D.A.s, prison officials, corrupt politicians, and so forth, at the expense of the suffering of prisoners and their families. This is known as the Prison Industrial Complex.

We therefore argue that only the destruction of capitalism and colonialism will eliminate the need for prisons and thus put an end to prison violence. It doesn't take a genius to discover that the true human rights activist must aim hers/his actions against the twin pillars of human oppression, capitalism and colonialism (imperialism/global capitalism). This can only be done by supporting and joining organizations who are dedicated to eliminating capitalism and who are for true democracy, justice, and peace not just here in within the belly of the beast (United States), but for the masses of humanity throughout the world.

The CMPP is committed to continue the struggle for the human rights of prisoners and the liberation of the Mexicano Indigenous people. In the future we will work even harder to reach out to our people in an effort to end the violence among the oppressed communities.

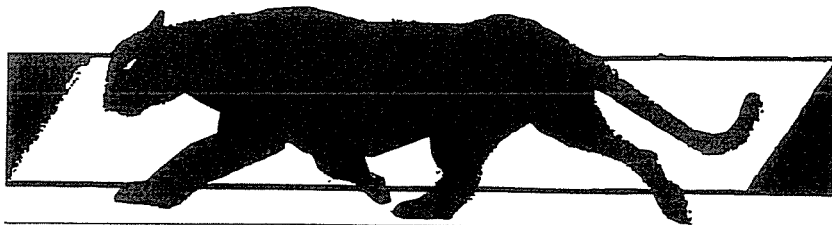
Another World Is Necessary - Venceremos

Chicano Mexicano Prison Project/ Union del Barrio

contact: uniondelbarrio.org

Union del Barrio
PO Box 620095
San Diego, CA 92162
(619) 696-9224

*The New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter stands in revolutionary solidarity with the companeros of the Union del Barrio Chicano Mexicano - Prison Project in condemning the conditions and situations which have led to the violence between oppressed nationalities in the California prison system. We call upon our members and supporters to work strenuously to educate the brothers and sisters to the need for unity and the folly of fratricidal violence between oppressed peoples. **THE PEOPLE UNITED WILL NOT BE DEFEATED! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!***





The Black Womyn has in the past few hundred years been the only force holding us together and holding us up. She has absorbed the biggest part of the many shocks and strains of existence under a slave order. The men can think of nothing more effective than dealing drugs, pimping, gambling, or petty theft. I've heard men brag about being pimps of Black Womyn and taking money from Black Womyn on relief. Things like this I find odious, disgusting - these Black men have proven themselves to be utterly detestable and repulsive in the past. Before I would succumb to such subterfuge I would scratch my living from the ground on hands and knees, or die in a hail of bullets! My hat goes off to every one of you, you have my profoundest respect."

George L. Jackson

International Wimyn's Day

In 1907, German socialist Clara Zetkin organized an International Conference of Socialist Wimyn where participants, including Russian Bolshevik Alexandra Kollontai, discussed ways to publicly support a struggle for wimyn's equality and liberation. Socialist wimyn in New York City acted on this discussion in 1908 by holding a mass meeting on wimyn's suffrage on March 8, and the next year the American Socialist Party instituted an annual "wimyn's day."

New York City. Manhattan's Lower East Side. It is November 1909.

Bitterly cold winds cut through sweaters and coats to the skin like a knife. Winter is early this year. People hurry down the frosty sidewalks, vendors splatter ketchup and mustard on hotdogs, teenage boys sell newspapers—their breath rising up in rolling gray clouds.

Suddenly, a voice. A collective voice, 20,000 strong, reverberates off of the surrounding buildings and makes its way through the maze of city streets.

How momentous. It's mostly women, packing the street, marching together, from hundreds of the city's sweatshops. Their banners speak of socialism and justice. And they're chanting in Yiddish, Italian, Russian and occasionally in English. They demand an end to the horrors of their everyday lives, the murderous pace of work, the starvation piece rates, their complete lack of basic rights as women, as human beings.

Their boots stomp the pavement. They're shivering, from rage and from the cold. What an irony: they work in the garment district, sometimes 15 hours a day, stitching and pressing, stitching and pressing, stitching and pressing their lives away. They clothe the world. And yet many can't even afford a decent coat for themselves. (Revolutionary Worker #1270, March 13, 2005)

In 1910, Clara Zetkin proposed an International Wimyn's Day at the Second International Conference of Socialist Wimyn in Copenhagen, and European socialists began to celebrate IWD in 1911. (Marian Sawyer, "International Women's Day," Canberra Times, Feb. 17, 1997)

The first International Women's Day took place in 1911. Its success succeeded all expectation. Germany and Austria on Working Women's Day was one seething, trembling sea of women. Meetings were organized everywhere — in the small towns and even in the villages halls were packed so full that they had to ask male workers to give up their places for the women.

This was certainly the first show of militancy by the working woman. Men stayed at home with their children for a change, and their wives, the captive housewives, went to meetings. During the largest street demonstrations, in which 30,000 were taking part, the police decided to remove the demonstrators' banners: the women workers made a stand. In the scuffle that followed, bloodshed was averted only with the help of the socialist deputies in Parliament. (Alexandra Kollontai, International Women's Day)

Then came the great, great year of 1917. Hunger, cold and trials of war broke the patience of the women workers and the peasant women of Russia. In 1917, on the 8th of March (23rd of February), on Working Women's Day, they came out boldly in the streets of Petrograd. The women — some were workers, some were wives of soldiers — demanded "Bread for our children" and "The return of our husbands from the trenches." At this decisive time the protests of the working women posed such a threat that even the Tsarist security forces did not dare take the usual measures against the rebels but looked on in confusion at the stormy sea of the people's anger.

The 1917 Working Women's Day has become memorable in history. On this day the Russian women raised the torch of proletarian revolution and set the world on fire. The February revolution marks its beginning from this day. (Ibid)

Four days after the heroic demonstration of the wimyn, the hated Tsar was overthrown and wimyn were granted the right to vote. From then to now, IWD has been an important day of struggle around the world. In 1970, while two wimyn members of the Black Panther Party, Joan Bird and Afeni Shakur, were being held in the Women's House of Detention in Greenwich Village, NYC, as part of the attempted FBI COINTELPRO frame-up of 21 members of the BPP, the Women's Caucus of Youth Against War and Fascism (YAWF) surrounded the jail with a militant demonstration of 1,000 chanting "Free our sisters! Free ourselves!"

The day began with a spirited rally in Union Square, chaired by Deirdre Griswold of the YAWF Women's Caucus. Speakers included representatives from many women's organizations: African American attorney Flo Kennedy, about her work to repeal New York's anti-abortion laws; Sue Davis of the YAWF Women's Caucus on the revolutionary history of IWD; Dr. June Finer of the Medical Committee on Human Rights on health care for women; and Kathy Ellis of the New University Conference on the fight for daycare.

The Women's Caucus of the Young Lords Party—the revolutionary Puerto Rican youth group—sent a delegation. Iris Benitez, lieutenant of information for the Young Lords, spoke about how Antonia Martinez had been killed the day before in a struggle against ROTC—the U.S. military's Reserve Officers' Training Corps—at the University of Puerto Rico. (WW, March 26, 1970)

On International Wimyn's Day, March 8, 1979, wimyn and male supporters in Tehran, Iran, braved Islamic Guards and thugs allied with the new government headed by Ayatollah Khomeini. The march demanded that the revolution, forged by the masses, continue and include freedom for wimyn.

Every segment of the population had been totally involved in ridding Iran of its twin nemeses—the Shah and U.S. imperialism—and it seemed to be the eve of the greatest revolution since 1917. The workers who had been out on general strike refused to turn over their guns even when the Ayatollah commanded it. All sorts of spontaneous organizations arose, by no means limited to former guerrilla groups. Quite the contrary. There were SHORAS [women's organizations], there were workers' councils, there were ANJOMANIS [soviets]. And in all of them youth was dominant.

There was no end to the freedom of the press and the great attraction for the student youth of new Marxist translations. The most eagerly sought-after of the Marxist groups were those who were independent of any state power. The most persistent fighters for self-determination were also the most organized, and were not only the Kurds but also the Arabs. Because they were all part of the mass revolutionary outburst which overthrew the Shah, they felt confident in continuing the fight for genuine self-determination.

Red Sun Rising, Vol. #1

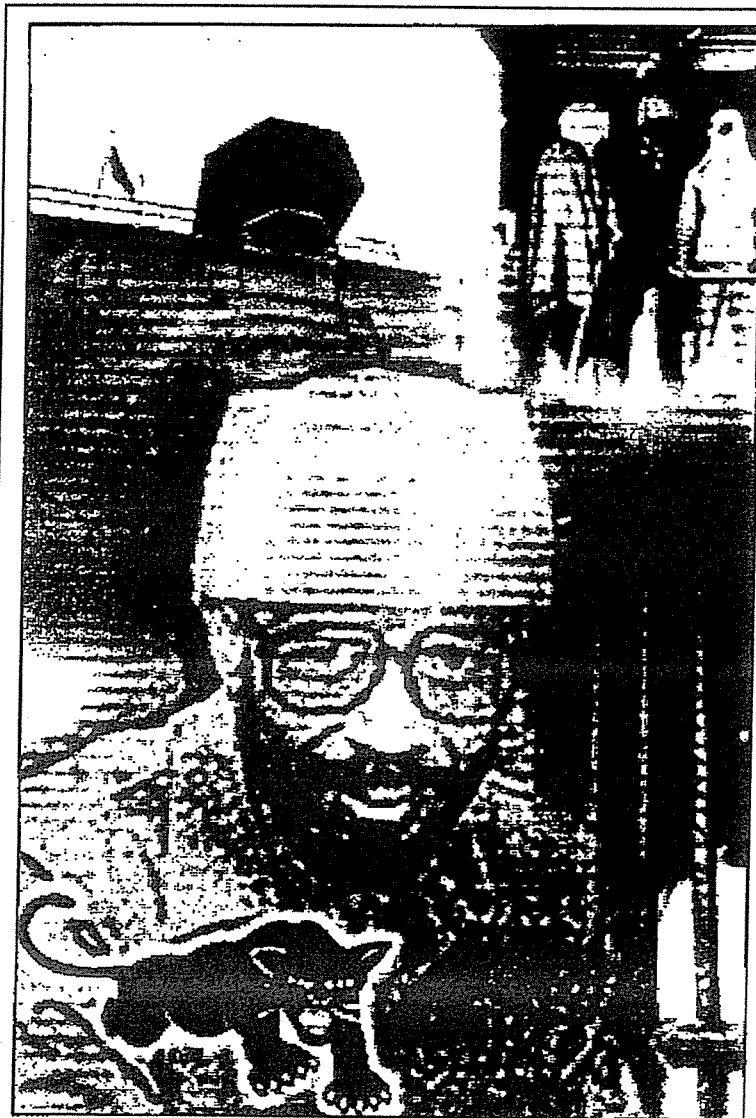
Finally, and no means least, the Women's Liberation Movement aimed at opening up a new chapter for the revolution. They were involved for five days, beginning on International Women's Day, March 8, 1979, in continuous marches under the slogan, "We made the revolution for freedom and got unfreedom." (Women and Revolution in Iran, Raya Dunayevskaya, 1979)

Chinese wimyn began celebrating in 1924, paralleling a strong wimyn's movement in the Chinese Communist party. In 1970 the revolutionary Uruguayan Tupamaros celebrated March 8 by freeing 13 wimyn prisoners from Uruguay's jails. In 1982, Edith Lagos, a 19-year old guerrilla fighter of the Communist Party of Peru led a small detachment which blew a hole in the wall in the Ayacucho jail, freed all the prisoners and seized weapons. Edith was loved by the people for her revolutionary actions. After she was captured and murdered, the Peruvian government declared her funeral an illegal gathering, but 30,000 people came to her funeral in Ayacucho – a town of only 70,000 people. Each year she is remembered on IWD throughout Peru.

As in Peru, the people's war in Nepal, where one third of the People's Liberation Army fighters are wimyn, has greatly unleashed the power of wimyn in a backward feudal society. Even under the despotic rule of the Taliban, the Revolutionary Association of the Women of Afghanistan (RAWA) dared to hold demonstrations on IWD, taking a lesson from the wimyn of Italy and Spain who dared turn out to march on May 8th during the regimes of Mussolini and Franco.

In Afrika, recent IWD demonstrations are often tied to the fight against the spread of HIV/AIDS and the demand for free condoms, prevention education and treatment. Traditionally, IWD has been linked to demands for the right to vote, for equal pay, and for peace and freedom. It is a day for struggle and celebration of the role of wimyn. As they used to say in Maoist China:

Wimyn Hold Up Half The Sky! Long Live The Wimyn Fighters!



Russell "Maroon" Shoatz is a former Black Panther and Black Liberation Army member who has been in prison since 1972.

Free Russell "Maroon" Shoatz! Imprisoned Black Freedom Fighter Being Abused by Guards!

Russell "Maroon" Shoatz is a black freedom fighter who has been in Pennsylvania's state prisons for 33 years. His is in prison because has taken the boldest and most uncompromising stance in pursuit of the freedom and liberation of black people. And since he has been in prison, he has been subject to abuse, torture, terror and the most extreme violation of his human rights.

The most recent episode of prison harassment and psychological and physical abuse included his false diagnosis of prostate cancer by prison doctors. After complaints about internal pains, Brother Maroon was examined by a prison doctor and told that he was stricken with his deadly disease. He was denied treatment and prison officials undermined the attempts of his family and supporters to have him examined by an independent doctor. It took months for Brother Maroon to get a reliable medical examination, and to obtain proof that he was healthy.

However, prison authorities retaliated against him by blocking his communication with his supporters, conducting routine raids of his cell and stealing all of his personal materials - including his pens, pencils and toothbrush. Today, prison authorities have moved Brother Maroon to death row - even though he has not been sentenced to death. The prison administrators say that this is the only way to protect him from abusive guards.

Brother Maroon Targeted for Death

The truth is that for more than 30 years, Brother Maroon has been on the death list of government officials from the FBI, the Philadelphia District Attorney's office, state police and the top prison officials of the state. For more than 20 out of the 33 years he has been incarcerated, he has been kept in isolation where he is locked within a 10x10 feet cell for more than 23 hours a day and subjected to sensory deprivation, constant cell searches, abrupt transfers from prison to prison and frequent harassment and physical attacks.

Brother Maroon has been targeted for this abuse because he has been labeled an extreme danger - both to the stability of the state prison system (which serves as concentration camp for black men and women) and to the situation in black communities where killer cops routinely get away with shooting black people down in the streets. For the last 33 years, government officials have considered Brother Maroon's imprisonment a major victory in their ongoing war against black people's freedom struggle. They believe his death would advance this victory even further.

Mumia and Maroon

While millions of people around the world have been involved in the struggle to free political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, another black revolutionary from Philadelphia, Brother Maroon has been isolated, receiving far less support and almost no recognition as a victim of political persecution by the government.

Why? Because Brother Maroon has always openly acknowledged that he was an active fighter in the armed underground of the Black Liberation Movement, whose center of gravity revolved around the Black Liberation Army (BLA). The formation of the BLA in the early 1970s represented one of the first major attempts by courageous young black men and women to defend the black community from racist violence such as police murderers, lynching by white mobs like those who murdered Emmitt Till and the assassinations of black leaders such as Malcolm X and Martin Luther King.

While the formation of the BLA was a necessary and crucial step in the advancement of black people's freedom struggle, many people did not support it - especially many liberals, both black and white, who did not believe that black people have a right to armed self-defense and self-determination.

While many liberals have considered Mumia's case "safe" to support, they have refused to support the black movement's Prisoners of War, such as Brother Maroon. They deny the fact that Mumia and Maroon, both members of the Philadelphia branch of the Black Panther Party (BPP), represented different aspects of the same struggle.

From Thug to Revolutionary: Maroon's Transformation

Brother Maroon represents a threat to the white power structure because, like Malcolm X and many people of his generation who participated in organizations like the Black Panthers, he is a living testament of the revolutionary potential of black street youth who are slandered and attacked by the system.

Born in 1943, Maroon grew up in West Philadelphia where he was deeply involved in the gang wars that raged throughout the city. He spent much of his youth locked away in detention centers, where he reinforced his reputation as a fierce street fighter.

The Black Unity Council and the Black Panther Party

He acknowledges being totally ignorant of the black liberation struggle until hearing Malcolm X speak at a Harlem street rally in 1963. He did not get involved in the black struggle himself until 1968, when black militant groups like the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and the Black Panther Party began to spring up in Philadelphia and throughout the U.S.

In his West Philadelphia neighborhood, Maroon and many of his fellow gang members played a leading role in the formation of the Black Unity Council (BUC), a black liberation group which organized independent schools, provided assistance for needy families, negotiated truces between warring area gangs, organized against police brutality and formed a paramilitary wing to defend the black community. Like Malcolm X, Brother Maroon speaks proudly about how the black movement helped transform him from a gang-banger into a loving father and husband and a devoted community leader.

Frank Rizzo's War Against the Black Community

It was during this time that then-Mayor Frank Rizzo declared war against the Black Liberation Movement and the black community. Rizzo's campaign of murder and brutality was the white power structure's answer to the awakening of black youth in Philadelphia. In one particularly vicious episode, Rizzo personally oversaw the beating and torture of black school children marching on the School Board to demand that black history be taught in school. Many of these children - from elementary school to high school age - were badly injured and had to be hospitalized. Some recall "blood flowing in the streets."

This was Rizzo's Philadelphia. Police executed unarmed young black men and women in the streets. War was declared against RAM, and its members were arrested and tortured in police stations as well as RAM offices. The homes of its members were raided and ransacked. Around the same time, heroin began to flood the streets of Philadelphia. It was also around this time that the BUC merged with the local Black Panther Party and that the BLA began to take shape in Philadelphia and

throughout the U.S. to defend black activists and the black community in general from government murder and brutality.

Brother Maroon and the Black Underground

It was in this climate of police terror, government assassinations and open warfare by the white power structure against the black movement that Brother Maroon and fellow members of the Philadelphia BLA were accused of killing a police officer. In 1972, after almost two years underground, during which local, state and national police carried out a massive manhunt for Brother Maroon, he was captured and imprisoned along with many of his BLA comrades. In prison, the BLA/Black Panther forces regrouped and continued their struggle behind bars - organizing inmates to fight abuse by the guards. On two occasions, Brother Maroon escaped from prison - once he eluded a massive manhunt for an entire month. It was this indomitable resistance that earned Russell Shoatz the name "Maroon," after the escaped slaves who formed outposts of armed resistance against slavery throughout the Americas.

Your active support is needed to help defend Brother Maroon, and to ultimately fight for his freedom and the freedom of other black Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. We cannot allow the government the satisfaction of having murdered another one of our black freedom fighters. And we must not continue to allow them to successfully use the prison system as tool of torture and repression against black people. Join the struggle today.



In May, the FBI offered a \$1 million bounty for the capturer of Assata Shakur, a Black Liberation Army member who escaped from prison in 1979 and currently lives in Cuba.

“ Your active support is needed to help save the life of Brother Maroon, and to ultimately fight for his freedom and the freedom of other black Political Prisoners and Prisoners of War. ”

JOIN THE JERICHO MOVEMENT TO FREE POLITICAL PRISONERS NOW!

P.O. BOX 9476, PHILADELPHIA, PA 19139
(215) 604-1759

Websites: <http://freerussellshoatz.com> or
<http://thejerichomovement.com>

EXECUTIVE MANDATE NO. #5:

STATEMENT OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND
THE CHAIRMAN
OF THE NEW AFRIKAN BLACK PANTHER PARTY-
PRISON CHAPTER
February 21, 2006

So Let This Be Heard...
Brother Bobby Dixon:

Because you have maintained revolutionary focus and direction when it would have been easy to submit to the flagrant abuse and intimidation of monopoly capitalist dictatorship;

Because you continue to organize and mobilize our youth to expose and resist the vicious trickery of the system;

Because you have become an all-the-way revolutionary by showing Panther Love for New Afrikan and oppressed people;

Because you will be a strong Servant of the People by adhering to Revolutionary Panther Morality;
You are hereby drafted into the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter, invested with the rank of Minister of Justice with a position on the Central Committee, with the following authority, power, and responsibility:

To heighten the consciousness New Afrikan youth and to make sure that Revolutionary Pantherism and the NABPP-PC rules and regulations are adhered to by all levels of the Party: No one is above the principles of constructive criticism and self-criticism and democratic-centralism; And to promote JUSTICE for our New Afrikan and all oppressed people.
...So Let It Be Done!

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson
NABPP-PC Minister of Defense

Shaka Sankofa Zulu
Chairman, NABPP-PC

Statement by the Minister of Justice

Everyone who knows Bobby Marion Dixon knows that he is a politically involved Black man. His goal is to bring young blacks together in love and respect for each other and to have them strive after the education that is so needed in order to get ahead in the world today.

We know for a fact that as Black Panther party members all over the world, the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. would want us, as politically aware brothers and sisters to teach our children that profanity is a mild form of insanity that holds a mighty obsession over many Black Americans.

Consider this mildly insane tendency to use profanity? Is there really a logical reason that would justify the practice of profanity?

a. Does profanity make you any more a woman or man of character?

b. Would you enjoy hearing your mother, sister, wife, or daughter use profanity?

d. Would you advise your children to cultivate the habit of cursing or using profanity?

e. Do you really think that it make's you cool as a rapper or a member of the hip hop nation to use these words?

As a freedom fighter, comrade, political prisoner and a member of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter, I cry out to appeal to comrades and the community at large to influence our youth to not use profanity.□

BEHIND ENEMY LINES CDC LABELS YOUNGSTERS “HABITUAL OFFENDERS” PROVIDES NO TREATMENT

Reprinted from *National Black Newspaper*, December 14, 2005
And Right On!, No. #3

by Bobby M. Dixon

After the intentional and deliberate murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., young African descendants in America became even more of an endangered people.

There are 166,355 people incarcerated in California's correctional facilities. Approximately 55 percent of those imprisoned are of African descent. An alarmingly high number of individuals belonging to this social group have been in and out of penal institutions since childhood. America calls them either habitual offenders or career criminals.

For many years, I have been disappointed tremendously because of the California judicial and penal system's use of the term "habitual." It is hypocritical that this same institution has never offered a sincere approach to counseling programs for the hundreds of thousands labeled as habitual offenders. In any other area of human activity that we label habitual, people are automatically perceived to have lost the strength to be responsible when it comes to certain activities.

The Oxford American Dictionary defines "habit" as 1) *A settled-way of behaving, something done frequently and almost without thinking;* 2) *Something that is hard to give up, especially an addiction to narcotics.*

The system labels a type of offender as habitual, yet proceeds to completely ignore emotional, psychological and social implications of that label. In other words, it is like a doctor diagnosing a patient with a chronic ailment and doing nothing to help the patient, not even giving any meaningful self-help advice.

What is even more tragic is that hundreds of thousands of children and young teens are emotionally, psychologically and socially ignored by the judicial and penal systems in the state of California, so that often their delinquency evolves into adult habitual criminality.

Unfortunately, unsuspecting parents tend to believe that their children are receiving counseling etc. during their stays in youth penal facilities. For the vast majority of children and teens, no help is offered. They are merely being isolated from society for brief, unproductive periods. With no love from the family or leadership from people in their community, many turn to crime and become gang members- both for emotional and financial support.

The judicial and penal system's policies and concerns with successful rehabilitation of youth and adults is about as responsible as would be a plastic surgeon who drops a bus of people with burned faces off at a clinic and leaves them to operate on themselves. A few of them may succeed at improving their looks; others would become even more disfigured.

The majority, however, would remain the same, feeling as though they have no idea where to begin and therefore are left with an even more debilitating feeling of hopelessness. This is the racism that exists within the California Department of Corrections. Even correctional officers of African decent are racially biased against prisoners of African descent, resulting from a long history of oppression.

I appeal and cry out to all my Black Panther Parry members in the U.S.A. not to allow our youth's lives to be in vain, to allow them to suffer in prison or die at the hands of the pigs. We must save our children!

It's my request that political prisoners and prisoners of war reach out to all of the youth in prison and the outside world. Remember the young people and the children are our future. I welcome all response from people and all my comrades, sisters and brothers. So please answer soon. Power to the people, with one love always, in revolution of the mind.

Write to Bobby at Bobby M. Dixon, NABPP-PC C-41652 H-207 Lower, P.O. Box 2000, CMF, Vacaville, CA 95696-2000.□

“When a cause comes along and you know in your bones that it is just, yet refuse to defend it, at that moment you begin to die. And I have never seen so many corpses walking around talking about justice.” – Mumia Abu-Jamal



Community Press Features

Building Proletarian Internationalism by Building the New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter

By Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

Reprinted from: *Prison Art*, May 2006, Vol.6 No. 5, and *Right On!*, No. # 4

"Black Power is really people's power. The Black Panther program, Panther Power as we call it, will implement this people's power. We have respect for all humanity and we realize that the people should rule and determine their destiny. Wipe out the controller. To have Black Power doesn't humble or subjugate anyone to slavery or oppression. Black Power is giving power to the people who have not had power to determine their destiny." - Huey P Newton

The ideology of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) is called *Pantherism*.

What does this mean? Pantherism can be said to be modern-day revolutionary nationalism that take into consideration the entire scope and range of New Afrikan and Afrikan people's history and culture. It is the pre-colonial and post-colonial experience rooted in the radical tradition of New Afrikan and Afrikan resistance.

Pantherism means POWER TO THE PEOPLE! It means taking the power from the minority ruling class pigs, the monopoly capitalist and imperialist power structure through a war of people's revolutionary resistance. After all, what is revolution without the people? It is warlordism and banditry. So in order to build revolutionary national democracy for all the oppressed nations in

empire land, we have to develop a United Front Against Imperialism (UFAI) by uniting and practicing the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The weapon of education that the NA Black Panther Party uses to heighten consciousness in the NA colony and the prison system consists of our Ten Point Program: We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black and op-pressed communities. Number two: We want full employment for our people. Number three: We want an end to the robbery by the capitalist of our Black and oppressed communities. Number four: We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings. Number five: We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and role in the present-day society. Number six: We want completely free health care for all Black and oppressed people. Number seven: We want an immediate

end to police brutality and murder of Black people, other people of color, all oppressed people inside the United States. Number eight: We want an immediate end to all wars of aggression. Number nine: We want freedom for all Black and oppressed people now held in U.S. federal, state, County, City and Military prisons and jails. We want trials by a jury of peers for all persons charged with so-called crimes under the laws of this country. Number ten: We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and people's community control of modern technology.

It's important for all people to know that we promote the need for all oppressed nations right here in Amerika to start hooking up together before you seek to hook up with oppressed people abroad. Fascist brutality and murder against our people are happening here in Amerika. Many times comrades with good intentions look abroad for causes attempting to practice proletarian internationalism. We have no problem with that, out here is our situation right here-many oppressed nations contending with Capitalism, Imperialism and Racism.

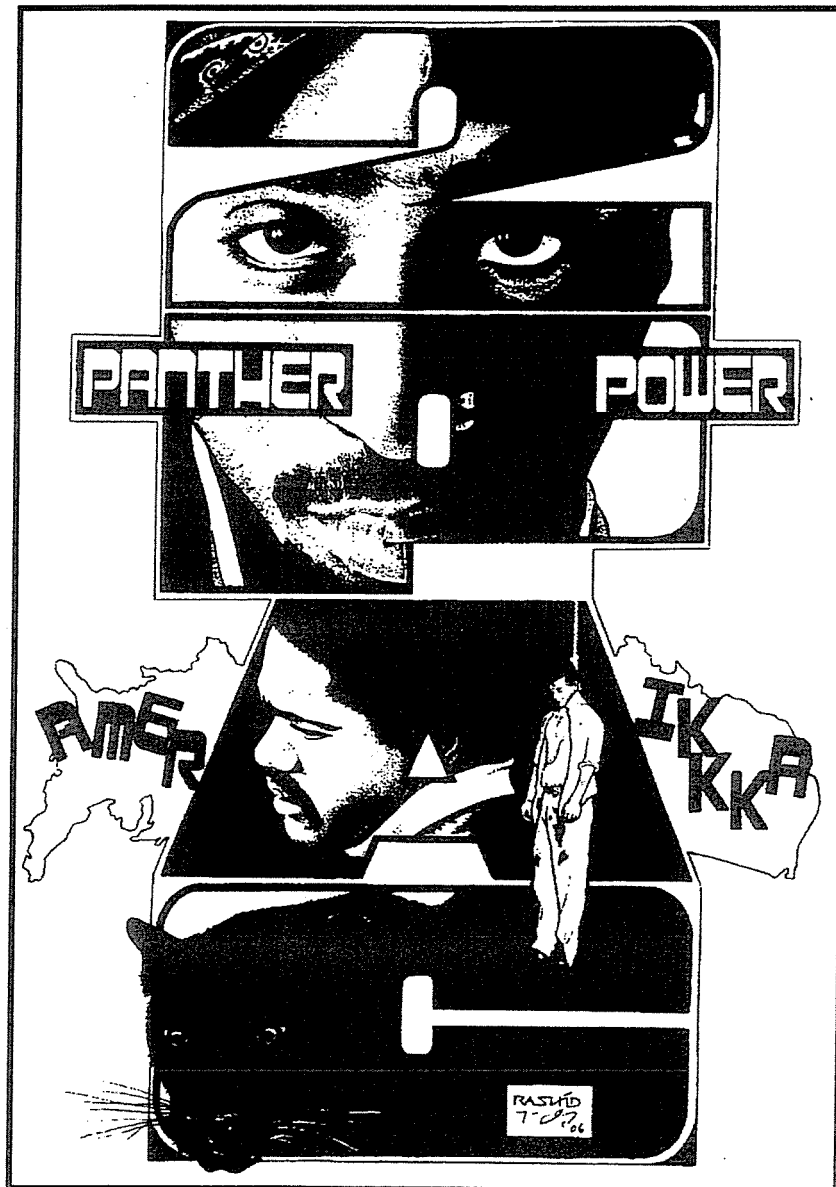
Along that line, we have brought to life with Comrade Tom Big Warrior, a branch of the Jericho Movement in Philadelphia. The NA Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter will work tirelessly to deepen our people's and allies' consciousness about the need to win the freedom of all Political Prisoners and bring home our Exiles. We intend to flood every level of society with these

comrades' names and history, but even more, we intend to connect them with the national liberation struggle. For the oppressor to recognize political prisoners and exiles means that he has to also recognize the oppressed NA colony, the Native people's claim to self-determination, the Chicano people's demand for self-determination as well as the Puerto Rican Independence struggle.

So we know that Capitalism, Imperialism and Racism are evil and must be destroyed by collectively getting together right here first by practicing proletarian internationalism with the various oppressed nations mentioned above if we want to build a United Front Against Imperialism (UFAI). If we want to free our political prisoners and bring our exiles home we must change the slogan from that of "Bring our Troops Home" to that of "Free Our Political Prisoners or Else Face the Mighty Wrath of People's Power, You Fascist Pig."

So I would like to end this by saying: Black Power to Black People; Native Power to Native People; Latino Power to Latinos and Panther Power to the NA Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter.

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! SEIZE THE
TIME!
ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE



Panther Power

[Tupac]

As real as it seems the American Dream
Ain't nothing but another calculated schemes
To get us locked up shot up back in chains
To deny us of the future rob our names
Kept my history of mystery but now I see
The American Dream wasn't meant for me
Cause lady liberty is a hypocrite she lied to me
Promised me freedom, education, equality
Never gave me nothing but slavery
And now look at how dangerous you made me
Calling me a mad man cause I'm strong and bold
With this dump full of knowledge of the lies you told
Promise me emancipation indispute nation
All you gave my people was our patience
Fathers of our country never cared for me
They kept my answer shackled up in slavery
And Uncle Sam never did a dam thing for me
Except lie about the facts in my history
So now I'm sitting hear mad cause I'm unemployed
But the government's glad cause they enjoyed
When my people are down so they can screw us around
Time to change the government now panther power

[Chorus]

Panther power
Panther power
Panther power

[Tyson]

Coming straight that resides within
Go toe to toe with a panther and you just can't win
Suffered fame bats suppressed the rest
The rich get richer and the poor can't last
The American Dream was an American nightmare
You kept my people down and refuse to fight fair
The Klu Klux Klan tried to keep us out
Besides drew they know no blacks allowed
With intimidation and segregation was a way for our
freedom
But now were impatient
Blacks the other skin: dead or sell outs
Freedom, equality, then I'll yell out
"Don't you ever be ashamed of what you are
It's ya panther power that makes you a star"
Panther power

[Chorus]

Panther power
Panther power
Panther power

[Tupac]

My Mother never let me forget my history
Hoping I was set free chains never put on me
Wanted to be more than just free
Had to know the true facts about my history
I couldn't settle for being a statistic
Couldn't survive in this capitalistic
Government cause it was meant to hold us back
Using ignorant, drugs, to sneak attack
In my community think of unity
But when I charged them, tried to claim immunity
I strike America like a case of hard disease
Panther power is running through my arteries
Try to stop oh boy you'll be clawed to death
Cause I'll be fighting for my freedom with my dying breath
Do you remember that is what I'm asking you?
You think you living free don't let me laugh at you
Open your eyes realize that you have been locked in chains
Said you wasn't civilized and stole your name
Cause some time has passed seem you all forget
There ain't no liberty to you and me we all ain't free yet
Panther power

[Chorus]

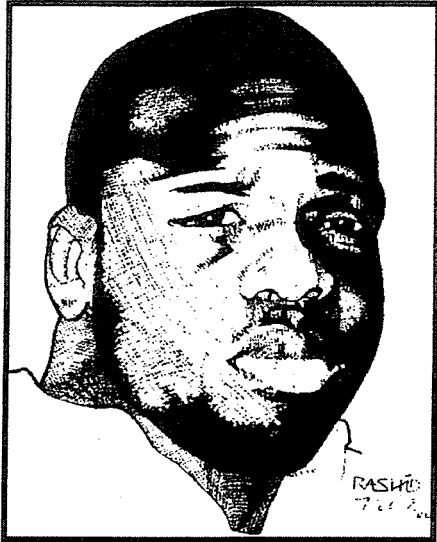
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[Chorus]

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Comrade Hasan Shakur

No Place to be Reborn: The Awakening

(Col. writ. 3/30/06 @ '06 Mumia Abu Jamal
reprinted from Right On!, No. # 4

The name Hasan Shakur is not a familiar one.

It doesn't yet ring any bells beyond the small circle of people to whom he has pledged his loyalty, nor even to those who plan to take his very life within a month.

He was born Derrick Frazier, and his life, like that of millions of others, was one of loss, of alienation, of every day being pretty much like the day that came before.

His life was one of poverty, bordered by ignorance, bracketed by want.

While still a child, his mother, at the ripe old age of 40, succumbed to the ravages of a crack cocaine addiction, and left him to ferret out life's changing puzzles in the mean streets.

His life led him to Texas, and Texas led him to the ultimate Black ghetto—Death Row.

Unless his new -found supporters can ring the bell, the State of Texas plans to lynch him on April 27, 2006!

Hasan Shakur, like so many others in Texas and across the land, came to Death Row with ease.

A false confession here; a false promise there; an incompetent 'defense' lawyer—and voila!—Death Row becomes 'home.'

What is keeping Hasan's soul alive in his new-born faith—not in a religion—but in his people.

Hasan has joined the newly-formed New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter, based in Amerika's prisons, and in honor of his commitment in the face of death, the NABPP has named him its Minister of Human Rights.

Hasan, through his politicalization, has devoted his life to what the NABPP calls "Pantherism," or a fidelity to the Revolution as taught and practiced by the original Black Panther Party.

Unlike other recent formations, the NABPP studies the writings of Huey P. Newton, Bobby Seale, George Jackson, and other founding and leading members. The works of Malcolm X are important tools for understanding and addressing the challenges of today.

This is refreshing news indeed.

For Hasan, however, prison, and worse, Death Row, was the place, not just of his nightmarish repression, and possible death, but of his rebirth, his becoming a Revolutionary, who looks at the collective interests of his people, and all oppressed Peoples of the Earth.

When a Norwegian supporter wrote a letter stained with tears after learning of his date with death, Shakur replied, "Don't you know that I will never die?"

Being part of something greater than himself; being part of a revolutionary movement; being part of an historic struggle that has lasted since (at least) 1492, Hasan Shakur sees that as this Freedom Struggle survives, so does he.

Arrested with another man for the killing of a Texas rancher's wife and son, Shakur believed what he was told by the cops, who assured him that if he "confessed" he wouldn't be given the death penalty. Hasan was later saddled with a lawyer of such incompetence that he was later disbarred.

With no physical evidence tying him to the crimes (except his unreliable confession), Shakur's supporters and comrades are trying to get a stay of execution until truly competent lawyers can mount a defense.

In a recent message from prison entitled, "A Liberated Soul," Shakur writes:

"As for myself, if it be the plan of the Creator - I will not be around much longer. My legal appeals have taken turns for the worse, and yet, the path of liberation continues to be my vocation, carving out a path for future revolutionaries to follow and carry the torch. I despise the class oppression that is the basis of the capitalist system and the racist national oppression that goes with it."

[from Hasan Shakur, "A Liberated Soul," Right On! #2: Newsletter of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (Winter '05-'06), p. 8.

Hasan's supporters are sending letters to Texas Gov. Rick Perry, P.O. Box 12428, Austin, TX 78711, Ph. (512) 463-2000; or Fax: (512) 463-1849. There is also an online petition at www.hasanshakur.com.

Neither Hasan Shakur, (nor Derrick Frazier) had a fair trial, or a fair chance to defend life. Support his struggle for life and dignity.

[Mumia Abu Jamal, a former Minister of Information in the Black Panther Party (BPP), is himself an innocent man on Death Row in Pennsylvania. His book WE WANT FREEDOM: A Life in the Black Panther Party, (Cambridge, MA, South End Press, 2004) tells the untold story of the lives of rank-and-file members of the BPP.]

Shortly before his scheduled execution date, the Texas Appeals Court granted Hasan a temporary stay of execution to allow his new lawyers time to prepare an appeal.

Torture is as American as Cherry Pie!

By Tom Big Warrior
Red Heart Warriors Society (RHWS)

In one of the earliest journals of Colonial America, Capt. David DeVries of the New Netherland Colony describes in lurid detail how on the night of February 25th, 1643, Dutch soldiers and civilians launched an unprovoked attack on friendly Lenape Indians camped at Corlaer's Hook and across the Hudson River at Pavonia (Jersey City) massacring hundreds of them. On the following day, they returned with 30 prisoners and many severed heads. The prisoners, who had survived the massacre, were tied to stakes, had their skin peeled off with sharp knives, and were forced to eat their own flesh, while the good ladies of the colony made sport by kicking the severed heads around the Bowling Green.

It seems Euro-Americans have never tired of the sport of torturing Indians, as demonstrated by the June 7th, 2005 assault and torturing of Lenape Chief, Iron Thunderhorse, the Medicine Chief of the Red Heart Warriors Society and a political prisoner at the Polunski Unit in Livingston, Texas. Ranking officers of the Texas Department of Criminal Justice (TDCJ), attacked this elderly and legally blind inmate while he was attempting to go to the chow-hall. They knocked the glasses and UV shields from his face and sprayed chemical pepper spray directly in his eyes. They proceeded to spray him all over with the chemical irritant, kicking him and wrenching his crippled arm behind his back.

For weeks, Iron had been denied entry into the chow-hall, or any food at all, as the TDCJ was attempting to starve him into complying with an order to submit to a haircut, despite the fact that a federal court had recently upheld that his civil rights were being violated. This was the latest outrage in a struggle that has been going on for almost thirty years.

"I suffer from corneal dystrophy and have cataracts and open angle glaucoma, my corneas no longer produce tears," Iron wrote in a complaint over the June 7th attack, explaining the excruciating pain he was in when he was at last taken to the medical unit. "Lt. Lawrence and Sgt. Sheffield refused to allow the duty nurse to conduct a proper PHD exam....Officers refused her admonishment to un-handcuff me due to excruciating pain in [my] shoulder." Iron had a pass, repeatedly renewed by doctors since 1992, prohibiting his being cuffed behind his back due to his crippled arm. This was confiscated after the attack.

"Officers refused to allow the nurse to flush my eyes with water or otherwise decontaminate my person from the pepper spray. The OC pepper spray saturated both eyes, face, head, ear canals, neck, torso, arms, palms, buttocks and thighs. Officers kept saying, 'LET HIM BURN!'"

Iron also suffers from rhinitis and seborrheic dermatitis, both of which are specifically mentioned on the precautions list for use of OC pepper spray. This was known by the officers prior to this premeditated attack, and Iron had reported that he had been repeatedly threatened with this type of assault. It was obvious that an allergic reaction was taking place to the pepper spray,

yet Iron was prevented from showering until more than 12 hours later.

This torture is compounded by medical neglect. Iron suffers from high blood pressure, heart arrhythmia, sleep apnea, recurrent shingles and only has one functioning lung. All of these conditions were aggravated by the assault, yet his requests to see a doctor were not only denied, so were his regular prescribed medications for these conditions.

A veteran of the Vietnam War, Iron recounts: "My missions were to CAPTURE assigned targets, (as designated by the CIA spooks), and bring them back alive and kicking. I then turned them over to a group of Montagnard's we had helped train. I figured just capturing them exempted me from accountability, ...and since Uncle Sam had turned the torture of these political prisoners over to the American-trained and groomed Montagnards, our hands were clean."□

Iron Thunderhorse has received a setback in his case as the federal court reversed itself taking the position that since Iron's tribe, the Quinipiac Renapi, (the first to be placed on a reservation in British North America), are neither federally nor state recognized, they are therefore "extinct." Thus, they reason that it is a legal impossibility for TDCJ to have violated his civil rights as an Indian. Iron is appealing this decision.

George Jackson University

**"Let Us Turn Every Prison into a
University and Every Prison Cell into a
Classroom for Afrocentric Study!"**

The National Association of Brothers and Sisters In and Out (NABSIO) is actively tapping into this enormous "mental database" and developing a two-way street of communication through letter writing and the sending of historical and cultural Afrocentric books, newspapers, and other literature into prisons. This organization is literally reconnecting these fertile minds to outside communities and in some cases rekindling the thought process such that "each cell becomes a classroom for learning," thus enabling its occupants to fully understand the difference between physical prison and mental prison.

What is the George Jackson University?

The George Jackson University is a concept of "Turning Prisons into Universities and Prison Cells into Classrooms for Afrocentric Studies." A concept that is implemented and developed by the inmates

under the "Each One, Teach One, to Reach One" principle. The main function of the University is to engage "lifers" who have educated themselves while incarcerated, to become the professors, tutors, and instructors to those younger inmates with less time and who are unable to read and write. This university will be assisted by the outside connecting agency, the National Association of Brothers and Sisters In & Out (NABSIO), whose function is to keep accurate records and data of progress.

"Knowledge is Power, Information is Freedom, and Education is our Mandate!"

National Association of Brothers and Sisters In and Out

**11400 South Hoover, Suite 202
Los Angeles, CA 90044**

**Nabsio4U@aol.com
(323) 755-6024**

Ruchell Cinque Magee 1974

"No Struggle No Progress," by Gwendolyn Kennedy: a critical interview with Ruchell MaGee, who was the only survivor of the Marin Court House Shoot out in 1970. The purpose of this interview is to enlighten the community with facts, supported by documents and records, regarding why Ruchell MaGee, should be freed from false imprisonment. The book features never before seen photos and news clips, since 1974 and information on George Jackson, Jonathan Jackson, William Christmas, and W.L. Nolan. \$21.00 Spiral bound. (Item #6)

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**DEDICATED TO THE LEGACY OF COMRADE
HUEY P. NEWTON**

If your mind is right, help & join this fight so we can grow

Some may sell us short, because they're afraid of losing the war

Solidarity & unity are here so communities have economical flavor

And the necessities needed, that our society can savor

Why continue to slave for them, see this land belongs to us

Instilling psychology in the money by scribbling "In God We Trust"

The church is the state, it's under God & indivisible

But liberty & justice for all, we can't recall, cause it ain't visible

Fell this comrades, the story they tell us is a myth

Amerikkka trained & funded Al Qaeda while mapping out their hit list☐

Antonio D. Fletcher, Sr.

An excerpt from his upcoming zine: "A Rebel Soul – A collection of Poetic Rebellion."





Mao Tse-tung: The People's Democratic Dictatorship

Mao gave the following speech on June 30, 1949, in commemoration of the Chinese Communist Party's twenty-eighth anniversary.

Communists the world over are wiser than the bourgeoisie, they understand the laws governing the existence and development of things, they understand dialectics and they can see farther. The bourgeoisie does not welcome this truth because it does not want to be overthrown.

As everyone knows, our Party passed through these twenty-eight years not in peace but amid hardships, for we had to fight enemies, both foreign and domestic, both inside and outside the Party. We thank Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin for giving us a weapon. This weapon is not a machinegun but Marxism Leninism,....

The Russians made the October Revolution and created the world's first socialist state. Under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the revolutionary energy of the great proletariat and labouring people of Russia, hitherto latent and unseen by foreigners, suddenly erupted like a volcano, and the Chinese and all mankind began to see the Russians in a new light. Then, and only then, did the Chinese enter an entirely new era in their thinking and their life. They found Marxism Leninism, the universally applicable truth, and the face of China began to change....

There are bourgeois republics in foreign lands, but China cannot have a bourgeois republic because she is a country suffering under imperialist oppression. The only way is through a people's republic led by the working class....

Twenty-four years have passed since Sun Yat-sen's death, and the Chinese revolution, led by the Communist Party of China, has made tremendous advances both in theory and practice and has radically changed the face of China. Up to now the principal and fundamental experience the Chinese people have gained is twofold:

1. Internally, arouse the masses of the people. That is, unite the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and

the national bourgeoisie, form a domestic united front under the leadership of the working class, and advance from this to the establishment of a state which is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants.

2. Externally, unite in a common struggle with those nations of the world which treat us as equals and unite with the peoples of all countries. That is, ally ourselves with the Soviet Union, with the People's Democracies and with the proletariat and the broad masses of the people in all other countries, and form an international united front.

"You are leaning to one side." Exactly. The forty years' experience of Sun Yat-sen and the twenty-eight years' experience of the Communist Party have taught us to lean to one side, and we are firmly convinced that in order to win victory and consolidate it we must lean to one side. In the light of the experiences accumulated in these forty years and these twenty-eight years, all Chinese without exception must lean either to the side of imperialism or to the side of socialism. Sitting on the fence will not do, nor is there a third road. We oppose the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries who lean to the side of imperialism, and we also oppose the illusions about a third road.

"You are too irritating." We are talking about how to deal with domestic and foreign reactionaries, the imperialists and their running dogs, not about how to deal with anyone else. With regard to such reactionaries, the question of irritating them or not does not arise. Irritated or not irritated, they will remain the same because they are reactionaries. Only if we draw a clear line between reactionaries and revolutionaries, expose the intrigues and plots of the reactionaries, arouse the vigilance and attention of the revolutionary ranks, heighten our will to fight and crush the enemy's arrogance can we isolate the reactionaries, vanquish them or supersede them. We must not show the slightest timidity before

a wild beast.

"Victory is possible even without international help." This is a mistaken idea. In the epoch in which imperialism exists, it is impossible for a genuine people's revolution to win victory in any country without various forms of help from the international revolutionary forces, and even if victory were won, it could not be consolidated. This was the case with the victory and consolidation of the great October Revolution, as Lenin and Stalin told us long ago.

"We need help from the British and U.S. governments." This, too, is a naive idea in these times. Would the present rulers of Britain and the United States, who are imperialists, help a people's state? Why do these countries do business with us and, supposing they might be willing to lend us money on terms of mutual benefit in the future, why would they do so? Because their capitalists want to make money and their bankers want to earn interest to extricate themselves from their own crisis - it is not a matter of helping the Chinese people.

"You are dictatorial." My dear sirs, you are right, that is just what we are. All the experience the Chinese people have accumulated through several decades teaches us to enforce the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, to deprive the reactionaries of the right to speak and let the people alone have that right.

"Who are the people?" At the present stage in China, they are the working class, the peasantry, the urban petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. These classes, led by the working class and the Communist Party unite to form their own state and elect their own government. They enforce their dictatorship over the running dogs of imperialism - the landlord class and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, as well as the representatives of those classes, the Kuomintang reactionaries and their accomplices - suppress them, allow them only to behave themselves and not to be unruly in word or deed. If they speak or act in an unruly way, they will be promptly stopped and punished. Democracy is practised within the ranks of the people, who enjoy the rights of freedom of speech, assembly, association and so on. The right to vote belongs only to the people, not to the reactionaries. The combination of these two aspects, democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries, is the people's democratic dictatorship.

"Why must things be done this way?" The reason is quite clear to everybody. If things were not done this way, the revolution would fail, the people would suffer, the country would be conquered.

"Don't you want to abolish state power?" Yes, we do, but not right now; we cannot do it yet. Why? Because imperialism still exists, because domestic reaction still exists, because classes still exist in our country. Our present task is to strengthen the people's state apparatus - mainly the people's army, the people's police and the people's courts - in order to consolidate national defence and protect the people's interests. Given this condition, China can develop steadily, under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party, from an agricultural into an industrial country and from a new-democratic into a socialist and communist society, can abolish classes and realize the Great Harmony. The state apparatus, including the army, the police and the courts, is the instrument by which one class oppresses another. It is an instrument for the oppression of antagonistic classes; it is violence and not "benevolence." "You are not benevolent!" Quite so! We definitely do not apply a policy of benevolence to the reactionaries and towards the reactionary activities of the reactionary classes. Our policy of

benevolence is applied only within the ranks of the people, not beyond them to the reactionaries or to the reactionary activities of reactionary classes....

Here, the method we employ is democratic, the method of persuasion, not of compulsion. When anyone among the people breaks the law, he too should be punished, imprisoned or even sentenced to death; but this is a matter of a few individual cases, and it differs in principle from the dictatorship exercised over the reactionaries as a class.

As for the members of the reactionary classes and individual reactionaries, so long as they do not rebel, sabotage or create trouble after their political power has been overthrown, land and work will be given to them as well in order to allow them to live and remould themselves through labour into new people. If they are not willing to work, the people's state will compel them to work....

Such remoulding of members of the reactionary classes can be accomplished only by a state of the people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the Communist Party. When it is well done, China's major exploiting classes, the landlord class and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (the monopoly capitalist class), will be eliminated for good. There remain the national bourgeoisie; at the present stage, we can already do a good deal of suitable educational work with many of them. When the time comes to realize socialism, that is, to nationalize private enterprise, we shall carry the work of educating and remoulding them a step further. The people have a powerful state apparatus in their hands - there is no need to fear rebellion by the national bourgeoisie....

The people's democratic dictatorship is based on the alliance of the working class, the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie, and mainly on the alliance of the workers and the peasants, because these two classes comprise 80 to 90 per cent of China's population. These two classes are the main force in overthrowing imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. The transition from New Democracy to socialism also depends mainly upon their alliance.

The people's democratic dictatorship needs the leadership of the working class. For it is only the working class that is most farsighted, most selfless and most thoroughly revolutionary. The entire history of revolution proves that without the leadership of the working class counter-revolution triumphs. In the epoch of imperialism, in no country can any other class lead any genuine revolution to victory. This is clearly proved by the fact that the many revolutions led by China's petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie all failed....

To sum up our experience and concentrate it into one point, it is: The people's democratic dictatorship is under the leadership of the working class (through the Communist Party) and based upon the alliance of workers and peasants. This dictatorship must unite as one with the international revolutionary forces. This is our formula, our principal experience, our main programme.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is our best teacher and we must learn from it. The situation both at home and abroad is in our favour. We can rely fully on the weapon of the people's democratic dictatorship, unite the people throughout the country, (the reactionaries excepted), and advance steadily to our goal.

From Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), Speech "In Commemoration of the 28th Anniversary of the Communist Party of China, June 30, 1949," in Selected Works, vol. 5 (New York: International Publishers, n.d.), pp. 411423.

AIDS the Silent Genocide:



SURVIVE AND RESIST!

AIDS is the leading cause of death for Afrikan Amerikans between the ages of 25 and 44. The Centers for Disease Control believe that one in every fifty Black men in this country is infected with the H.I.V. virus. One in every 160 Black women is believed to be H.I.V. infected, and Black women account for 64% of all new AIDS infections among women in the U.S. While Blacks comprise just 13% of the U.S. population, more than half of all new AIDS infections in the U.S. are Black people. Blacks are 10 times more likely to become infected and 10 times more likely to die from it than white people.

Source: "The Quiet Scourge," Bob Herbert, *New York Times*, January 11, 2001.

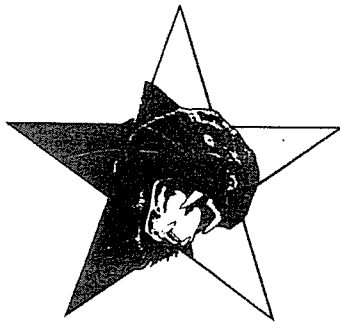
AIDS is not just a problem in Amerikkka, it is a world wide health problem, and no where is it worse than in Mother Afrika. Of the 33.6 million people infected with the H.I.V. virus in the world 23.5 million (or about 70%) live in Afrika. Over 18 million Afrikans have already died from AIDS. A child born in Zambia or Zimbabwe today is more likely to die from AIDS than not. More than 5.5 million children in Eastern and Southern Afrika have lost their mothers or both parents to AIDS. Many infants have contracted the disease from their mothers.

Condom distribution and education have been proven to be effective, as in Uganda, where the AIDS infection rate was cut from 15% to 9.7% in the 1990s, but the Bush administration is doing all it can to discourage condom distribution in favor of abstinence education. Even if this had a chance of working, the breakdown in settlement patterns, with about 12 million refugees from war and many more forced by economic reasons to leave their traditional villages to crowd into urban shantytowns have created fertile grounds for the spread of AIDS. Cultural influences from the U.S. promoting gangsta/ho hip hop values have further undermined the cultural identity and morals of the youth.

South Afrika. (where 1,700 people become infected every day), faces the fastest growing AIDS crisis in Afrika. Six million of its 40 million people are H.I.V. positive. An estimated 3 to 5 million will die there from AIDS in the next 5 to 10 years. This is the most developed country in Afrika, yet, according to CNN, only \$13 million has been allocated to be spent over the next five years on the problem.

We need to be sending a different cultural message to the youth of this country and the world, an uplifting and a revolutionary message of PANTHER LOVE! We need to organize our own solutions to our problems based upon SELF-RELIANCE! We need to set up our own survival programs to SERVE THE PEOPLE! Not just here, but in Mother Afrika and everywhere Black people are concentrated, there needs to be a New Afrikan Black Panther Party! We can't rely on blood-sucking capitalists to solve our problems or serve our needs. We have to take history into our own hands and create PEOPLE'S POWER here, there and everywhere.

CAPITALISM + AIDS = GENOCIDE! SEIZE THE TIME - SERVE THE PEOPLE! DARE TO STRUGGLE - DARE TO WIN!



***SHOCKING TORTURE* of our Minister of Defense!**

In the first week in May, while in transport, in the middle of the night, from one prison to another, guards shocked Comrade Rashid with 50,000 volts of electricity through a stun belt around his waist. They did this two times. He's been urinating blood ever since then.

Allegedly, they were transporting our comrade, Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, from Red Onion State Prison to Wallen's Ridge, the other super-max prison in Virginia, so he could be x-rayed to see if he had a weapon concealed in his rectum. He didn't. But this "routine search" gave them an excuse to search his cell and inflict torture upon his person.

According to Terror Trade Times, a publication of Amnesty International:

"A stun belt is a weapon that is worn by its victim. The prisoner is physically in contact with the stun belt the whole time it is used against

them, which may be for hours on end. Amnesty International believes that the mental anguish caused by just wearing the belt and the fear of its activation is in itself cruel, inhuman and degrading treatment. For this reason alone the belt should be banned immediately.

"One US company, Stun-Tech, promotes its belt to law enforcement officers as providing "for total psychological supremacy... of potentially troublesome prisoners", stating that: "After all, if you were wearing a contraption around your waist that by the mere push of a button in someone else's hand, could make you defecate or urinate yourself, what would you do from the psychological standpoint?"

"Stun-Tech and another US company, Nova Products, are two companies which have produced shock belts now widely used in the USA. Wendell Harrison, who received electric shocks from a stun belt during his trial in August 1996, described an "excruciating pain as if a long needle had been inserted up through [my] spine and into the base of [my] skull". Two years later Wendell Harrison was still suffering from nightmares and sleep loss as a result of the incident.

"The electric shock can be set off by a guard flicking a switch up to 300 feet away. On activation, the belt delivers eight-second, 50,000-volt shocks through the prisoner's left kidney. The shock causes incapacitation in the first few seconds and severe pain rising during the eight seconds.

"In 1997, evidence emerged that a US-supplied remote control electroshock belt was being tested in South Africa, a country with persistent problems of torture and ill-treatment of detainees held in police custody and in prison. Recent information from South African prison officials has confirmed that a belt has been used at CMAX maximum security prison in Pretoria during the transportation of some prisoners."

"Electricity speaks every language known to man. No translation necessary. Everybody is afraid of electricity, and rightfully so." = Dennis Kaufman, President of Stun-Tech.

Stun Tech Inc, 23860 Miles Road, Suite C, Cleveland, Ohio 44128

Nova Products Inc, 4861 Old Sparta Road
Cookeville, Tennessee, 38506

Contact:

Amnesty International USA
5 Penn Plaza
New York, NY 10001
phone: (212) 807-8400
fax: (212) 627-1451
email: aimember@aiusa.org

Mid-Atlantic Office
600 Pennsylvania Ave. SE
5th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20003
phone: (202) 544-0200
fax: (202) 546-7142
1-866-A-REGION
aiusama@aiusa.org

URGENT RESPONSE REQUESTED FOR OUR PRISON TORTURED COMRADE

SATURDAY, MAY 13, 2006

PLEASE BE ADVISED THAT, BRO. KEVIN "RASHID" JOHNSON, OFFICIAL ARTIST FOR THE SAFIYA BUKHARI-ALBERT NUH WASHINGTON FOUNDATION, WAS BRUTALLY TORTURED BY GUARDS LAST WEEK DURING A VIRGINIA TRANSFER BETWEEN "WALLENS RIDGE" AND "RED ONION" STATE PRISONS.

AN ATTACK WHICH WAS IN OBVIOUS RESPONSE TO RASHID'S CURRENT LAW SUIT AGAINST WALLENS RIDGE FOR ILLEGALLY REFUSING HIM MEDICAL CARE AND AS RETALIATION FOR HIS HISTORY AS A PRISON ORGANIZER.

BRO. RASHID WAS REPEATEDLY ASSAULTED WITH THE 50,000 WATTS GENERATED FROM THE BARBARIC "ELECTRIC SHOCK BELT" PLACED AROUND HIS WAIST.

HE IS CURRENTLY URINATING BLOOD AND VIRGINIA STATE PRISON OFFICIALS ARE ONCE AGAIN REFUSING TO PROVIDE HIM WITH ADEQUATE MEDICAL TREATMENT.

ADDITIONALLY, THEY HAVE SUSPENDED AND/OR RESTRICTED HIS TELEPHONE, VISITATION AND MAIL PRIVILEGES SINCE THE NEWS OF HIS TORTURE GOT OUT FROM BEHIND THE WALLS.

BRO. RASHID IS A FEARLESS WARRIOR WHO UTILIZES HIS TALENTS TOWARDS THE FOUNDATIONS MISSION TO "SUPPORT THE HEALTH, FAMILIES AND LEGAL CAMPAIGNS OF U.S. HELD POLITICAL PRISONERS, POWs, EXILES AND FALLEN COMRADES"

PLEASE READ THE ATTACHMENTS AND IMMEDIATELY USE THE CONTACT INFORMATION TO PROTEST THESE ACTIONS WITH THE VIRGINIA GOVERNOR AND THE OTHER LISTED STATE PRISON OFFICIALS.

IN STRUGGLE,

BRO. SADIKI "SHEP" OJORE OLUGBALA

(S/N: SHEPARD PAUL MC'DANIEL)

Office of the Governor
Patrick Henry Building, 3rd Floor
1111 East Broad Street
Richmond, Virginia 23219

Phone: (804) 786-2211
Fax: (804) 371-6351

Tracy S. Ray, Warden
Red Onion Prison
10800 H. Jack Rose Highway
P. O. Box 970 Pound, VA 24279

Phone: (276) 796-7510

Senator Emmett Hanger

(Chairmen of Rehabilitation Committee)

(804)698-7524 (540)885-6898

The Legal Justification of Slavery in Amerikkka

by Tom Big Warrior

"...the state of slavery is of such a nature, that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political; but only by positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasion, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from memory: It's so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from a decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged."

- Somerset v. Stewart in England, decided by Lord Mansfield in June of 1772

The Quakers were the first group in America to openly attack slavery. In his book *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes*, Quaker John Woolman asserted that no one had the right to own another human being. In 1758, the Philadelphia yearly meeting declared that slavery was inconsistent with Christianity, and in 1775 Quakers played a dominant role in the formation of the first antislavery society in America, the Society for the Relief of Free Negroes Unlawfully Held in Bondage.

In 1772, five years before the *Declaration of Independence*, the high court of England ruled that slavery violated the unwritten British Constitution and, indeed, violated several statutes of the Common Law. There can be little doubt that this was one of the motives to separate from the British Empire by southern slave holders. However, the institution of slavery stood in marked contradiction to the ideals of Liberty that were espoused by the patriots of the revolutionary movement. Thomas Paine wrote an article in *Pennsylvania Magazine* calling for the abolition of slavery. "To contend for liberty," John Jay wrote, "and to deny that blessing to others involves an inconsistency not to be excused." In 1773, Four Boston slaves petitioned for freedom based on the same reasoning colonist used to justify separation from England in the *Declaration of Independence*.

"The colonists are by the law of nature freeborn, as indeed all men are, white or black. No better reasons can be given for enslaving those of any color than such as Baron Montesquieu has humorously given as the foundation of that cruel slavery exercised over the poor Ethiopians, which threatens one day to reduce both Europe and America to the ignorance and barbarity of the darkest ages. Does it follow that tis right to enslave a man because he is black? Will short curled hair like wool instead of Christian hair, as tis called by those whose hearts are as hard as the nether millstone, help the argument? Can any logical inference in favor of slavery be drawn from a flat nose, a long or a short face? Nothing better can be said in favor of a trade that is the most shocking violation of the law of nature, has a direct tendency to diminish the idea of the inestimable value of liberty, and makes every dealer in it a tyrant, from the director of an African company to the petty chapman in needles and pins on the unhappy coast. It is a clear truth that those who every day barter away other men's liberty will soon care little for their own."

= The Rights of the British Colonies Asserted and Proved,
James Otis, 1764

These anti-slavery sentiments were reflected in Thomas Jefferson's original draft of the *Declaration of Independence* in the list of crimes attributed to the King justifying separation:

"He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating it's most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidels powers, is the warfare of the Christian king of Great Britain. He has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce determining to keep open a market where MEN should be bought and sold: and that this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting those very people to rise in arms among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he has deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them: thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of another."

However, the delegates balked at such a drastic step. In 1774 the Continental Congress had agreed to a temporary termination of the importation of Africans into the colonies, but this was intended as a tactical blow against the British slave trade and not an attack against slavery itself. Despite the fact that both slaves and free Black men had served at Lexington and Concord, the Council of War, under George Washington's leadership, unanimously rejected the enlistment of slaves and, by a large majority, opposed the recruitment of Blacks altogether.

In 1775, Lord Dunmore, the British governor of Virginia, offered to grant freedom to any slave who ran away from his master and joined the British army. The eager response of many slaves to Lord Dunmore's invitation gradually compelled the colonists to reconsider their stand. All the colonies, with the exception of Georgia and South Carolina, eventually recruited slaves as well as freedmen. In most cases, slaves were granted their freedom at the end of their military service. During the war, some five thousand Blacks served in the Continental Army with the vast majority coming from the North. The heroes of the Battle of Yorktown were the French-trained and equipped First Rhode Island, a regiment composed entirely of Blacks, mulattoes and Narragansett Indians. Several thousand Afrikan slaves fled the newly-independent United States as refugees along with the retreating British in 1783.

In 1780, Pennsylvania became the first state to pass a law that ended slavery. Thomas Jefferson attempted to prohibit slavery in the Northwest Territory and new states in the Ordinance of 1784. The clause was struck by one vote. "Thus," Jefferson later reflected, "we see the fate of millions unborn hanging on the tongue of one man, and heaven was silent in that awful moment." However, it was incorporated in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 with the amendment that fugitive slaves would not be granted asylum.

"ART. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted: Provided, always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid."

Northwest Ordinance, 1787

In 1785, John Jay and Alexander Hamilton started the Manumission Society in New York and in 1789, Benjamin Franklin started the Pennsylvania Abolition Society. The first national antislavery organization was formed in 1794. It was called the American Convention for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. Between 1774 and 1804 all the northern states undertook to abolish slavery.

The drafters of the Constitution dodged the issue of abolishing slavery and prohibited Congress from outlawing the slave trade for a period of twenty years. Congress eventually passed a law outlawing the slave trade that became effective on January 1, 1808. The British had outlawed the slave trade throughout the Empire a year earlier. Despite the high court ruling in *Somerset v Stewart*, which ended slavery in

England, British merchants continued to dominate the international trade in slaves. Between 1782 and 1807, it is estimated that Britain traded in over 1,000,000 human lives.

Early explorers from Columbus on had imposed slavery on the indigenous people they encountered. At the time of European discovery in 1492, the Arawak (Tainos) population of the Caribbean was an estimated six or seven million. Within the next fifty years, they were almost wiped out as a result of the diseases brought by the Europeans, by massacres and the conditions of forced labor imposed on them.

Columbus sent some 500 Arawaks to Spain as slaves. In 1498, Sebastian Cabot, sailing in the service of the English, explored the Atlantic Coast of North America, taking captives when he could. In 1501, the Portuguese explorer, Gaspar Corte-Real, kidnapped more than 50 Indians along the northeast Atlantic Coast and took them to sell in Lisbon. In 1525, Stephen Gomez kidnapped a group of Lenape Indians at the mouth of the Hudson River. This pattern was repeated over and over.

"Failure to mitigate harsh conditions for Native Americans resulted in large scale deaths. Spanish settlers decided to draw upon African slave labor in order to meet their needs. Lladinos — Africans who were slaves in Spain — were brought to the New World. Lladinos, however, were covered under provisions of Las Siete Partidas and were therefore entitled to purchase freedom and have access to the Catholic Church. In 1518, King Charles I granted permission to import "bozales"—black Africans from Africa—into the Americas."

Slavery in Iberian America

Papal influence, plus vigorous lobbying by clergy such as Bartolome de las Casas, led to a royal proclamation in 1542 known as the New Laws of the Indies. These New Laws laid down several key principles:

1. They forbade all future enslavement of Indians
2. They forbade making Indians work against their will.
3. They revoked all *encomiendas* held by officials in which Indians were held as slaves, and placed these Indians directly under protection of the Crown. [*Encomiendas* were Spanish colonial grants giving the right to appropriate the labor of native people in specified areas in return for Christianizing them.] In some situations, officials had been granted an *encomienda* together with an allotment of slaves. Under the New Laws, those types of *encomiendas* were placed directly under the control of the Crown.
4. They stated that all private *encomiendas* were to be gradually phased out and forbade establishment of new ones.
5. They stated that Indians were to be well treated.

The New Laws were met by violent opposition by the colonists, and were never effectively enforced, but the trend did shift toward importing slaves from Afrika. By 1540, an estimated 10,000 slaves a year were being brought from Afrika to replace the diminishing local populations. The Portuguese were the initiators of the transatlantic slave trade. The first European to actually take slaves from the coast of Guinea was Antão Gonçalves, a Portuguese explorer. The demand for slaves in the Portuguese colony of Brazil built the trade, but soon the Portuguese were supplying the Spanish colonies as well.

John Hawkins began British involvement in the slave trade between Guinea and West Indies in 1562 with his slave ship *Jesus*. In 1672, England officially got into the slave trade as the King of England chartered the Royal African Company, encouraging it to expand the British slave trade. The English crown provided a charter giving the Royal African Company monopoly over the African slave routes until 1712. By 1680, The Royal African Company was transporting 5,000 slaves annually. The first group of twenty Afrikans were brought to the Jamestown Colony in 1619. A pirate ship flying the Dutch flag that had captured them from the Spanish traded them with the governor for supplies. As it was illegal for him to trade with pirates, he sent them upriver and put them with the Weyanoke Indians as indentured servants harvesting sassafras.

"During the very early years of the Virginia Colony, Africans and

poor whites shared the same status. Blacks and whites, men and women worked side-by-side in the fields. Anyone who broke their servant contract was punished. (The fact that Africans did not speak, or could neither read nor write English has to be considered. I have difficulty believing that Africans even understood what the indenture contract was, let alone the conditions in the contract.)

"One of the few recorded histories of an African in America that we can glean from early court records is that of "Antonio the Negro," as he was named in the 1625 Virginia census. He was brought to the colony in 1621. At this time, English and Colonial law had not yet defined racial slavery; the census called Antonio a "servant."

"Later, Antonio changed his name to Anthony Johnson, married an African American servant named Mary, and they had four children. Mary and Anthony became free, and he soon owned some land and cattle. He even engaged indentured servants to work for him.

"In 1640, the year Johnson purchased his first property, three indentured servants fled a Virginia plantation. Caught and returned to their owner, two had their servitude extended four years. However, the third, a black man named John Punch, was sentenced to "serve his said master or his assigns for the time of his natural life." In effect, John Punch's status was changed from an indentured servant to a slave.

"By 1650, Anthony was one of 400 Africans in the Virginia Colony among a white settler population of nearly 19,000. In Johnson's own county, 20 or so African men and women were free, and 13 of this number owned their own homes. But a drastic change was in store for Africans in the English Colony of Virginia! In 1661, the enslavement of black Africans was legalized in Virginia.

"Traditionally, Englishmen believed they had a right to enslave non-Christians or captives taken in a just war. Africans and Indians might fit one or both of these definitions. But what if they learned English and converted to the Christianity? Should they be released from bondage and given "freedom?" Instead the status of Africans was not determined by changing their religious faith, but by their unchangeable skin color!

"Also, the indentured servants, especially once freed, began to pose a threat to the property-owning elite. The colonial establishment had placed restrictions on available lands, creating unrest among newly freed indentured servants. In 1676, working class men burned down Jamestown, (Bacon's Rebellion), thus making indentured servitude look even less attractive to Virginia's leaders. Indentured servants could move on once they were free of their 7 year obligation. The replacement of indentured servants was costly for plantation owners. Black slaves, who could be identified by skin color could be enslaved for life and for generations.

"Ironically in 1641, Massachusetts had become the first English Colony in North America to legalize the enslavement of black Africans. The enslavement of black Africans soon followed in the other colonies. In 1662, a law was passed in Virginia which made all children born in the colony to a slave mother, the property of the slave mother's owner. From then on, slavery for black Africans not only affected the enslaved person's life. Enslavement, like skin color, was passed down from generation to generation.

"In 1665, Anthony Johnson moved to Maryland and leased a 300-acre plantation, where he died five years later. But back in Virginia that same year, a jury decided the land Johnson left behind could be seized by the government because he was a "negroe and by consequence an alien." In 1705 Virginia declared that "All servants imported and brought in this County... who were not Christians in their Native Country... shall be slaves. Negroes, mulattoes and Indian shall be held to be real estate."

Slavery in Virginia

English suppliers responded to the increasing demand for slaves. In 1698, the English Parliament ruled that any British subject could trade in slaves. Over the first 50 years of the 18th century, the number of Africans brought to British colonies on British ships rose from 5,000 to 45,000 a year. England had surpassed Portugal and Spain and had become the number one trafficker in the African Slave Trade. Charleston, South Carolina, became the center of the slave trade in the English colonies and the port of entry of nearly half the Africans in North America in the 1700s. In 1730, a slave rebellion broke out around Charleston and over 20 whites were killed.

"Many slaves knew that small groups of runaways had made their way from South Carolina to Florida, where they had been given freedom and land. Looking to cause unrest within the English colonies, the Spanish had issued a proclamation stating that any slave who deserted to St Augustine would be given the same treatment..."

"Whatever triggered the Rebellion, early on the morning of the 9th, a Sunday, about twenty slaves gathered near the Stono River in St. Paul's Parish, less than twenty miles from Charlestown. The slaves went to a shop that sold firearms and ammunition, armed themselves, then killed the two shopkeepers who were manning the shop. From there the band walked to the house of a Mr. Godfrey, where they burned the house and killed Godfrey and his son and daughter. They headed south."

The Stono Rebellion, 1739

Fear of rebellion pushed the colonists to become increasingly repressive and racist. In 1705, the Virginia government tells slave owners that they are not guilty if they kill their slaves while they are punishing them. In 1740, South Carolina makes it a crime to teach a slave to read and write. In 1741, a fire broke out in New York City, African slaves were blamed, and a bloody "witch hunt" ensued in which numerous Blacks were lynched.

It was not until 1700 that African slaves outnumbered American Indian ones in the English colonies. These Indian slaves were more problematic in that they had to be watched constantly to prevent their escape to the forest, often taking their fellow slaves with them. Runaway African slaves were absorbed into the Indian nations and also formed Maroon communities, particularly in the Florida Everglades and the Great Dismal Swamp of Virginia. Refugee Indians, runaway white indentured servants and escaped African slaves formed independent tri-racial communities in isolated areas like the New Jersey Pine Barrens and the Ramapo Hills, and in hollows throughout the Appalachian Mountains.

In 1569, it was resolved in a court of common law that: "England was too pure an Air for Slaves to breath in." Finding little support for the "peculiar institution" in the English Common Law, the colonists turned to Greco-Roman statues for precedent. The word "slave" comes from the Latin term "sclavus." Even the same term was applied, in translation, to male slaves of all ages: "pver," in Latin, "boy," in English. Plantation slavery and urban slavery existed in Rome. American slaves had social functions similar to those of Rome, even extending to the assignment of positions in skilled craftsmanship, concubinage and domestic management. Jurisdiction over slaves had been left by ancient Roman judges by and large in the hands of the slave owners.

"Many 'well-bred' Southern gentlemen by the time of the late seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, particularly those destined to be upper level judges, magistrates and legislators, were habituated by their education to Roman models and thought as well as to the works of Aquinas and More. This was simply part of the standard curriculum for the children of the elite for that age, passed down from the likes of those late medieval scholars. They must have known that the central article of Roman law regarding slaves was that they were inferior by nature. They also knew that Roman masters had the right to punish slaves at will, no matter how important that slave might be socially. In theory, a solid cosmological wall separated Rome's slaves and citizens, wherein freedom was confined only to free men, as confirmed by the Senate in AD. 56, an act of which American legislators appear to have been aware. To set

a slave free reflected upon the freedom of all Roman citizens, for the liberty of freedman must be defended by all in order to ensure the freedom of all. Thus, setting a slave free was a tremendous responsibility as well as a powerful prerogative ... risky indeed, but one Romans were prepared to take. Southern Anglo-Americans eventually and evidently would not be so ready. It took a while for Roman civil code to begin to effect the common law's dealings with slaves.

"Another English court, drawing on local practice, in 1682 found precedent supporting the property status of slaves in a judgment handed down in British India, but nevertheless found them by common law usage to be special cases, and handed them over to an administrator who was to see to their Christian conversion, and subsequent enfranchisement. Only toward the turn of the eighteenth century did attitudes toward slaves, especially in the West Indies, begin to harden on official account of their supposed reprobate heathenism. Legislators reinforced this judgment with long accepted biblical concepts, such as that of the God-punished Oeebed or slave, condemned forever to servitude because of disbelief. Perhaps more realistically, strictures upon the slaves had been tightened simply because of their increased economic value as sugar plantation workers. The logical noose had begun to tighten on the neck of Anglo-American law."

Securing the Leg Irons: Restriction of Legal Rights for Slaves in Virginia and Maryland, 1625 - 1791

"The common law, then, had become victim of its own flexibility, because in the search for legal precedent in dealing with slavery, jurists and legislators in the American colonies, as we shall see, ventured into the nightmare labyrinth of Byzantine-Roman legal code. The framers of the United States Constitution, many of them well versed in both English and classical Roman law, would leave open legal questions about federal regulation of slavery, thus fettering by reservation (if one may be permitted to use Hobbes' terminology) the development of effective federal policy toward slavery, and thus a uniform equality for all citizens. Legislation modeled on that of Rome was enacted mostly at the provincial level. In ignoring the discrepancy between love of liberty and the mercantile exploitation of human bondage, they were only emulating their philosophical and jurisprudential predecessors. The generation of Anglo-Americans born in the 1840's would pay the greatest price in blood for this hesitancy.

"When, just prior to the Civil War, one of the foremost American jurists of the time, Thomas Reade Root Cobb of Georgia, inquired into the nature of legal status for slaves, he found himself forced to be an apologist for, even to dissimulate somewhat regarding what was still an unsettled dilemma. Cobb was a Southerner in favor of slavery, but at the same time a scholar concerned with intellectual honesty. In his evident discomfort, he resorted not unsurprisingly to the example of the Ancient world both for justification and for evidence of the advancement of slavery in the United States over what he termed the "absolute" slavery of Rome and Greece. In his significant study, *An Inquiry into the Law of Negro Slavery in the United States of America* (1858), Cobb argued that the Roman slave was not merely a res or chattel, but lacked all recognition as a person. While this was true for the condition of a person while still a Roman slave, Cobb ignores the fact that manumission was common in the extreme, and that recent freedmen were frequently assimilated to society at a very rapid pace. Furthermore, the Georgian jurist stoutly maintains that the African-American slave occupied "a double character of person and property," very much as though this duality were evenly balanced. As the court cases reviewed in the sections following reveal, this was certainly not the case. Cobb also rather glibly observed that "the Colonies having adopted the common law, and Negro slavery having no existence in Great Britain, there could be necessarily no provision of that law in reference to it, and consequently the power of the master until limited by legislation was absolute." Thus he appears both briefly and

succinctly to dispose of the power of precedent in common law, its possible extension to the slaves, and the legitimacy of British decisions as any sort of precedent in American courts, even though certain rulings outlawing slavery in England predate the American rebellion and revolution. Finally, in Chapter VI, "Of Personal Liberty," Cobb states flatly that the right of personal liberty in the slave is utterly inconsistent with the idea of slavery, and whenever the slave acquires this right, his condition is ipso facto changed So long as two races of men live together, the one as masters and the others as dependents and slaves, to a certain extent, all of the superior race shall exercise a controlling power over the inferior.

"This was to be done (again, significantly, resorting to Roman code) via verberibus flagellis, aliisque pnis ... that is, by means of beatings, whippings or any other similar form of violent and mutilative punishment or humiliation. Sociologically speaking, this then illustrates clearly that the South had become a society that was been compelled to resort to the use of coercive force because of the ultimate failure of law to support or enforce subservient behavior in slaves. The power of states rests on the threat and use of force "to maintain order and provide for the common good." On the one hand, seventeenth century English society employed more or less subtle and efficient forms of discrimination and bias designed to support the status quo ; on the other hand, it must be admitted that what legal restrictions there were upon the lower classes could be circumvented, and were not intended to subjugate, but to arbitrate between conflicting interests and protect English society as a whole against outside foes. If so, slaves might be set free if they were perceived as more valuable to the commonwealth in liberty than in bondage. This was not to be the case in the Anglo-American South.

"Before one rushes to condemn Cobb for hypocrisy and perversion of the law, there is another factor to consider: the honorable Georgian jurist's formulation of a "dual status" for slaves is completely consistent with Roman legal concepts, then accepted as precedent in courts of common law. Further, a clear connection between the English and Roman systems existed in the concept of property, of "chattel" on the one hand and res on the other. Further, common law often considered labor and the laborer to be property. This was reinforced by the Common law's expressed need to distinguish between things capable of guilt and not capable of guilt. Because in common law liability was established by what had been judged liable before, due to the changeability of human condition, Southern jurists found it comparatively easy to synthesize from this mishmash of flexible common law definition and Roman authority used in place of precedent a supposedly, legally sound "dual status" for slaves."

lbld

Nowhere is this "dual status" more pronounced than in the decision to count slaves as 3/5ths of a person in apportioning seats in the Congress even though they are denied voting rights.

"While the Constitution did not specifically mention slavery, it did legally recognize the institution in three places. First, there was a heated debate over the means of calculating representation to the House. Southern spokesmen wanted as many delegates as possible and preferred that slaves be counted. Northerners, wanting to restrict Southern representation, insisted that slaves not be counted. Some of them pointed out that it was an insult to whites to be put on an equal footing with slaves. The compromise which was framed in Article I, Section 2, was that a slave should be counted as three-fifths of a man.

Second, the antislavery elements tried to make their stand at the convention by attacking the slave trade. However, while many Southern states were opposed to the trade, the issue became entangled in power politics. South Carolina, which had few slaves, believed that the termination of the slave trade would force up the price of slaves and place her at a severe disadvantage in comparison with Virginia which already had a large slave supply. It argued that Virginia would be artificially

enriched to the disadvantage of the other Southern states. The states of the North and middle South were again forced to compromise, and, in Article II, Section 9, they agreed that the trade would be permitted to continue for another twenty years.

The third capitulation occurred in Article IV, Section 2, which as the Fugitive Slave Provision. It stated that a slave who ran away and reached a free state, did not thereby obtain his freedom. Instead, that state was required, at the master's request, to seize and return him."

The "Great Awakening," which swept over Amerika in successive waves, pulled many away from the established churches with their Roman orientation and roots. This gave impetus to the American Revolution as well as to sects like the Baptists whose roots were in the English Revolution.

"A second result of the Great Awakening was a Quickening along Missionary and Educational Lines. At this time there came a great concern for Indians and Negroes and underprivileged people in general. Out of this movement was forged the framework of the first anti-slavery impulse in America."

An Appraisal of the Great Awakening, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Second Great Awakening, 1840-1879 nurtured the rise of several single issue reform movements, each intending to contribute to making America fit for the Second Coming of Christ. These included the temperance movement, the anti-slavery movement, women's suffrage and sweeping reformism to attack corruption and promote equality of opportunity. These movements concentrated in the formation of the Republican Party. The reaction of the Southern slave-owning aristocracy to defend their way of life brought on the Civil War.

Between the Continental Congress and the Civil War, slavery had expanded with the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney and Phineas Miller in 1792. As the Indians were driven out of the Deep South, African slaves were brought in to clear the land for cotton production. This brought forth the worst atrocities as it was deemed that it was more profitable to work the slaves to death and replace them with new imports than to breed them.

"In 1819, leaders in the U.S. House of Representatives proposed a bill that would allow the Missouri Territory to enter the Union as a slave state. Although northern legislators outnumbered southern legislators at the time, House Speaker Henry Clay, of Kentucky, arranged an accord between enough congress members to pass a version of the bill that admitted Missouri as a slave state. In exchange for legal slavery in Missouri, the southern legislators agreed to limit the northern boundaries of slavery to the same latitude as the southern boundary of Missouri. Thus were the terms of the Missouri Compromise of 1820, which became a watershed in the United States' experience with slavery.

"In its constitution, Missouri declared it would not allow slaves to be emancipated without their owner's consent. Furthermore, free African Americans were not allowed to enter the state. Antislavery congress members objected to the latter clause on the ground that it violated the federal Constitution's mandate that "the Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States" (art. IV, § 2). African Americans had, after all, gained citizenship in the northern states.

"Again Clay maneuvered votes in Congress. Missouri agreed not to discriminate against citizens from other states, but did so in a resolution that was abstract and unclear and left unsettled the question of precisely who was a citizen of the several states. In 1821, Missouri's constitution was approved, and Missouri was officially a slave state.

"Once Missouri was admitted to the Union as a slave state, Maine was admitted as a free state; the Senate had refused to accept Maine until the House altered its position on Missouri. As a result, in 1821, the Union consisted of twelve free states,

twelve slaves states, and a deepening divide between the two."

Slavery, Legal Encyclopedia

During the period 1855-1865, Kansas was torn by violence and dissension over the issue of slavery, and became known as "Bleeding Kansas" and "Bloody Kansas." The stage was set when the Missouri Compromise altered the original agreement that the portion of the Louisiana territory north of 36° 30' would be free of slavery. This bit of tinkering endangered the fragile balance between North and South, slave-states and free-states. Stephen Douglas introduced another bit of tinkering in 1854 with the Kansas-Nebraska Act, when this large tract of land was proposed for territorial status. On paper the Kansas-Nebraska act provided for citizens of the territories to determine for themselves whether their area should be slave or free. But there was an understanding in the Nation's capital that one half would be free of slavery, and one half would permit it.

The Emigrant Aid Society in New England organized waves of Northern emigrants to quickly settle Kansas and make it a free state. However, Missourians, with support from Southern states such as South Carolina, moved just as quickly to claim Kansas for the proponents of slavery. The politicians in power in Washington advocated Kansas being admitted as a slave state, and they relied on the United States Army to control the increasing numbers of free-state settlers, who promptly organized their own militia. Led by John Brown, the Kansas "Free Staters" waged guerrilla war against the terror of the Missouri "Border Ruffians." Eventually, the anti-slavery forces won. This was really the beginning of the Civil War.

Under the Spanish rule in Mexico negro slavery was tolerated and protected. The conditions, however, were so unfavorable that the institution never obtained a secure foothold, and was almost unknown outside of Vera Cruz and the hot lands. Even in the most favorable localities and after the introduction of cane growing, the slaves formed no considerable element in the population of the country. As late as 1793, according to Humboldt, there were not more than nine or ten thousand in all New Spain.... So many were manumitted, and so many received their freedom during the long struggle for independence by joining the ranks of the patriot army, that Ward thought he was justified in stating that there is now hardly a single slave in the central portion of the republic. Not one could be found in the valley of Cuernavaca, or even in the Orizaba and Cordova regions, which are the great sugar and coffee districts of Mexico.³ About fifteen years later, Waddy Thompson, the representative of the United States government, did not see half a dozen negroes during his entire residence of two years in the Mexican capital.

The petition of Moses Austin for permission to settle an Anglo-American colony in Texas was officially granted in January, 1821. No mention was made of slavery in either the petition or the grant. It was the intention of Austin, however, to draw most of his colonists from the southern United States; and there can be but little doubt that he would have favored the removal of slaves to Texas as part of the capital of his planters. But it was not for him to lead the migration for which he had prepared the way. The long journey to San Antonio de Bexar, with its hardships and exposure, resulted in his death, and the work of carrying forward the colonization of Texas fell to his son. Stephen Fuller Austin, then a young man of twenty-eight, at once made an exploring tour through Texas, was recognized as heir to his father's grant, and received the governor's approval of the plan which he had drawn up for the distribution of lands. This plan, after making provision for the head of the family and allowing a liberal portion for the wife and each child, further provided for a grant of eighty acres of land for each slave belonging to the family. In approving this plan, the government of Mexico, through its representative in Texas, acquiesced in and substantially encouraged the introduction of slaves into the new settlement. A great many immigrants found their way into Texas before the summer of 1822, most of them bearing contracts signed by Austin or his agents, in which they were promised land in accordance with the plan already mentioned.

They were nearly all from the southern portion of the United States, and many of them were the owners of at least a small number of slaves. Thus it was that the institution was introduced into Texas.

Slavery in Early Texas, Lester G. Bugbee

"Despite the Congressional interdiction on U.S. participation in the international slave trade, many thousands of kidnapped Africans continued to be smuggled to North America well after 1808 ban. Sabine Lake, in eastern Texas, was a focal point in this illicit trade during the nineteenth century.

"Many of the Africans brought to Sabine Lake were kidnapped British freemen from Barbados, African indentured servants from the same region, or were kidnapped from Spanish slave ships. James Bowie, later of Alamo fame, realized a \$65,000 profit from illegally transporting and selling 1,500 Africans from Sabine Lake into Louisiana.

"Slave traders like Bowie purchased African Americans from privateers like Jean Lafitte. Privateers would capture Spanish slave ships, imprison the Africans in slave pens, such as on Lafitte's Galveston Island, Texas, stronghold, then sell them to the highest bidder. American slavers continued the profitable traffic in Africans until the end of the Civil War."

Civil War Slavery

In September of 1829 slavery was prohibited in Mexico. Because the politically connected Texans were outraged, one month later, the law was changed to allow slavery only in Texas. A few months later in early 1830, Mexico altered its policy under a new government that was less interested in catering to Texas. Mexico passed a law that prohibited further American settlement, and banned importation of additional slaves into Texas. Stephen Austin presented a petition for independence to the Mexican government in 1833, and was then arrested and jailed until 1835. At that time, there were about 20,000 Texans and 4,000 slaves in Texas. In December of 1835, General Antonio Santa Anna amended the slavery laws banning slavery in Texas. The Texans immediately rebelled and declared that they were seceded from Mexico.

"One month after the Alamo, in March of 1836, Texas adopted a constitution which included a provision declaring slavery was legal in Texas. In April, Texans rallied under Sam Houston and "Remember the Alamo". They defeated the Mexicans, declared the Republic of Texas, ratified the Texas Constitution and requested U.S. statehood as a slave state. The Mexican American War was fought about 10 years after the Alamo, and added a buffer territory between the slave states and slave-free Mexico, where many Africans had escaped to freedom."

Really Remember The Alamo, William Kincaid

"The Constitution of 1845, after the United States annexed Texas, defined slaves as personal property. Slaves were not allowed to marry, form a family, bear arms, assemble or use the courts against an Anglo. Whippings were also stated as an acceptable punishment for slaves for minor crimes such as petty theft. For serious crimes, slaves would automatically receive the death penalty, although many were lynched for other reasons or no reason at all.

"During the 1850s, Texas considered slavery essential to the economy. Law considered slaves property and masters would pay taxes on their slaves as they would for land. With slavery, cotton production exceeded the value of other goods. Even with the economic advantage of slavery, many believed that African Americans were inferior, with negative and unchangeable characteristics. They believed that slavery improved their lives from the backwardness of African society. Lynchings, in particular, were popular events. Some crowds traveled long-distances on special trains to view a lynching. In 1893, 10,000 people gathered just to see Henry Smith's lynching.

"In spite of the illegality of having a family, many plantation

owners encouraged slaves to marry and have children, to increase available labor and production and gained a stronger hold over a slave by controlling his or her children.

"Slaves reacted differently under slavery. Some lacked a reaction, while others sought comfort in Christianity. Many ran away to Mexico or back to the southern states they came from to search for their families. A few committed sabotage to purposefully slow down production.

"In April 1861, Texas had almost 200,000 slaves at the beginning of the Civil War. Many slaveholders in the South sent their slaves to Texas to prevent federal troops from freeing them.

"After the Civil War, Union General Gordon Granger arrived in Galveston. On June 19, 1865, he declared all laws of the Texas government since 1861 illegal and the liberation of slaves. The day of emancipation later became known as "Juneteenth," although most slaves continued to stay on and work for wages under their former owners, with limited means to travel or preparedness to survive."

Slavery In Texas, Michelle Ong

The period leading up to the Civil war saw a hardening of positions on both sides. In the South, those suspected of abolitionist sympathies were persecuted, while in the North popular opposition arose to the return of fugitive slaves. In 1859, John Brown led an aborted attempt to provoke slave rebellion and initiate a guerrilla war in the Appalachian Mountains by capturing the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry. His trial and execution convinced many that civil war was inevitable.

The first Emancipation Proclamation was issued on August 30, 1861 by Major General Fremont, the commander of the Western Department of the Union Army. Fremont proclaimed that all slaves owned by Confederates in Missouri were free. Abraham Lincoln was furious fearing that this would swing the border states toward the Confederates. When Fremont, a leader of the radical Republicans, refused to modify his order, Lincoln had him replaced.

Initially the South had high hopes that Britain and France would enter the war on its behalf. This was blocked by the Russian fleet, which sailed into New York and San Francisco harbors in a show of support for President Lincoln, and by the support of the British working class, led by Karl Marx. In September of 1862, after the Union's victory at Antietam, Lincoln issued a preliminary decree stating that, unless the rebellious states returned to the Union by January 1, freedom would be granted to slaves within those states. As no states came forward, he went ahead with his threat and issued the proclamation on January 1, 1863.

"Although the Emancipation Proclamation did not immediately free a single slave, it fundamentally transformed the character of the war. After January 1, 1863, every advance of federal troops expanded the domain of freedom. Moreover, the Proclamation announced the acceptance of black men into the Union Army and Navy, enabling the liberated to become liberators. By the end of the war, almost 200,000 black soldiers and sailors had fought for the Union and freedom."

National Archives & Records Administration

This altered the character of the war and won the support of the abolitionists of Europe. The source of funds dried up for the Confederacy, and it went bankrupt before Lee's surrender. The mill owners and bankers of England and France found other sources of cotton in Egypt and India. The war had catapulted the Northern capitalists to a position of national dominance in the United States.

"With the end of the war, the ratification of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution provided freedom for all African Americans in the United States. This freedom came, however, during a time of great national disruption, during which African Americans faced hard times and an uncertain future. Most had been left penniless by the war, and some had to avoid attacks by returning Confederates. Many tens of thousands began traveling throughout the South in search of long-lost family

members, searches that often took years. Most important, the structure of the nation had been reordered dramatically, and it would take decades for the aftershocks of this transformation to fully work themselves out. African Americans were on the fault lines of that process.

"The change with perhaps the greatest transformative potential, however, was African Americans' new participation in electoral politics. In 1870 the 15th Amendment was ratified, which guaranteed all males the right to vote, regardless of "race, color, or previous condition of servitude." Within a few years, every Southern state legislature had African American members, and 11 African Americans had been elected to the U.S. Congress by 1875. In this regard, at least, the nation's political identity appeared to have changed for good."

African: Emancipation and Reconstruction

However, the 13th Amendment specified that: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction." This provided a way to continue subjugating Black people that continues to this day.

"After the Civil War, white Southerners moved quickly to eliminate black people's newfound freedom. They wanted to return blacks, in effect, to their prewar status as slaves. In order to do this "legally," they passed new laws that appeared, on the surface, to be neutral and fair to all races. In actuality however, these laws were actually designed specifically to repress black people.

"At first these laws were called Black Codes, but because of their deceptive nature, they eventually came to be known as the laws of Jim Crow. Jim Crow was the name of character in a minstrel show. Minstrel shows were popular during that time, and they featured white actors in "black face," or black make-up. Because of this, the name Jim Crow represented the fact that Black Codes were based on racial disguise.

"South Carolina began to establish Black Codes immediately. The Constitution of 1865, passed only a few months after the Civil War ended, failed to grant African-Americans the right to vote. It also retained racial qualifications for the legislature. Consequently, black people had no power to combat the unfair laws. Some of the Black Codes that were passed around this time stated:

"No person of color shall migrate into and reside in this state, unless, within twenty days after his arrival within the same, he shall enter into a bond with two freeholders as sureties"

"Servants shall not be absent from the premises without the permission of the master"

Servants must assist their masters "in the defense of his own person, family, premises, or property"

No person of color could become an artisan, mechanic, or shopkeeper unless he obtained a license from the judge of the district court – a license that could cost \$100 or more."

South Carolina – African-Americans – 1865-1900

"A section of the Louisiana code stipulated that "every adult freed man or woman shall furnish themselves with a comfortable home and visible means of support within twenty days after the passage of this act," and anyone failing to do so "shall be immediately arrested by any sheriff or constable . . . and . . . hired out . . . to some citizen, being the highest bidder, for the remainder of the year."

Black Codes in the Former Confederate States

In the era of Jim Crow segregation, the chain gang stood out as the most visible example of the continuation of slavery. Across the South, groups of chained together prisoners, mostly Blacks, could be seen laboring along the roadside under the hot sun. Prisoners were also sent to labor in the mosquito infested swamps, and many were hired out to perform agricultural labor for private citizens. Popular outrage over the practice

almost forced a discontinuation of the practice, but in recent years there has been a revival led by "tough on crime" politicians like Sheriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County, Arizona.

"Some states, such as Alabama and Arizona, have re-introduced the chain gang. In recent years, Maricopa County, Arizona, which is in the Phoenix, Arizona area, has drawn attention from human rights groups for its harsh treatment of prisoners, and in particular, its creation of chain gangs for women and children. Arizona's modern chain gangs, rather than chipping rocks or other non-productive tasks, often do real work of economic benefit to a correctional department.

Prisoners are given only two meals a day, must every day work in the harsh Arizona desert, and are not afforded any coffee, cigarettes, salt, pepper, ketchup, or organized recreation. If they suffer from heatstroke or dehydration in the extreme desert conditions, they have to pay \$10 to receive basic medical attention. To write their families, they must use special postcards with the sheriff's menacing picture on them, and the corrections department spends more money per dog than per prisoner on food. Most of the inmates facing these conditions were convicted of minor, non-violence offences."

From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia

Among the tasks performed by the prisoners in Maricopa County is burying the bodies of indigent people.

"A 'tough on crime' approach to criminal justice induced a trend of overcrowded prisons and jails with deteriorating structures and prisoner violence, overwhelmed correctional officers who grow younger and more inexperienced because of accelerated burnout and turnover, and inadequately financed medical care systems, work, education, and drug treatment programs."

ACLU National Prison Project

Since the 1970's, there has been a growth in privately-owned prisons and the exploitation of convict labor in "sweat shops" and in "union busting" operations of the big corporations.

"As prisons proliferate in U.S. society, private capital has become enmeshed in the punishment industry. And precisely because of their profit potential, prisons are becoming increasingly important to the U.S. economy. If the notion of punishment as a source of potentially stupendous profits is disturbing by itself, then the strategic dependence on racist structures and ideologies to render mass punishment palatable and profitable is even more troubling.

"Prison privatization is the most obvious instance of capital's current movement toward the prison industry. While government-run prisons are often in gross violation of international human rights standards, private prisons are even less accountable. In March of this year, the Corrections Corporation of America (CCA), the largest U.S. private prison company, claimed 54,944 beds in 68 facilities under contract or development in the U.S., Puerto Rico, the United Kingdom, and Australia. Following the global trend of subjecting more women to public punishment, CCA recently opened a women's prison outside Melbourne. The company recently identified California as its "new frontier."

"Wackenhut Corrections Corporation (WCC), the second largest U.S. prison company, claimed contracts and awards to manage 46 facilities in North America, U.K., and Australia. It boasts a total of 30,424 beds as well as contracts for prisoner health care services, transportation, and security.

"Currently, the stocks of both CCA and WCC are doing extremely well. Between 1996 and 1997, CCA's revenues increased by 58 percent, from \$293 million to \$462 million. Its net profit grew from \$30.9 million to \$53.9 million. WCC raised its revenues from \$138 million in 1996 to \$210 million in 1997. Unlike public correctional facilities, the vast profits of these private facilities rely on the employment of non-union labor."

Masked Racism: Reflections on the Prison Industrial Complex,
Angela Davis

The prevailing view on prisoner's rights has, because of the 13th Amendment, been that a prisoner "has, as a consequence of his crime, not only forfeited his liberty, but all personal rights except those which the law in its humanity accords to him. He is for the time being the slave of the state." This has been somewhat modified in the era of Cold War Liberalism, and since 1948, the Supreme Court has had that "incarceration brings about the necessary withdrawal of many privileges and rights," with "many" implying not all. Most particularly, the Court asserted in 1972 that "persons in prison, like other individuals, have the right to petition the Government for redress of grievances..." This has been restricted under the "get tough on crime" politicians and has brought on severe repression to prisoners attempting to exercise these rights. Generally, the Court has confined itself and the lower courts to a few issues; the Eighth Amendment protection against cruel and unusual punishment, the First Amendment protection of free speech and religious freedom and, since the Civil Rights movement, against racial segregation and discrimination. Prisoners are accorded the right to "due process" but not necessarily legal representation, and the prison administrators are given wide latitude to invoke "prison security" to violate what rights the courts "in theory" have acknowledged prisoners to have.

It is the old Roman duality, on the one hand a slave, and on the other, (for certain usages), a human being possessed of human rights. But while it is murder to kill a citizen, you can kill a slave, and not only by capital punishment. Medical neglect or other means can cut short the life of a prisoner with no questions asked. The Judicial Inspectorate of Prisons recently announced a rise in prisoner mortality from 1.65 deaths per 1000 in 1995 to 9.1 deaths per 1000 in 2004. The spread of AIDS and Hepatitis C have greatly increased prisoner mortality rates, and little is being done to prevent the spread of these blood-borne diseases or to properly treat those infected. This also reflects the aging of the prison population as longer prison sentences and more people serving sentences of "Life Without Parole" confine prisoners for the remainder of their natural lives.

"More than 70 percent of the imprisoned population are people of color. It is rarely acknowledged that the fastest growing group of prisoners are black women and that Native American prisoners are the largest group per capita. Approximately five million people – including those on probation and parole – are directly under the surveillance of the criminal justice system."

"Three decades ago, the imprisoned population was approximately one-eighth its current size. While women still constitute a relatively small percentage of people behind bars, today the number of incarcerated women in California alone is almost twice what the nation-wide women's prison population was in 1970. According to Elliott Currie, "the prison has become a looming presence in our society to an extent unparalleled in our history – or that of any other industrial democracy. Short of major wars, mass incarceration has been the most thoroughly implemented government social program of our time."

"To deliver up bodies destined for profitable punishment, the political economy of prisons relies on racialized assumptions of criminality – such as images of black welfare mothers reproducing criminal children – and on racist practices in arrest, conviction, and sentencing patterns. Colored bodies constitute the main human raw material in this vast experiment to disappear the major social problems of our time. Once the aura of magic is stripped away from the imprisonment solution, what is revealed is racism, class bias, and the parasitic seduction of capitalist profit. The prison industrial system materially and morally impoverishes its inhabitants and devours the social wealth needed to address the very problems that have led to spiraling numbers of prisoners."

ibid

In 2004, the ratio of imprisoned Black males in the U.S. (4,919 per 100,000) was exactly what it had been in South Africa at the height of apartheid. For Black males ages 25-29: 12,603 per 100,000. That's 12.6% of Black men in their late 20s. Only 0.85% of all adult black males in South Africa were imprisoned in 1993, the last year of apartheid. According to the Human Rights Watch Report: Punishment and Prejudice: Racial Disparities in the Criminal Justice System, "Blacks constitute 13 percent of all drug users, but 35 percent of those arrested

for drug possession, 55 percent of persons convicted, and 74 percent of people sent to prison." In 2002, the percentage of non-whites in jail or prison was 56.2% and 39.8% were non-Hispanic Blacks.

"Media denial lets the U.S. military—and the U.S. incarceration industry—off the hook. Yet, it's significant that a man implicated as a ringleader in the Abu Ghraib crimes, Staff Sgt. Ivan Frederick, "had also worked for six years as a guard for the Virginia Department of Corrections," according to Seymour Hersh's article in the May 10 edition of the New Yorker. A special agent in the U.S. Army's Criminal Investigation Division, Scott Bobeck, testified that Sgt. Frederick and a corporal apparently "were put in charge because they were civilian prison guards and had knowledge of how things were supposed to be run."

"That knowledge came from working as guards in a U.S. prison system that now has 2,033,000 people behind bars—63 percent of them black or Latino. With racial minorities vastly over-represented in federal and state prisons and local jails, such numbers reflect profound institutional biases that converge at the intersection of racism and unequal justice based on economic class."

"A public-interest group, the Sentencing Project, notes that "black males have a 32 percent chance of serving time in prison at some point in their lives; Hispanic males have a 17 percent chance; white males have a 6 percent chance."

"Many prisoners must cope with violence and duress. At the Stop Prisoner Rape organization, executive director Lara Stemple points out: "For women, whose abusers are often corrections officers, the rates of sexual assault are as high as one in four in some facilities."

This War and Racism, Norman Solomon

Institutionalized racism, rape, routine violations of human rights, legal lynching and murder by neglect, forced labor and private profiteering, deprivation of the right to vote, to collectively bargain or to have legal representation or to confront one's accusers, all of these things demonstrate that slavery is alive and well in the Amerikkkan criminal justice system. It follows that the legal justification for this slave system must be opposed and the 13th Amendment amended to end the status of slave for prisoners in Amerikkka. This must be the cornerstone of building a broad alliance of groups and individuals dedicated to dramatically transforming the modern slave plantations into "schools of liberation" and prisoners and their families must be enlisted en masse to be the main force in this movement.

Moreover, the issues of crime and victimization must be taken up and addressed from the point of view of the oppressed masses as part of the overall liberation struggle to end all oppression. Criminal justice outside the context of social justice is just class oppression and class war upon the poor. It is the slave masters idea of justice which is based on his profiteering on the exploitation of his slaves and on the maximization of those profits. This itself promotes crime and victimization and a criminal mentality throughout society.

Healing the wounds of society and individuals, changing people's perceptions and ways of thinking, and creating positive alternatives to incarceration and institutions of people's power based in the oppressed communities dedicated to serving the people's survival needs, must accompany mass mobilization to overturn the legal justifications for slavery, to end the racist death penalty, and defend the human rights of all prisoners. Linked to this must be the demand for amnesty and freedom for all political prisoners and POWs from the struggles for social justice and against national oppression.

We must recognize that just as the filthy rich of the Amerikkkan ruling class are waging class war on the poor and people of color, we must unite to wage class war against them and build the broadest united front we can to demand and create a brighter future for posterity.□

On Line Petition

Whereas Slavery in any form is expressly forbidden by the International Declaration of Human Rights and is moreover an

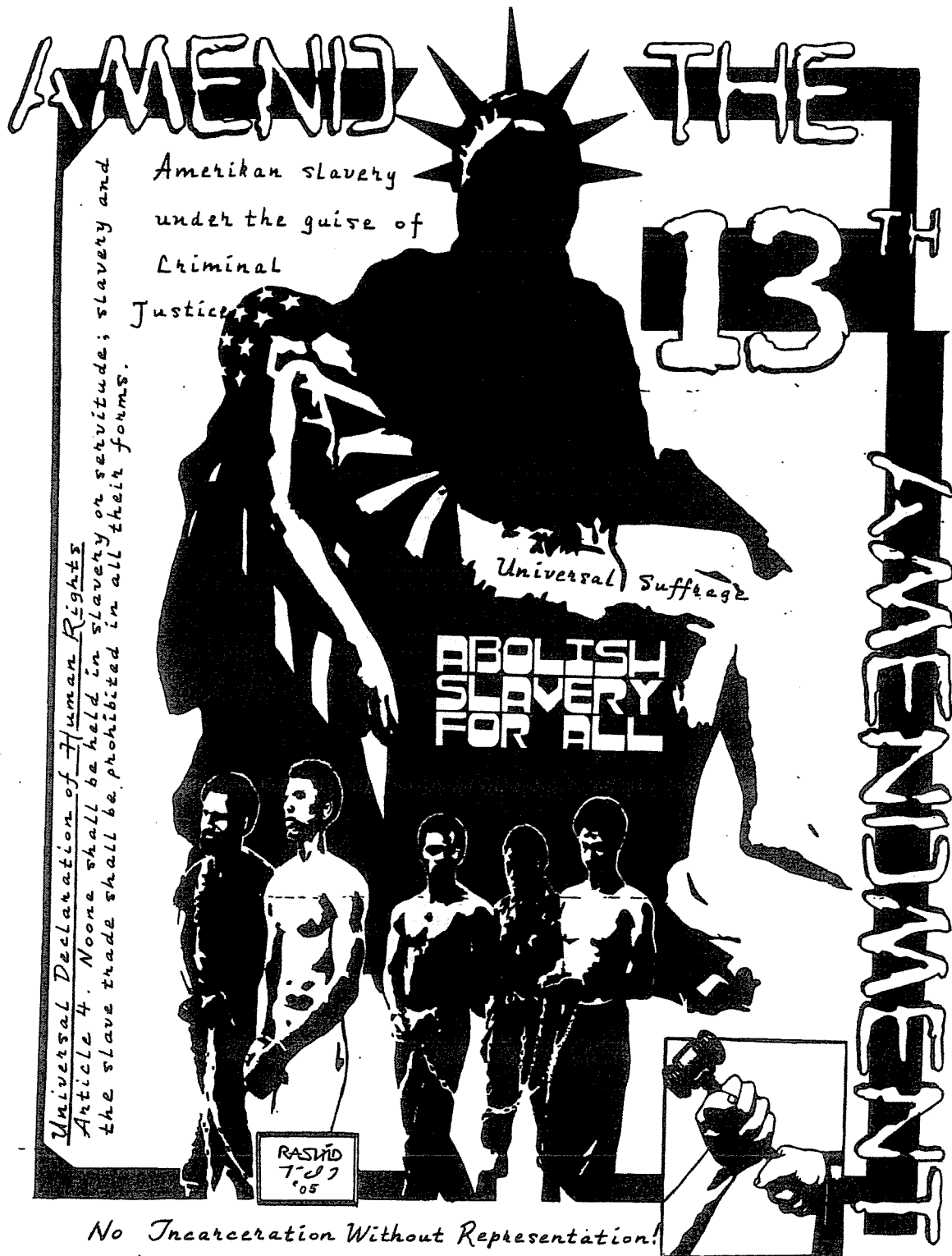
abomination well recognized throughout the ages as a crime against humanity,

And Whereas the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution perpetuates this abominable institution as regards those convicted of a crime and has colored the American criminal justice system as an inhumane extension of the slave plantation, where the basic rights accorded to citizens are denied; including the right to vote, to be paid a fair wage for labor and to collectively bargain the terms of employment, as well as other basic civil and human rights,

And Whereas the inalienable rights promised in the Declaration of Independence are yet denied to the American people and most grotesquely so to those convicted and reduced to the status of slaves,

We The Undersigned do hereby call for the immediate amending of the 13th Amendment to strike the language perpetuating slavery.

Signed: _____





Liberation Or Gangsterism: Freedom Or Slavery

by Russell Maroon Shoats

"Each generation must, out of relative obscurity, discover its mission - fulfill it or betray it."

- *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon

Introduction

Within two generations the youth of this country have come full circle. Starting off in 1955, being driven by two major motivations; the acquiring of enough education or apprenticeships, or the use of their unskilled labor or *street smarts* to land "good" jobs or establish *hustles*, to make as much money and obtain as many material trappings as possible; And, secondarily, to use the education, apprenticeships, unskilled labor, street smarts, jobs, hustles and the material trappings provided by them to win a measure of *respect* and *dignity* from their peers and society in general. Thereby, simultaneously leaning to *respect themselves* as individuals of self-worth, and not simply eating, sleeping, laboring and sexual beings.

The First Wave: 1955 - 1980, circa

The Civil Rights Movement in the South successfully motivated Black, Puerto Rican, Euro-American, Native American, Chicano-Mexicano Indigenous and Asian youth to use their time, energies, creativity and imaginations to discover their true self-worth and earn the respect of the entire world, while struggling towards even broader goals that were not measured by one's material possessions. And over time, each segment either cheered on, supported, worked in solidarity with and/or discovered their common interests and closely linked *missions* connected to broader goals.

Thus Black youth elevated the Civil Rights Movement to the *Black Power* and *Black Liberation Movements*. Puerto Rican youth energized their elders ongoing struggle to win independence for their home island. Euro-American youth attacked the lies, hypocrisy and oppression their parents were training them to uphold in the schools, society and overseas. Native American youth were returning to their suppressed ancestral ways and fighting to regain control over some of the land; and Asian youth were struggling to overcome a system and culture that had always used and abused them.

Indeed, all of them came to clearly see that neither education, jobs, money, hustles or material trappings could - by themselves - win them the victories they needed, or the *new type* of dignity and respect they deserved.

Moreover, from 1955 until 1975 circa, these youth joined, formulated, led and supported struggles - worldwide - against racial oppression and bigotry, colonialism, oppression of women and youth. Thus, winning themselves the respect, admiration and gratitude of the world's *oppressed*, as well as amongst their peers. Furthermore, in addition to becoming people that societies must take seriously, as positive contributors that had much to give and were willing to sacrifice to achieve goals; youth who were more egalitarian than their parents; youth who were capable of imagining a better world and fighting to realize it - while still remaining youthful and having a good time while doing it: All in all, earning them a much deserved place in history.

From the *Mountain* to the *Sewer*

Yet, here we are 30 years later, and the youth nowadays are ridiculed and have been stripped of that hard earned *freedom*, *self-respect* and *dignity*, being told - over and over - that the only way to regain it is to *again* acquire education, skills, good jobs, or the right hustle(s); thereby, once again to acquire as much money and material things as one can in order to *again* win respect and dignity from one's peers and society - and thereby begin to start loving oneself, and seeing oneself as more than simply an eating, sleeping, working and sexual animal.

How the Hell did we get back to 1955?!

First off, let me make clear that even with all of the *glorious strides* that youth made within the *First Wave*, they were not the only ones fighting for radical and in many cases revolutionary changes. In fact, more than anything, they were usually only the tip of the *spear*, the shock troops of a global struggle, motivated by youthful energy and impatience, with no time or temperament for elaborate theories, rushing forward into the fray, ill prepared for the *tricks* that would eventually overwhelm them.

So, to understand what happened, we must examine some of the main "tricks" used to slow down, misdirect, control and defeat them. And without a point, a spear loses all of its advantages.

Strategic Tricks Used Against the Youth

Understanding these tricks, their various guises and refinements is the key to everything. You will never really understand what happened to get us to this point, or be able to really move forward until you master their recognition and devise ways to defeat them.

They were and remain:

- 1.) Co-option
- 2.) Glamorization of Gangsterism
- 3.) Separation from the Most Advanced Elements
- 4.) Indoctrination In Reliance On Passive Approaches
- 5.) Raw Fear

Co-option was used extensively to trick just about all of the First Wave youth into believing that they had *won the war*. Strategically, amongst every named segment of the youth; university students to *lower-class communities*, billions were made available - supposedly for these youth to determine what should be done to carry out far reaching changes, while all along being expertly monitored and subtilely coaxed further and further away from their most radical and advanced elements, mainly through control of this largess, which ultimately was part of the *ruling class* foundations and government and corporate strategy of defeating the youth *with sugar-coated bullets*.

In time, consequently, substantial segments of these previously rebellious youth found themselves fully absorbed and neutralized by either directly joining the foundations, sub-groups, the corporations, university faculties, the "*approved*" community groups or by becoming full-fledged junior partners after winning control of thousands of previously out of reach political offices and appointments.

And for all intents and purposes, that same trick is still being used today.

Glamorization of Gangsterism, however, was then and continues to be the most harmful trick played against the lower class segments, and the males - in particular - were then and continue to be the most susceptible to this gambit; especially when used opposite prolonged exposure to raw fear!

Let me illustrate by way of two historic groups that presently enjoy nothing less than "*icon*" status amongst just about everyone aware of them; yet, whose "documented history" clearly shows how that trick is played - and continues to be played throughout this country. Therefore, the following is a brief - but cleat - history of how the original Black Panther Party was bludgeoned and intimidated to the point until its key leader(s) "*consciously*" steered the group into accepting the Glamorization of Gangsterism, because it was less of a threat to the ruling class interests, winning them a temporary respite from the Raw Fear those circles were leveling against them, but in the process "*totally*" destroying the organization. And, the Nation of Islam "connected" Black Mafia that had a different background, but against who the same two tricks were played, leaving in their wake a sordid tale of Black young men who were - again - turned from seeking to be *Liberators*, into ruthless oppressors of their own communities, never once engaging their real enemies and oppressors - the ruling class.

Hands down, the original Black Panther Party (B.P.P.) won more attention, acclaim, respect, support and sympathy than any other youth of their time. At the same time, nevertheless, they provoked more fear and worry in ruling class circles than any domestic group since Presidents Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower presided over the neutralization of the working class and the U.S. wing of the Communist Party. They were even more feared than the much larger Civil Rights Movement. According to the head of the F.B.I., they were "*the biggest threat to America*." Albeit, that threat came from their ability to inspire other youth - both in the U.S. and globally - to act in similar ways.

Thus, there were *separate* BPP "style" formations amongst the Puerto Ricans - The Young Lords Party; the Chicano-Mexican Indigenous - the

Brown Berets; Asians - I-Wor Kuen; Euro-Amerikans - Young Patriot Party and White Panther Party; even the elderly - Gray Panthers. Also there were literally hundreds of other similar, less known groups! In addition, internationally the BPP had an arm in Algeria that had the only official "Embassy" established amongst all of the other Afrikan, Asian and South Amerikan refugee groups seeking in that - then - revolutionary country. Astonishingly, they even spawned separate Black Panther Parties in India, the Bahamas and Israel!

On the other hand, the Nation Of Islam (N.O.I.) had been active since 1930. Yet, they also experienced a huge upsurge in membership in the same period, mainly due to the charismatic personality of Malcolm X and his aggressive recruitment techniques, which carried over after his assassination, fueled by the overall rebellious spirits of the youth looking for some groups who would lead them to fight against the system.

Therefore, there is a mountain of documents that clearly show that the highest powers in this country classified both groups as *Class A Threats*: Ones that they wanted to either neutralize or destroy, even musing that if that could be achieved, then they could use similar methods to defeat youth in the rest of the country. So how did they do it?

Against the B.P.P. they used a combination of co-option, glamorization of gangsterism, separation from the most advanced elements, indoctrination on reliance on passive approaches, and raw fear: *every trick in the book*.

The ruling class's governmental, intelligence, legal and academic sources, fully alarmed at the growth and boldness of the B.P.P. and related groups, as well as its ability to win a level of global support, devised a strategy to split the B.P.P. and co-opt its more compliant elements, while at the same time moving to totally annihilate its more radical and revolutionary remainders. Plus, they knew that they had the upper hand, due to the youth and inexperience of the B.P.P. members, as well as their own deep well of resources and experience in using *counterinsurgency* techniques as early as against Marcus Garvey's U.N.I.A.; the Palmer Raids against Euro-Amerikans of an Anarchist or Left Socialist bent; the crushing of the I.W.W. and neutralization of other Socialists; their underground work that contributed to the defeat of Germany and Italy; their subsequent destruction of any real Communist power in Western Europe; their total domination and subjugation of the Caribbean - except Cuba - Central and South Amerika - except for the fledgling guerrilla movements; and everything they had learned in their wars to replace the European colonial powers in Afrika and Asia.

Still, the B.P.P. had highly motivated cadre, imbued with fearlessness little known among domestic groups, and the ruling class and their henchmen were stretched thin, especially since the Vietnamese, Laotians and Cambodians were kicking their ass in South East Asia, and the freedom fighters in Guinea-Bissau and Angola also had their European allies - whom the U.S. supplied with the latest military hardware - on the run. So, although inexperienced, it still was a mixed bag, they still had a *fighting chance*.

The co-option depended upon them "*neutralizing*" the B.P.P. co-founder - and by then an *icon* - Huey P. Newton. Afterwards, using him - along with other methods - to *split* the B.P.P. and lead his wing along reformist lines, while *forcing* the still revolutionary wing into an all out armed fight before they were ready, hoping to either kill, jail, exile or break their will to resist and send them into ineffective hiding-out. Plus, even with their extraordinary status globally, no country seemed to want to risk the U.S.'s wrath by "*openly*" allowing the B.P.P. to train guerrilla units - something they could have circumvented in time.

So, surprisingly, Huey was allowed to leave jail with a still to be tried murder of a policeman charge pending. Thus, the government and courts had him on a short leash, and with it hoped to control his actions, although probably not through any direct agreements. And sadly, the still politically naive B.P.P. cadre and the other youth who looked up to him could imagine "*nothing*" but that "*they*" had "*forced*" his release - and veterans from those times still insist on clinging to such tripe!

Yet, it seems Newton thought otherwise, and since he was not prepared to go *underground* and join his fledgling Black Liberation Army (B.L.A.), he almost immediately began to follow a *reformist script*, completely at odds with his own earlier theories and writings, as well as at odds with

basic principles that were being practiced to good effect by oppressed people around the world. Even further, he used his almost complete control of the B.P.P. Central Committee to expel many veteran and combat-tested B.P.P. cadre, in imitation of the Stalinist and Euro-gangster posture he would later become infamous for, which involved an all-out shooting war to suppress any B.P.P. members who would not accept his *independently-derived reformist* policies.

At the same time, on a parallel track, U.S. and local police intelligence agencies were using their - now - infamous COINTELPRO operation to provoke the split between Huey's dominated wing and other less compliant B.P.P. members; which finally occurred in 1971, after Huey's shooting war and purge forced scores of the most loyal, fearless and dedicated *above ground* B.P.P. members to go *underground* and join those other B.P.P. members who were *already* functioning there as the *offensive armed wing*: Panther Wolves, Afro-American Liberation Army and Black Liberation Army were all names they were known by, but the latter is the only one that would stick. Yet, the Black Liberation Army (B.L.A.) had already become a *confederation of clandestine guerrilla units*, of mostly Black Revolutionary Nationalists from any number of formations who were willing to accept the B.P.P.'s leadership, and who also accepted Huey Newton as their *Minister of Defense*, but, obviously Newton didn't see it that way.

Even more telling, it was later learned that Newton's expensive penthouse apartment - where he and other Central Committee members handled any number of sensitive B.P.P. issues - was under ongoing surveillance by intelligence agents who had another apartment down the hall. Thus, Newton and his faction were *encapsulated*, leaving them unable to follow anything *but* government sanctioned scripts; unless he/they went underground, which only occurred when Newton fled to Cuba after his gangster antics threatened the revoking of his release on the pending legal matters the government held over his head.

Added to that, the glamorization of gangsterism was something that various ruling class elements had begun to champion and direct towards the Black lower classes - in particular - especially after they saw how much attention the Black Arts Movement was able to generate. Indeed, they recognized it could be used to "*misdirect*" youthful militancy while still being hugely profitable. They had, in fact, *already* misdirected Euro-American and other youth with the James Bond, I-Spy, Secret Agent Man and other replacements for the "Old West/Cowboys and Indians" *racist crap*, so why not a "Black" counterpart? Thus was born the enormously successful *counter-insurgency genre* collectively known as the *Blacksploitation* movies; Shaft, Superfly, Foxy Brown, Black Caesar and their like, accompanied by the wannabe crossovers like Starsky and Hutch, with the notorious Black *snitch* Huggie Bear: Psychological Warfare!

Follow the psychology: You can be "Black," cool, rebellious, dangerous, rich, have respect, women, cars, fine clothes, jewelry, an expensive home and *even stay high*; as long as you *don't fight the system - or their cops!* But if you don't go along with that script, then get ready to go back to the early days - with its shootouts with the cops, going to the graveyard, prison, on the run and exile! But you can still be cool, even as a Huggie Bear style snitch, and interestingly his buddy, modern day/futuristic *rat* Cipher, of the Matrix, who tried to betray ZION in return for a *fake* life as a rich, steak eating, movie star, and most importantly - no more fighting with the agents! Get it?

Plus, to bolster the government's assault, and to saddle the oppressed with a *Trojan Horse* that would strategically handicap them for decades to come, they began to *flood* their neighborhoods with heroin, cocaine, marijuana, and "*meth*." Yes, all of these drugs had earlier been introduced to these areas by organized criminals - under local police and political protection - but now the *intelligence agencies* were using them in the same manner that alcohol had long ago been introduced to the Native Americans - and with the same intentions - and the later "foreign" trafficking in *opium* by the ruling class of Europe and this country: *to counter their propensities to rebel against outside control* - while profiting off their misery.

So, Newton began to indulge in drugs as a way to try to relieve the stress of all that he was facing. He became a *drug addict*, plain and simple. That, however, didn't upset the newly constructed *gangster cool* that Hollywood, the ruling class and the government were pushing;

although many B.P.P. cadre and other outsiders were very nervous about it, but Newton's control was by then too firmly fixed for anyone to challenge - but the B.L.A., who were by then in a full-blown guerrilla war with the government.

At the same time, the *reformist wing* of the B.P.P. did manage some noteworthy strides under its only female head, Elaine Brown. Newton's addiction/gangster lifestyle provoked exile caused him to - on his own, and without any consultation with the body - "appoint" Elaine to head the Party in his absence. An exceptionally gifted woman, she relied on an inner circle of female B.P.P. cadre, backed up by male Party enforcers to introduce some clear and consistent projects that helped the B.P.P. to become a real power locally. A *reformist paradigm*, though, that could not hope to achieve any of the radical/revolutionary changes called for earlier. In fact, within Newton's earlier writings, he had put the cadre on notice of a point in time when the *aboveground* would have to be supported by an *underground*, in order to keep moving forward. Yet, it was Newton who completely rejected that paradigm on being released from jail, although he still organized and controlled a heavily armed *extortion arm* called "The Squad," which consisted of B.P.P. cadre who terrorized Oakland's underworld with a belt-operated machine gun mounted on a truck bed, accompanied by a cadre who were ready for war!

In classical Euro-gangster fashion, Newton had turned to preying on segments of the community that he had earlier vowed to liberate. But of course, the police and government were safe from him. Since there was no connection to a *true* underground - the B.L.A. - there was no rational way to ratchet up the pressure on the police, government and the still fully operational system of ruling class control and oppression, Newton's B.P.P. had been reduced to completely *sanctioned methods*.

Consequently, we can see all of the government's props bearing fruit: Newton's faction of the B.P.P. had limited itself to both legal and *underworld* sanctioned methods: "Co-option" and "Indoctrination In Reliance On Passive Approaches" - *passive towards the status quo*. They fell for the trick of severing all relations with their armed underground - the B.L.A. - who would lead the B.P.P. if they got to the next level of struggle - open armed resistance to the oppressors: "*Separation From the Most Advanced Elements*." Through Newton's control, his faction was immersed in the "*Glamorization of Gangsterism*." Finally, Newton and his faction and activists from all of the other American radical and revolutionary groups *succumbed* to the terror and "*Raw Fear*" that was being leveled on them; all but those who waged armed struggle were killed, jailed, exiled, forced into hiding or into continuing their activism *under the radar*.

Epilogue on Huey P. Newton and His B.P.P. Faction

Elaine Brown guided their faction to support Newton and his family in exile while orchestrating the building up of enough political muscle in Oakland to assure Newton's return on favorable terms. Thus, he did return and eventually the charges were dropped. Nevertheless, Newton continued to use his iconic stature and renewed direct control of his faction to *again* play the *cool-political gangster* role, and like any drug addict who refuses to reform, he kept sliding down hill, even turning on old comrades and Elaine Brown, who had to flee in fear.

Sadly, for all practical purposes, that was the end of the *original Black Panther Party*. Checkmate!

Later, as is well known, Newton's continued drug addiction cost him his life; a sorry ending for a once great man.

TO BE CONTINUED

Books To Read

1. The Wretched of the Earth, Frantz Fanon
2. We Want Freedom, Mumia Abu Jamal
3. Assata, Assata Shakur
4. A Taste of Power, Elaine Brown
5. Blood in My Eye, George Jackson
6. We Are Our Own Liberators: On The BLA, J. A. Muntaquim
7. Liberation, Imagination & the BPP, Kathleen Cleaver & G. Katificas

[Editor's note: Comrade Russell "Maroon" Shoats is a former BPP-BLA member who is currently a Political Prisoner/POW #AF-3855, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive Waynesburg, PA 15320. The views and analysis presented here are his own and are presented as part of our ongoing study of the history and legacy of the original Black Panther Party. The NABPP-PC is a completely legal and aboveground political party and does not advocate or promote violence or illegal activity.]

Liberation Or Gangsterism: Freedom Or Slavery, Part II

by Russell Maroon Shoats

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"When you grow up in situations like me and Cliff... there is a lot of respect for brothers like [drug lords] Alpo and Nicky Barnes, those major hustler-player cats. Cause they made it. They made it against society's laws. They were the kings of their own domain."

— *Never Drank the Cool-Aid: The Ivy League Counterfeiter*, Cliff Evans

The "Original" Black Mafia (BM)

Albeit a touchy matter to many, it's an irrefutable fact that the original Black Mafia was first established in Philadelphia, PA, in the late 1960s, and has since seen its cancerous ideas duplicated, imitated and lionized by Black youth ever since. Moreover, although it's unclear how much the national Nation Of Islam (NOI) leadership knew or learned about the BM, there's no question of the local NOI's eventual absorption of the BM under Minister Jeremiah X Pugh. In fact, although the BM was originally just local "stick up kids," culled from neighborhood gangs, their being swallowed up by the NOI would eventually turn them into a truly powerful and terrifying criminal enterprise — completely divorced from *everything* that the NOI had stood for since its founding in 1930.

Sadly, most of the high level tricks were also used by the government and intelligence agencies to use them against the areas they came from; namely — co-option, the glamorization of gangsterism, separation from the more advanced elements and raw fear. Thus, it must be understood that although the NOI and BPP had different ideologies and styles, to most Black youth, *both* still held out the promise of helping them to attain what they most desired; self-respect, dignity and freedom.

Interestingly, the puritanical NOI's dealings with the founders of the BM were similar to that of the Catholic Church's historical relationship to the Italian Mafia. Meaning, the BM members who attended NOI religious services did so strictly on that basis, while still coming to the attention of the local NOI leadership as unusually good financial contributors. Within the lower class Black community being served, *everybody* knew that they were hustlers, stick-up kids, or both. So the same way the Italian Mafia would contribute huge sums to the Catholic Church, the BM would eventually do the same thing within Philly's Temple No. 12.

The national NOI, however, had been under close scrutiny and surveillance by intelligence agencies for decades. In fact, by the time of his death, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, had in excess of *one million* pages of files within the archives of the FBI alone! Therefore, anyone who still believes that the assassination of Malcolm X *did not* have a *hidden* U.S. government hand behind it, has no clear idea of the threat the NOI was perceived to be at that time.

Consequently, the BM's financial contributors would have come to the attention of the intelligence agencies through their monitoring. Nevertheless, overshadowing all of that were the bloody assaults the

FBI and local police were leveling against other radical and revolutionary Black groups, like the local and national BPP chapters and branches, the Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and scores of smaller formations. Indeed, FBI agents *first* tried to recruit Minister Pugh as a snitch against the local BPP by telling him that the BPP was out to get him and supplant the local NOI as competition for the Black youths' loyalties. Pugh, to his credit, didn't take the bait and also avoided getting his Temple No. 12 involved in a war with the BPP; although he had to suspect that his taking the *blood money* from the BM had also come to the attention of the FBI, and thus he was vulnerable.

Miraculously, around the same time, Minister Pugh's name was removed from the FBI's Security Index, which contained all of the country's top level threats. After Pugh's being on this list for years, and right after they filed a report on his refusal to be a snitch, why would they relax the pressure? Co-option! How did they think it would unfold? Was it to give Pugh and his temple — and their BM followers — enough rope to hang themselves, or to become addicted to a *game* that was ultimately controlled by their professed enemies — the U.S. government and their underlings — and thus turn the tables on Pugh and force him to be less radical, more compliant, and no longer a threat on the level of the BPP, RAM and company?

For the BM members, the glamorization of gangsterism fit right in. After all, why would a group of Black stick-up kids and gang members call themselves *The Black Mafia*? This was in the era of *Black Is Beautiful*, when millions of Blacks began wearing *Afros/Bushes* and Afrikan clothing and adopting *Afrikan names* — completely at odds with aping Italians! Why not name themselves the *Zulus*, *Watusis* or the *Mau Mau* — like every young street gang was doing? No, Hollywood's projection of gangsterism was getting through!

Consequently, within a couple of years, the BM would uniformly be recognized as expensively dressed, big hat wearing, Cadillac driving, *imitations of the Italian mafia*. And sadly, they turned countless numbers of street gang members, former RAM cadre and militants from dozens of other Philly groups, who were fighting oppression, into *pawns* who were used to further destroy their own communities.

The third leg of separating them from the more advanced elements operated under cover of Pugh and other *insiders* continuing to preach Black Nationalist doctrines amongst the youth in the street gangs and within the prisons, never missing an opportunity to hold out the illusion that they could gain pride and respect — while fighting oppression — by joining what they believed was a *rebel* group that was only awaiting the *right time* to throw their lot in with the masses of Blacks who were waging non-violent or otherwise bloody battles from coast to coast and on the Afrikan continent.

By *tricking* them into diverting their energies into gangsterism, Pugh and company were effectively *separating them from the more advanced elements*; albeit many, if not most, bought into the *rationale* that that their extortion and drug dealing proceeds were a *tax* that was to be used to build *The Nation*. A few years later, that would be dubbed *drinking the Kool-Aid*, after Jim Jones and his CIA handlers tricked and forced hundreds of other Blacks to their deaths. And undoubtedly, Huey had also tricked his people with a similar *game*, although decades later that was all shown to be completely false! Yes, that money "did" build and buy some expensive homes, cars, clothing, women and drugs — as well as a few schools and businesses — but to *fight oppression* — please!

Then, the raw fear being leveled on the entire society had the most devastating effect on them also. Otherwise, how can one explain or account for hundreds — if not thousands — of BM *street soldiers*, fearless enough to cow Philly's long-established and ruthless Italian Mafia, and its other mobs, and most of its warring street gangs and independents; the BM that fielded *headhunters* who literally terrorized the city by decapitations — would in turn produce such a lackluster showing whenever it came to confronting *anyone in uniform*?

I'll tell you how: Their leadership had completely disarmed their fighting spirits by always pointing to the shootouts and gun battles that the BPP/BLA and other Blacks were known for and telling them *not to resist*

the police until they gave the order – which never came. Comically, after the police and FBI had succeeded in suppressing, jailing, exiling and co-opting most of the BPP, BLA, RAM and others, then they *discovered* the BM and in turn attacked them with a vengeance – while none of the BM put up anything resembling *real* resistance, except to go on the lam; while Minister Jeremiah also made a 180 degree turn, becoming a snitch after being caught in a drug sting.

Thus, their legacy is one of a ruthless group of Black thugs, who have spawned similarly ruthless crews – notably Philly's *Junior Black Mafia (JBM)* and the latest clone, Atlanta's *Black Mafia Family*. But their most harmful effect comes from their deeds and mystique that has returned a huge segment of Black youth to believing that the only way to gain any respect and dignity is through being the best and most heartless hustler around: full circle from 1955.

Finally, I used the BPP/BLA and NOI/BM because they present the most well "documented" examples, although both are surrounded by so much *mythology* that a true analysis is almost never attempted, except by government intelligence sources, who use their findings to refine, update and revise old *tricks* in order to continue to check and control this country's rebellious youth, while simultaneously persisting in oppressing the communities they occupy – in line with the ruling class's agenda.

Concurrently, the middle and upper class youth – from all segments of the First Wave – allowed themselves *willy-nilly*, and with few exceptions, to be *fully co-opted* as the new managers of the system they had vowed to radically change. They became the champions of – and made a doctrine out of – the *necessity of always using and relying on passive and legal methods*, epitomized by their new *saint*, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Second Wave: 1980-2005 circa

Thus, by 1980, the youth from the First Wave had, for all practical purposes, been *defeated*. Following which, they collectively descended into a long, debilitating, agonizing, escapist period characterized by pouring themselves into *partying*. Not discounting the fringe elements, who had their hands full trying to rebuild their sanity and families, or trying to go back to school or survive in prison or exile; everybody else seemed to be *dancing on the ceiling*, like shell-shocked vets of WWII and WWII and the post-traumatic-stress sufferers of the Vietnam War.

The most *misunderstood* victims, however, were that generations children; The Second Wave – from 1980-2005 circa. Albeit, those are the years when that generation either reached puberty or became young adults. Paradoxically, they were left in the dark about most of what had occurred before. They were instead left to the *tender mercies* of the *reformed*, but still rotten to the core and ruling-class-dominated schools, social institutions and cultural-propaganda machinery.

So, among all lower and working class segments of the youth, Coolio's *Gangsta's Paradise* fit the bill: They were *raised by the State*, either in the uncaring schools, juvenile detention centers and homes, or by the TV sets, movies, video arcades or the streets. Within the greatly expanded middle classes – most notably among the people of color – the youth were *back* to the gospel of relying on getting a good education and a good job as their highest calling; intermixed with an *originally* more conscientious element who tackled politics and academia as a continuation of the First Wave struggles. The upper class youth, however, were doomed to follow in the footsteps of their ruling class parents, since the radical and revolutionary changes sought, failed to alter the country all that much.

Like a reoccurring nightmare, the Second Wave youth *also* fell victim to *co-option*, the *glamorization of gangsterism*, *separation from the most advanced elements*, *relying on passive methods* and the *raw fear* of an upgraded police state. Left to their own devices, the lower class youth began a search for *respect* and *dignity* by devising their own institutions and culture, which came to be dominated by the gangs and Hip Hop – which on their own could be used for good or bad, but lacking any knowledge of the First Wave's experiences, they were *tricked* like their parents.

The Gang and Hip Hop Culture

Gangs are a working and lower class phenomenon that dates from the early beginnings of this country, having also been in evidence overseas. In fact, many of those who first joined the First Wave were themselves gang members, most notably Alprentice *Bunchy* Carter, the martyred founder of the Los Angeles Panthers and head of the notorious *Slausons*, the forerunners of today's *Crips*. As little as it's understood, they are in fact the lower class's counterpart to the middle and upper class's youth clubs, Boy Scouts/Girl Scouts, fraternities and sororities. The key difference is the level of *positive* adult input in the middle and upper class groups. And Hip Hop is just the latest manifestation of artistic genius bursting forth from these lower class youth – *seeking respect and dignity*.

"Orthodox hiphoppers speak a holy trinity of hip hop fathers: Herc, Afrika Bambaata, and Grandmaster Flash. But, like moisture in the air before it rains, the conditions were ripe for hip hop before the holy trinity began spinning. Hip hop's prefathers or grandfathers are James Brown, Huey Newton, Muhammad Ali, Richard Pryor, Malcolm X, Bob Marley, Bruce Lee, certain celebrity drug dealers and pimps whose names won't be mentioned here..."

- Toure. *never drank the kool-aid*, PICADOR, 2006

Alas, Hip Hop culture is daily being *co-opted* in ways so obvious it needs no explanation. But woe be it to us if we don't come to grips with how the Second Wave's gangs have been co-opted; an ongoing tragedy, moreover, one that if not turned around will ultimately make the shortcomings of the First Wave pale in comparison!

"Ronald Reagan and crack were hip hop's 80s anti-fathers: both helped foster the intense poverty and teenage drug-dealing millionaires as well as the urge to rebel against the system that appeared to be moving in for the kill, to finally crush Black America."

Ibid

Certainly, the gangs have comprised a sub-culture that has historically been a thorn in the side of the ruling class: One that either had to be controlled and used - or eradicated. Usually, that was accomplished by co-option and attrition, with older elements moving on, or being jailed long enough to destroy the group. Our First Wave, as noted, was able to – somewhat – outflank the ruling class by absorbing some key elements that lent their prestige to the rank and file's acceptance of radical and revolutionary ideas; which were *pimped* by BM style groups.

It is fascinatingly simple to understand how the Second Wave was *tricked* and continues to be bamboozled into destroying itself while just about all of the pillars upholding this giant confidence game (*con-game*) are familiar to everyone through the movies, TV, street culture and our own experiences with friends, family associates, cops, courts, jails, prisons, death and our own unfulfilled yearnings for *respect and dignity*.

Gangstas, Wankstas and Wannabes

All of the above – more than anything – crave *respect and dignity*! Forget all of the *unformed ideas* about the homies wanting the families, fathers and love they never had. That plays a part, but if you think that the homies *only* need some more *hugs*, then you've *drank the kool-aid*! Actually, even if you did have a good father, a loving family and extended family; if everything in society is geared towards lessening your self-worth because of your youth, race, tastes in dress, music, speech, lack of material trappings, etc., then you will still hunger for some *respect* – which will lead to you knowing some *dignity* within yourself. Even suburban, middle and upper-class youth confront this – to a lesser degree. No, all of the *beefin'*, *flossin'*, *frontin'*, *set-trippin'*, violence and bodies piling up around them comes from the pursuit of *respect and dignity*.

This is how *50-Cent* put it:

"Niggas out there sellin drugs is after what I got from rappin... When you walk into a club and the bouncer stop doin whatever the fuck they doing to let you in and say everybody else wait. He special. That's the same shit they do when you start killin niggas in your hood. This is what we been after all the whole time. Just the wrong route."

- "50 Cent, *Rolling Stone*, 2003, in Toure. *never drank the kool-aid: The Life of a Hunted Man*, PICADOR, 2006

Admittedly, at times that simple – but raw – truth is so intertwined with so many other things, that it's hard to grasp. Namely, nowadays, *the drug game* and other *git money* games, as well the fact that most sets do provide a sort of alternative family, as well as a strong cohesion that is mistakenly *called love*. Hence, to cut through the distractions, I'll illustrate my point as follows:

When the Second Wave was left hanging by the defeated and demoralized First Wave, they unknowingly reverted to methods of seeking dignity and respect that the First Wave had elevated themselves above during their struggle for radical and revolutionary change; a period when gang wars and gang-bangin' was anathema! The revolutionary psychiatrist, Frantz Fanon, in *Wretched of the Earth*, notes that the colonized and oppressed are quick to grab their knife against a neighbor or stranger, thereby in a sub-conscious way *ducking their fear of directing their pent up rage at those responsible for their suffering: their colonial oppressors*.

So, the notable early sets like Bloods, Crips and Gangster Disciples' primary activity was *bangin'* or gang warring over "turf," neighborhoods, schools, etc., as well as over real or imagined slights. But the *real* underlying motivation was all of the parties' desires to build their reputations and earn *stripes*, meaning gain prestige in the eyes of fellow bangers – which translated into respect among their peers. It also caused these youth to bond with each other like soldiers do in combat; a bonding like a family's – even more so. Not surprisingly, many *outsiders* decreed the bonding was "love," which also caused some youth to parrot that thought, but to exchange love, you first have to *love yourself*, and the gang-banger, by definition, has no love for his or her self – in fact, they are desperately seeking *respect*, without which anyone's idea of love being present is fooling themselves.

Example: If you "respect" your body, you can also "love" your body, and you would not dare destroy it with drugs or alcohol. But if you *don't respect* your body, and you go on to destroy it in that fashion, then it follows that you have *no love* for it either.

The bangin' raged on for years, piling up as many bodies as the Vietnam War – each elevating the attacker's or victim's stature in the eyes of their peers. During those early years, the overseers of the oppressive system bemoaned the carnage, while locking up untold numbers of bangers for a few years, but overall, they did nothing to arrest the problem.

Now, here's where it gets really interesting! Drugs, as noted, had been flooding into these same communities since the 1960s. However, back then, it was mainly heroin, with marijuana and meth playing relatively minor roles. Remember the *Serpico* and *French Connection* movies exposing that? But the early gangs, to their credit, never got deeply involved in that. They saw dope fiends as weak, and although they would *blow* some *sherm* or *chronic*, it was just a pass time activity for them: They were serious about bangin'!

Consequently, the bangers were all *co-opted*, wedded as they were to their form of *fratricidal gangsterism* and totally separated from the remnants of the First Wave – who they knew next to nothing about. And the "good kids" were being indoctrinated in *passive, legal – get a good education* – approaches, while both groups were scared to death of the police! Despite the bangers hate and contempt, any two cops could lay a dozen of them out on all fours at will.

Hence, *Tupac's* later iconic stature with them, since he could walk his talk:

"...the fact that while everyone else talks about it, Tupac is

the only known rapper who has actually shot a police officer; the walking away from being shot five times with no permanent damage, and walking away from the hospital the next day and the rolling into court for a brief but dramatic wheelchair-bound courtroom appearance – it's been dangerously compelling and ecstatically brilliant."

- "Tupac," *The Village Voice*, 1995, Toure, *supra*.

But something was on the horizon that was about to cause a seismic shift in this already sorry state of affairs and alter things in ways that most still cannot or will not believe. Apparently, since this madness was contained in the lower class communities, the ruling class's henchmen had no desire to do anything but keep their Gestapo-like police heavily armed and fully supported, since technology had made what they dubbed the *underclass* obsolete anyway: See Sean Penn and Robert Duvall's movie *Colors*.

Peep the Game

The South Amerikan *cocaine* trade replaced the French Connection and CIA-controlled US distribution of Southeast Asian Golden Triangle-grown and processed heroin as the drug of choice in the early 1980s. Remember *Miami Vice*? Well, as usual, this country's government intelligence agencies and the large banks immediately began a struggle to control this *new cocaine trade*. Remember: *control not get rid of*, as their lying propaganda projects with their hyped up *War on Drugs*! Thus, they were contending with South Amerikan *governments, militaries*, and *large landowners* who controlled the raising, processing and shipping of the cocaine; although for a few years, the latter had to also do battle with a few independent drug lords, most notably the notorious Pablo Escobar and the Ochoa family-dominated Medellin Cartel.

Within this country, the youth gangs had next to nothing to do with the *early cocaine* trade, which was then primarily servicing a middle and upper-class – white – clientele, which had a few *old school* big time hustlers, along with some Spanish-speaking wholesalers, who also had their own crews to handle matters. Although, after the fact, the Hip Hop favorites *Scarface* and *New Jack City* are good descriptions of that period. But, they both – purposefully – left out the dominant role that the US government intelligence agencies played in *controlling things*.

Alright, I know you're down with all of that – and love it! So, let's move on.

In the middle 1980s, the US began backing a *secret war* designed to overthrow the revolutionary *Sandinista* government in Nicaragua. The *Sandinistas* had fought a long and bloody civil war to rid Nicaragua of its US-sponsored dictatorship in 1979. But after being exposed to the world, the US Congress forbade President Ronald Reagan from continuing his secret war. Like a lot of US presidents, he just ignored Congress and had the CIA raise millions, recruit mercenaries, buy or steal military equipment, and *continue the war*.

That's *how and why crack and the mayhem it's caused came upon us*. However, you won't see Hollywood and TV giving that up raw, with few exceptions, like Black director Bill Duke's *Deep Cover*, starring Laurence Fishburn and *Above The Law* with Steven Segal, otherwise, you have to search hard to see it portrayed so clearly – later I'll explain why.

Anyway, most people have heard that crack was dumped into South Central Los Angeles in the mid 1980s – along with an arsenal of military style assault rifles that would have made a First Wave BPP member ashamed of how poorly equipped s/he was. Needless to say, the huge profits from the crack sales, coupled with everyone being *strapped*, magnified the body count! Since crack was also so easy to manufacture locally, and so dirt cheap, just about anybody in the hood could get into the business. Gone were the old days of just a few big time hustlers, except on the wholesale level.

But, make no mistake about it, *the wholesale cocaine* sold for the production and distribution of crack was *fully controlled by selected CIA-controlled operatives*. So, to all you *around the way dawgs* who have been bragging about how *big you were/are*, an organizational flow chart would look something like this: At the top would be President Ronald

Reagan, Vice President and former CIA Director, George Bush, Sr., the National Security Advisor, the Secretary of State, General Secord, Colonel Oliver North, major banking executives, Central and South American military and government leaders, arms dealers, mercenary pilots and drug lords like Escobar and the Medellín Cartel, (originally); Justice Department attorneys, US Navy and Coast Guard officers, US Customs and Border Patrol officers, state and local police officers, county sheriffs and deputies, *and their successors in office* – and at the bottom of the barrel: *you dawg!*

Now, I know you already knew in your hearts that there were some *big dawgs* over you, but I'll bet you never guessed that the game came straight out of the White House, or that you were *straight-up pawns* on the game board. If that sounds too wild, then tell me *why* it is harder to find any government, CIA, military or bankers – like George Bush, Sr. and his crew – in prison than it is to win the lottery? Yeah, they double-crossed Noriega, Escobar and the Medellín Cartel, and made Oliver North do some community service, but that's all. *The real crime lords; the government, CIA, military and banking dons all got away.* Albeit, after Congresswoman Maxine Walters made a stink about it, the CIA was forced to do two investigations and posted on their official website their findings and *admissions of being drug dealers.*

Now *dawg*, yall were all *played!* Face it... That's what happened to you OGs from the 80s. But like *Morpheus* said in *The Matrix*, "let me show you how deep the rabbit hole goes."

Gradually, the US government was forced to crack down on the cocaine coming through Florida, but by then, the South American cartels and their government and military allies had found new routes through Mexico. At first, the Mexican underworld were just middlemen; but quickly recognizing a golden opportunity, they essentially seized control of most of the cocaine trade between South America and the United States, forcing the South Americans into becoming junior partners, who were responsible for the *cheaper* growing and processing, after which the Mexicans would purchase mountains of cocaine for the transshipment overland and smuggling into the United States and its wholesale markets, that produced *oil and automotive industry type profits.*

One would wonder how and why would the South Americans – powerful players – go for a deal like that? As ever, the answers can be found amongst the *Machiavellian* and *serpentine* maneuverings of the US government and their *poor* Mexican counterparts. You see, in the 1980s, the Mexican government was overseeing an economy that was so bad, that for all practical purposes, they could have – or did – go belly-up *bankrupt.* Indeed, the US and their underlings within the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) were forced to periodically give them millions upon millions in loans, in return for further unfair trading concessions, in order to save their economy. Note that the US was then, and remains today, extremely vulnerable to Mexico, because common sense, and past experience, told them that that the worse things got in Mexico, the more destitute their already – dirt poor – majority would become, *forcing* millions of them to find a way to get into the US to find the means to feed themselves and their families. Rather than keep prevailing on the IMF to keep lending Mexico money, they saw another way to temporarily plug up the hole in their control of international financial matters.

Thus, *another unholy alliance* was formed. This one was between the US State Department, the CIA and the big banks and other usual suspects on one side, and their Mexican counterparts – including their first fledgling cartels, on the other; with the South Americans *now* in a junior partnership role. However, I don't want to give the impression that it was all arranged diplomatically, all neat and tidy: Far from that!

No, it evolved through *visionaries* among the usual suspects putting their ideas before selected insiders and working to craft an *unwritten consensus*, the same way that they – along with Cuban exiles in Florida – had earlier created the cocaine trade to fund the growth around Miami, only this time it would be Mexico; a much more pressing and unstable situation. But, it was recognized by all parties that Mexico's underworld would eventually land in the driver's seat, due to their ability to take the kind of risks called for, their geographic proximity to the US border, and, most importantly, their strong desire to avoid confronting the US and Mexican governments – like Pablo

Escobar had done – thus, they were more than willing to guarantee that most of their drug profits would be pumped back into the moribund Mexican economy; through large building projects, upgrading the tourist industry, large-scale farming and other clearly national ventures. And, on the messy side, their gunmen were becoming experts at making reluctant parties fall into line by offering them a stark choice between *gold or lead.*

Nevertheless, avoid thinking that that the Mexican or South American underworlds ever became anything more than hired hands of the *big dawgs* in the US government and their partners in the banking industry, who always remained in control. In fact, under President George Bush, Sr., the invasion of Panama – which was/is a major hub of *offshore money laundering* – was ordered after their *hired hand, Manuel Noriega*, became unmanageable in 1989.

These hired hands would ensure that the chosen corrupt politicians would garner sufficient votes in the Mexican elections by bringing in *plane loads* of money that the South American gangsters and government/military partners would make available as part of their overhead expenses. But more importantly to the United States, a major part of the profits would be pumped into the Mexican economy in order to forestall its looming bankruptcy.

Consequently, by the middle 1990s, the Mexican underworld had established the super powerful Gulf, Juarez, Guadalajara, Sinaloa and Tijuana cartels. Moreover, they had consolidated their power by not only controlling who all were *elected* to key political posts in Mexico, but had also perfected the art of bribing key local, state and regional police heads, as well as strategic generals in Mexico's armed forces. Check out the movie *Traffic* and the Antonio Banderas/Selma Hayek *Bandolero* and *Once Upon a Time in Mexico* and again – *after the fact* – you'll see Hollywood spilling the beans, but don't let the fancy stunt work lull you into thinking that there's no substantive truth to the plots!

Remember: Mexico's cartels would not be able to function without the collaboration and protection of the highest levels within the US Establishment; just as the CIA has openly admitted it was an *illegal drug merchant* during an earlier period, you can believe nothing has changed – except their partners!

The hilarious part is that none of the *wannabe real gangstas* in the US know that in reality, they are *low-level CIA flunkies*; or can't wait to get out of prison and become *undercover government agents* – *slinging crack.* Alas, most think it's crazy to believe that the government of the US would allow it's cities and small towns to be flooded with cocaine, clinging to the illusion that they are something more than pawns on a chess board.

If one doesn't *go beyond* the idea that this whole thing is just a plot to destroy the *Black and Brown* peoples – a favorite though short-sighted theory – there is no way to see just how deep the *rabbit hole* really is. I repeat: the main objective was to pump billions of dollars into the Mexican economy in order to avoid a complete meltdown and the subsequent fleeing to the US of 60 million or more Mexicans out of its "then" 90+ million inhabitants. This would have been a crisis that would have *dwarfed* the numbers who did cross over and are just beginning to make their presence felt.

Actually, the *big dawgs* in the US probably didn't know just how they were going to control the fallout that would inevitably accompany their *cocaine/crack tax* – they routinely tax alcohol, gambling (from the lotteries to the casinos) and even prostitution in certain areas, don't they? – So, yeah, a *clandestine operation to use cocaine to rescue Mexico and stave off an economically-induced invasion of the US by population*, made poverty-stricken by five hundred years of colonialism, slavery, peonage, neo-colonialism and the theft of one-third of their country by the United States in the 19th Century, was an indirect tax.

Sadly, though, our First Wave's degeneration into the glorification of gangsterism; the Second Wave's hunger for respect and recognition that fueled the gang carnage; and the Hip-Hop generation's ability to provide the youth with *vicarious fantasies* to indulge their senses with the hypnotic allure of the temporary power that the *drug game* could

bring them – led the youth in the US *back* to emulating the First Wave's *Superfly* and *Scarface* days. Others also see that:

"My theory is that nine times out of ten, if there's a depression, *more a social depression than anything*, it brings out the best art in Black people. The best example is Reagan and Bush gave us the best years of hip hop... Hip hop is created thanks to the conditions that crack set: easy money but a lot of work, the violence involved, the stories it produced – crack helped birth hip hop. Now, I'm part conspiracy theorist because you can't develop something that dangerous and it not be planned. I don't think crack happened by accident... Crack offered a lot of money to the inner-city youth who didn't go to college. Which enabled them to become businessmen. It also turned us into marksmen. It also turned us comatose."

Ahmir Thompson, aka? U est love, *The Believer*, 2003, Toure, supra.

With the deft moves of a conjurer, the big dawgs in the US seized upon all of this and began to nudge these elements around on the international chess board – *within their giant con game*. Moreover, these big dawgs in the United States had very little choice as to where to start their *triage* in order to gain some relief from their *manufactured domestic crisis*. I'll tell you why!

Cocaine in its powder and crack forms is so addictive, and the ambiance of the cultures that use them regularly: *the rich and famous; the Hollywood set; corporate executives; lawyers; doctors; weekenders; entertainers; athletes; college kids; suburbanites; hood rats; hustlers; pipers; etc.*, until its demand is guaranteed! In most ways, it could be argued, it's just like alcohol and tobacco – which have never been able to be successfully suppressed in the US for long.

It follows then that, despite all of their *propaganda* about "*Just Say No*!" and the bogus *War On Drugs*, the big dawgs never had *any* intention of even *trying to eradicate the use of cocaine*. However, at the same time, the Black and Brown communities were becoming major headaches; ones that if left unchecked could evolve into a real *strategic threat*. Yes, crack had turned their lower class neighborhoods into lucrative mainstays of the big dawgs' *alternative taxing scheme*, however, the urgency was graphically driven home by the *non-Black/Brown* communities' consumption of more – mostly powder – cocaine. And the trade in the Black/Brown hoods and barrios was accompanied by an unforeseen, exponentially rising rate of ever more sophisticated, drug-related violence, especially since the gangs got seriously involved.

Now, as I've pointed out, the gangs were mainly *just* pursuing respect prior to getting involved with hustling drugs; and the carnage connected with that was *not a real concern* to the big dawgs. But unlike the earlier dumping of *heroin* in those communities, accompanied by the comparatively isolated violence of the Black Mafia-style groups; whose violence, though terrifying, was also more selective; the widespread availability of *crack and assault rifles* led the big dawgs to come to understand that if they did not aggressively deal with the ultra-violent, inner-city drug gangs, they would eventually move to consolidate their gains by forming South American and Mexican-style cartels. They could eventually take over inner city politics, like the Mexican cartels, threatening to become less predictable – once they realized that the money and power would not of themselves provide the them with the kind of respect and dignity they sought. To understand why not, just observe *the rich and famous Hip Hop artists who continue to wild-out*, because they still *lack the respect and dignity that comes with struggling for something other than money or power*. In short, some type of *cause*.

Anyway, the Hip Hop generational favorite TV drama *The Wire* lays out the entire phenomenon pretty much like it had earlier played itself out in Baltimore and other urban areas; in fact, the fictionalized TV series derives its realness from an earlier long-running expose featured in a Baltimore newspaper: Another *after the fact* but still useful piece of work to study. Indeed, the show depicts the *earlier years* of the Black gangs getting deeply involved in the crack trade and clearly illustrates my point about the gangs evolving into proto-cartels – and subsequently being

triaged before they matured into real strategic threats; leaving the crack trade intact.

That's why the "Prison Industrial Complex" was formed! It was formed as a tool to neutralize the Second Wave *before* they woke up to the fact that – despite their money and power – *they were being used and played like suckers*. A rub that the more astute of the big dawgs feared that money would not sooth. Thus, all of your draconian *gun-related and mandatory sentencing laws* were first formulated on the federal level – where most of the big dawgs have their most power – and then were forced upon the states. It was all to ensure that the Second Wave would *never* be able to consolidate any real power, precisely because they were proving themselves to be such ruthless *gangstas*, in *imitation of their Hollywood idols*, coupled with the potential power derived from their share of the *undercover tax* being extracted from their communities: that convinced the big dawgs to *triage them every time they get too big*, which averaged from one to three years in a *run*, then everything they acquired was taken. The *martyred Hip Hop icon The Notorious B.I.G.* put it all together in his classic song – rightly entitled *Respect*:

"Put the drugs on the shelf / Nah, I couldn't see it / Scarface, King of New York / I wanna be it... Until I got incarcerated / kinda scary... Not able to move behind the steel gate / Time to contemplate / Damn, where did I fail? / All the money I stacked was all the money for bail."

Biggie Smalls, *The New York Times*, 1994, Toure, supra.

Let's get another thing straight! I mean an angle that continues to have short-sighted people chasing *ghosts* about *why powder cocaine and crack are treated so differently*. Within the big dawgs' calculations, there was *no reason* to harshly punish the powder cocaine dealers and users in the same manner as they were doing with the crack crowd. And, *racism was not the driving motive – it was the potential armed threat within these proto-cartels!* The big dawgs witnessed a clear example of what was to come by way of the Jamaican posses that cropped up in the Black communities at this time. Young men from the Jamaican and Caribbean Diaspora, who were also a consequence of the degeneration of its lower class's attempts to throw off the economic and social effects of its former slavery and colonial oppression. Led by the socialist, Michael Manley, and inspired by the *revolutionary music* of Bob Nestor Marley, which can be glimpsed in the later Steven Segal *Marked for Death* and *DMX/Nas Belly* movies, the Jamaican posses were the Black Mafia on *steroids!*

Moreover, their quasi-religious nationalism, coupled with their ability to operate nationally and in the Caribbean, as well as their heavily armed soldiers, put the big dawgs' teeth on edge. Their ten thousand or so were *nothing* compared to the *hundreds of thousands in the wings in the Black and Brown communities!*

The cry from the big dawgs' mouthpieces in Congress was about the *gunplay*, not so much the drugs. What was not said, however, was the big dawgs anxieties about stopping these gunslingers *before* they got over their *mental blocks* about using their weapons against the police – or the system. They wanted to stop them while they were still hung up on imitating their Hollywood and Euro-Mafia icons, who made a mantra out of instructing their gunmen *not to use their weapons against the police*. Indeed, with few exceptions, the Second Wave allowed themselves to be disarmed and carted off to prison like pussycats!

Add to all that the unforeseen windfall of thousands of new jobs for the rural communities that were being destroyed economically by capitalism's drive for fuller *globalization*. These conservative rural communities are vital to the big dawgs, who need their religious-fanatical support.

We must struggle against the short-sighted view about *racism alone* being the driving motive force that fueled the construction of the prison-industrial complex. Instead, if you do a follow up and add your own research, you'll be able to detect and *document the who, when, where and how the big dawgs set everything in motion; as well as how they continue to use us as pawns in their giant, international, con game*.

Conclusion

Ask yourself the following questions:

1. How can we salvage anything from the how the First and Second Waves allowed their search for respect and dignity degenerate into *gangsterism*?
2. In what ways can we help the *Next Wave* avoid our mistakes?
3. What can we do to contribute to *documenting* who the real big dawgs behind the drug trade are?
4. Why have they *never* been held accountable?
5. How come our *families and communities* are the only ones to suffer?
6. How can we *overcome* our *brainwashing*?
7. How can we *truly* gain respect and dignity?
8. In what ways can we *atone* for our wrongs and *redeem* ourselves, our families and our communities?
9. What are some of the ways to fight for *restitution* and *reparations* for all those harmed by the government imposed – *undercover* – drug tax?
10. How can we overturn the “13th Amendment” of the US Constitution and *finally* abolish slavery in the US?

Once you've answered these questions and begun to move to materialize your conclusions, then you will have made the choice

between *Liberation or Gangsterism: Freedom or Slavery.*

Things to Read

1. *The Wretched of the Earth*, Frantz Fanon
2. *Black Brothers Inc., The Violent Rise of Philadelphia's Black Mafia*, (?)
3. *Monster: The Autobiography of a L.A. Gang Member*, Sanyika Shakur
4. *Dark Alliance*, Gary Webb
5. *Lost History*, Robert Parry
6. *Down by the River*, (?)
7. *Inspector General's First and Final reports on Iran-Contra and the Illegal Drug Trade*, CIA's official website
8. *We Are Our Own Liberators*, Jalil Mutaquim

[Editor's note: Comrade Russell "Maroon" Shoats is a former BPP-BLA member who is currently a Political Prisoner/POW (#AF-3855, SCI Greene, 175 Progress Drive Waynesburg, PA 15320). The views and analysis presented here are his own and are presented as part of our ongoing study of the history and legacy of the original Black Panther Party. The NABPP-PC is a completely legal and aboveground political party and does not advocate or promote violence or illegal activity.]□



A Brief History of the New Afrikan Prison Struggle (Part 1)

by
Sundiata Acoli

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"If Attica represents a high point of the unity and consciousness of the prison struggle movement, then today represents a low point in prison conditions, consciousness, solidarity, and struggle. The real lesson of Attica is that it serves as a beacon to remind us of where we were, and how we got there. Today's prisons are filled

with mostly younger, less politically aware, but rebellious prisoners who were swept up during the Big Lie 'War on Drugs,' actually it was, and is, a War on people of color. We changed the prisons before and we can again, even further this time. To do so it's necessary to politically educate and activate a whole new generation of prisoners, and community and legal supporters."

Sundiata Acoli, "The Meaning of Attica, 25 Years Later"

Part 1

This article was first written at the request of the New Afrikan Peoples Organization (NAPO). Its original title was "The Rise and Development of the New Afrikan Liberation Struggle Behind the Walls." The New Afrikan liberation struggle behind the walls refers to the struggle of Black prisoners, "behind the walls" of US penal institutions, to gain liberation for ourselves, our people, and all oppressed people. We of the New Afrikan Independence Movement spell "Afrikan" with a "k" because Afrikan linguists originally used "k" to indicate the "c" sound in the English language. We use the term "New Afrikan," instead of Black, to define ourselves as an Afrikan people who have been forcibly transplanted to a new land and formed into a "new Afrikan nation" in North America. But our struggle behind the walls did not begin in America.

The 16th Century through The Civil War

The Afrikan prison struggle began on the shores of Afrika behind the walls of medieval pens that held captives for ships bound west into slavery. It continues today behind the walls of modern US penitentiaries where all prisoners are held as legal slaves - a blatant violation of international law. The concept of prison ideology began to take form as far back as the reign of Louis XIV of France (1643-1715) when the Benedictine monk Mabillon wrote that: "...penitents might be secluded in cells like those of Carthusian monks, and there being employed in various sorts of labor." In 1790, on April 5th, the Pennsylvania Quakers actualized this concept as the capstone of their 14-year struggle to reform Philadelphia's Walnut Street jail. No longer would corporal punishment be administered. Henceforth prisoners would be locked away in their cells with a Bible and forced to do penitence in order to rehabilitate themselves. Thus was born the penitentiary. In 1850, approximately 6,700 people were found in the nation's newly emerging prison system. Almost none of the prisoners were Black. They were more valuable economically outside the prison system because there were other means of racial control. During this time most New Afrikan (Black) men, women, and children were already imprisoned for life on plantations as chattel slaves. Accordingly, the Afrikan struggle behind the walls was carried on primarily behind the walls of slave quarters through conspiracies, revolts, insurrections, arson, sabotage, work slowdowns, poisoning of the slavemaster, self maimings, and runaways. If slaves were recaptured, they continued the struggle behind the walls of the local jails, many of which were first built to hold captured runaways. Later they were also used for local citizens. Shortly after 1850, the imprisonment rate increased, then remained fairly stable with a rate of between 75 and 125 prisoners per 100,000 population. The Afrikan struggle continued primarily behind the slave-quarter's walls down through the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation. This was a declaration issued by President Lincoln on January 1, 1863, during the height of the Civil War. It declared the slaves free only in those states still in rebellion and had little actual liberating effect on the slaves in question. Their slavemasters, still engaged in war against the Union, simply ignored the declaration and continued to hold their slaves in bondage. Some slavemasters kept the declaration secret after the war ended following Lee's surrender on April 9, 1865. As a result, news of the Emancipation Proclamation did not reach slaves in Texas until June 19, 1865. This date, called "Juneteenth" is celebrated annually by New Afrikans in Texas and outlying states as "Black Independence Day."

Post-Civil War to The 20th Century

Immediately after the Civil War and at the end of slavery, vast numbers of Black males were imprisoned for everything from not signing slavelike labor contracts with plantation owners to looking the "wrong" way at some white person, or for some similar "petty crime." Any "transgression" perceived by Whites to be of a more serious nature was normally dealt with on the spot with a gun or rope...provided the Black was outnumbered and outarmed. "Black-on-Black" crime was then, as now, considered to be "petty crime" by the US Justice system. But petty or not, upon arrest most New Afrikans were given long, harsh sentences at hard labor. Within five years after the end of the Civil War, the Black percentages of the prison population went from close to zero to 33 percent. Many of these prisoners were hired out to whites at less than slave wages. Overnight, prisons became the new slave quarters for many New Afrikans. Likewise the Afrika prison struggle changed from a struggle behind the walls of slave quarters to a struggle behind the walls of county workhouses, chain gang camps, and the plantations and factories that used prisoners as slave laborers.

The 20th Century through World War Two

From 1910 through 1950, Blacks made up 23 to 34 percent of the prisoners in the US prison system. Most people, conditioned by the prison movies "The Defiant Ones" (starring Sidney Poitier, a Black, and Tony Curtis, a white), or "I Escaped From the Chain Gang" (starring Paul Muni, a white in an integrated chain gang), or "Cool Hand Luke" (starring Paul Newman, a white, in a Southern chain gang) erroneously assume that earlier US prison populations were basically integrated. This is not so. The US was a segregated society prior to 1950, including the prisons; even the northern ones. Most New Afrikan prisoners were sent to county workhouses, Black chain gangs, and obscure negro prisons. Thus, the early populations of the more well-known or "mainline" state and federal prisons: Attica, Sing Sing, Alcatraz, and Atlanta were predominantly white and male. Whenever New Afrikans were sent to these "mainline" prisons they found themselves grossly outnumbered, relegated to the back of the lines, to separate lines, or to no lines at all. They were often denied outright what meager amenities existed within the prisons. Racism was rampant. New Afrikans experienced racist suppression by both white prisoners and guards. All of the guards were white - there were no Black guards or prison officials at the time. The Afrikan prisoners continued to struggle behind the walls of these segregated county workhouses, chain gang camps, and state and federal prisons, yet prison conditions for them remained much the same through World War II. Inside conditions accurately reflected conditions of the larger society outside the walls, except by then the state's electric chair had mainly supplanted the lynch mob's rope.

Post-World War II to The Civil Rights Era

Things began to change in the wake of World War II. Four factors flowing together ushered in these changes. They were the ghetto popes. They returned home eager to join the fight to make segregated America democratic too. But the US had witnessed Marcus Garvey organize similar sentiments following World War I into one of the greatest Black movements in the western hemisphere. This time the US was more prepared to contain the new and expected New Afrikan assertiveness. Their weapon was "King Heroin." The US employed the services of the Mafia during World War II to gather intelligence in Italy to defeat Fascist Mussolini. "Before World War II, Mussolini embarked on a major campaign against the Mafia which enraged the group's leaders. Fascism was a big Mafia so it couldn't afford another Mafia to exist. Mussolini's activities turned Mafiosi

into vigorous anti-Fascists, and the American government cooperated with the Mafia both in the US and in Sicily. In the eyes of many Sicilians, the US helped restore the Mafia's lost power. The Americans had to win the war, so they couldn't pay much attention to these things. "They thought the Mafia could help them, and perhaps they did", said Leonard Sciascia, perhaps the best known living Sicilian novelist and student of the Mafia. During World War II, the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), the forerunner of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), helped to commute Lucky Luciano's sentence in federal prison and arrange for his repatriation to Sicily. Luciano was among the top dons in the Mafia syndicate and a leading organizer of prostitution and drug trafficking. The OSS knew that Luciano had excellent ties to the Sicilian Mafia and wanted the support of the organization for the Allied landing in Sicily in 1943."

When Luciano left the US, numerous politicians and Mafia dons were together at the Brooklyn docks to wave him goodbye in what was the first of many occasions that the international drug dealers were recruited by the US government to advance its foreign policy interests. After the war, in return for "services rendered," the US looked the other way as the Mafia flooded the major US ghettos with heroin. Within six years after World War II, due to the Mafia's marketing strategy, over 100,000 people were addicts, many of them Black.

The Emergence of Independent Afrikan Nations

Afrikaners from Afrika, having fought to save European independence, returned to the Afrikan continent and began fighting for the independence of their own colonized nations. Rather than fight losing Afrikan colonial wars, most European nations opted to grant "phased" independence to their Afrikan colonies. The US now faced the prospect of thousands of Afrikan diplomatic personnel, their staff, and families, coming to the UN and wandering into a minefield of incidents, particularly on state visits to the rigidly segregated DC capital. That alone could push each newly emerging independent Afrikan nation into the socialist column. To counteract this possibility, the US decided to desegregate. As a result, on May 17, 1954, the US Supreme Court declared school segregation illegal. In its landmark "Brown v. Board of Education" case, which heralded the beginning of the end of official segregation in the US, the Supreme Court had been made fully aware of the relations between America's domestic policies and her foreign policy interest by the federal government's *amicus curiae* (i.e., friend of the court), brief which read: "It is in the context of the present world struggle between freedom and tyranny that the problem of racial discrimination must be viewed... (for) discrimination against minority groups in the US has an adverse effect upon our relations with other countries. Racial discrimination furnishes grist for the communist propaganda mills, and it raises doubts even among friendly nations as to the intensity of our devotion to the democratic faith."

Malcolm X provides similar insight into the reasoning behind the US decision to desegregate. During his February 16, 1965, speech at Rochester, New York's Corn Hill Methodist Church, he said: "From 1954 to 1964 can easily be looked upon as the era of the emerging African state. And as the African state emerged... what effect did it have on the Black American? When he saw the Black man on the African continent taking a stand, it made him become filled with the desire to also take a stand... Just as the US had to change their approach with the people on the African continent, they also began to change their approach with our people on this continent. As they used tokenism... on the African continent,... they began to do the same thing with us here in the States... Tokenism... Every move they made was a token move... They came up with a Supreme Court desegregation decision that they haven't put into practice yet. Not even in Rochester, much less in Mississippi."

Origin of The Civil Rights Movement

On December 1, 1955, Ms. Rosa Parks defied Montgomery, Alabama's bus segregation laws by refusing to give her seat to a White man. Her subsequent arrest and the ensuing mass bus boycott by the Montgomery New Afrikan community kicked off the Civil Rights Movement. Martin Luther King, Jr., a young college-educated Baptist minister, was chosen to coordinate and lead this boycott primarily because he was a new arrival in town, intelligent, respected, and had not accumulated a list of grudge enemies as had the old guard. His selection for leadership catapulted him upon the stage of history. The 381-day-long boycott toppled Montgomery's bus segregation codes. A year later, in 1957, Ghana became the first of a string of sub-Saharan Afrikan nations to be granted independence. As northern discrimination, bulging ghettos, and the drug influx were setting off a rise in New Afrikan numbers behind the walls, Southern segregation, the emergence of independent Afrikan nations, and the resulting Civil Rights Movement provided those increasing numbers with the general political agenda: equality and antidiscrimination.

Civil Rights through the Black Power Era

Religious Struggles in Prison

Meanwhile, behind the walls, small segments of the New Afrikan population began rejecting Western Christianity; they turned to Islam as preached by Elijah Muhammad's Nation of Islam (NOI) and Noble Drew Ali's Muslim Science Temple of America (MST). The NOI preached that Islam was the true religion of Black people and that Blacks in America were a nation needing land and independence. The MST preached that the Asiatic Black people in America must proclaim their nationality as members of the ancient Moors of Northern Africa. These new religions produced significant success rates in helping New Afrikan prisoners rehabilitation themselves by instilling them with a newfound sense of pride, dignity, piety, and industriousness. Yet these religions seemed strange and thus threatening to prison officials. They moved forthwith to suppress these religions, and many early Muslims were viciously persecuted, beaten, and even killed for practicing their beliefs. The Muslims fought back fiercely.

Civil Rights Struggles in Prison

Like American society, the prisons were rigidly segregated. New Afrikaners were relegated to perform the heaviest and dirtiest jobs - farm work, laundry work, dishwashing, garbage disposal and were restricted from jobs as clerks, straw bosses, electricians, or any position traditionally reserved for white prisoners. Similar discriminatory rules applied to all other areas of prison life. New Afrikaners were restricted to live in certain cell blocks or tiers, eat in certain areas of the mess hall, and sit in the back at the movies, TV room, and other recreational facilities. Influenced by the anti-discrimination aspect of the Civil Rights Movement, a growing number of New Afrikaners behind the walls began stepping up their struggle against discrimination in prison. Audacious New Afrikaners began violating longstanding segregation codes by sitting in the front seats at the movies, mess hall, or TV areas - and more than a few died from shanks in the back. Others gave as good as they got, and better. Additionally, New Afrikaners began contesting discriminatory job and housing policies and other biased conditions. Many were set up for attack and sent to the hole for a year, or worse. Those who were viewed as leaders were dealt with most harshly. Most of this violence came from prison officials and white prisoners protecting their privileged positions; some violence also came from New Afrikaners and Muslims protecting their lives, taking stands and fighting back. From these silent, unheralded battles against racial and religious discrimination in prisons emerged the New Afrikan liberation struggle behind the walls during the '50s Civil Rights era. Eventually the courts, influenced by the "equality/anti-discrimination" aspect of the Civil Rights Movement, would rule that prisons must recognize the Muslims' religion on an "equal" footing with other accepted religions, and that prison racial discrimination codes must be outlawed.

Black Power through the Black Liberation Era

As the Civil Rights Movement advanced into the 60's, New Afrikan college students waded into the struggle with innovative lunch counter sit-ins, freedom rides, and voter registration projects. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) was formed during this period to coordinate and instruct student volunteers in nonviolent methods of organizing voter registration projects and other Civil Rights work. These energetic young students, and the youth in general, served as the foot soldiers of the Movement. They provided indispensable services, support, and protection to local community leaders such as Mississippi's Fannie Lou Hamer, Ella Baker, and other heroines and heroes of the Civil Rights Movement. Although they met with measured success, white racist atrocities mounted daily on defenseless Civil Rights workers. Young New Afrikans in general began to grow increasingly disenchanted with the nonviolent philosophy of Martin Luther King. Many began to look increasingly toward Malcolm X, the fiery young minister of NOI Temple No. 7 In Harlem, New York. He called for self-defense, freedom by any means necessary, and land and independence". As Malcolm Little, he had been introduced to the NOI doctrine while imprisoned in Massachusetts. Upon release he traveled to Detroit to meet Elijah Muhammad, converted to Islam, and was given the surname "X" to replace his discarded slavemaster's name. The "X" symbolized his original surname lost to history when his foreparents were kidnapped from Afrika, stripped of their names, language, and identity, and enslaved in the Americas. As Malcolm X he became one of Elijah Muhammad's most dedicated disciples, and rose to National Minister and spokesperson for the NOI. His keen intellect, incorruptible integrity, staunch courage, clear resonant oratory, sharp debating skills, and superb organizing abilities soon brought the NOI to a position of prominence within the Black ghetto colonies across the US In '63 he openly called the March on Washington a farce. He explained that the desire for a mass march on the nation's capital originally sprang from the Black grass roots: the average Black man/woman in the streets. It was their way of demonstrating a mass Black demand for jobs and freedom. As momentum grew for the March, President Kennedy called a meeting of the leaders of the six largest Civil Rights organizations, dubbed "The Big Six" (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Congress Of Racial Equality , National Urban League, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund) and asked them to stop the proposed march. They answered saying that they couldn't stop it because they weren't leading it, didn't start it, and that it had sprung from the masses of Black people. If they weren't leading the march, the president decided to make them the leaders by distributing huge sums of money to each of the "Big Six", publicizing their leading roles in the mass media, and providing them with a script to follow regarding the staging of the event. The script planned the March down to the smallest detail. Malcolm explained that government officials told the Big Six what time to begin the March, where to march, who could speak at the March and who could not, generally what could be said and what could not, what signs to carry, where to go to the toilets (provided by the government), and what time to end the event and get out of town. The script was followed to a "T", and most of the 200,000 marchers were never the wiser. By then SNCC's membership was also criticizing the March as too moderate and decrying the violence sweeping the South. History ultimately proved Malcolm's claim of "farce" correct, through books published by participants in the planning of the march and through exposure of government documents on the matter.

Origin of The Five Percenters

Clarence 13X (Smith) was expelled from Harlem's Nation of Islam Temple No. 7 in 1963 because he wouldn't conform to NOI practices. He frequently associated with the numerous street gangs that abounded In New York City at the time and felt that the NOI didn't put enough effort into recruiting these youth. After being expelled he actively recruited among these street gangs and other wayward youth, and by '64 he had established his own "movement" called "The Five Percenters". The name comes from their belief that 85 percent of Black people are like cattle, who continue to eat the poisoned animal (the pig), are blind to the truth of God, and continue to give their allegiance to people who don't have their best interests at heart; that 10 percent of Black people are bloodsuckers - the politicians, preachers, and other parasitic individuals who get rich off the labor and ignorance of the docile exploited 85 percent; and that the remaining 5 percent are the poor righteous teachers of freedom, justice, and equality who know the truth of the "Black" God and are not deceived by the practices of the bloodsucking 10 percent. The Five Percenter movement spread throughout the New York State prison system and the Black ghettos of the New York metropolitan area.

Origin of The New World Nation Of Islam

In December 1965 Newark's Mayor Hugh Addonizio witnessed a getaway car pulling away from a bank robbery and ordered his chauffeur to follow with siren blasting. The fleeing robbers crashed into a telephone pole, sprang from their car and fired a shot through the Mayor's windshield. He screeched to a halt, and police cars racing to the scene captured Muhammad Ali Hassan, known as Albert Dickens, and James Washington. Both were regular attendees of Newark's NOI Temple No. 25, headed by Minister James 3X Shabazz. Ali Hassan and Washington were members of the New World Nation of Islam (NWI). Ali Hassan, its leader and Supreme Field commander, dates the birth of the New World Nation of Islam as February 26, 1960. He states that on that date Elijah Muhammad authorized the New World Nation of Islam under the leadership of Field Supreme Minister Fard Savior and declared that the Field Minister had authority over all the NOI Muslims. Ali Hassan and Washington were convicted for the bank robbery and sent to Trenton State Prison. The NWI's belief in the supreme authority of Fard Savior was rejected by NOI Minister Shabazz, and thereafter an uneasy peace prevailed between the followers of Shabazz, who retained control of Newark's NOI Temple No. 25, and the followers of the NWI who sought to gain control. Meanwhile, Ali Hassan published a book titled "Uncle Yah Yah" and ran the NWI from his prison cell. Along with the more established and influential NOI, the influence of the NWI spread throughout the New Jersey state prison system and the metropolitan Jersey ghettos. The NWI began setting up food co-ops, barbershops, houses to teach Islam, and printing presses; and purchased land in South Carolina, all in furtherance of creating an independent Black Nation.

The Black Liberation Era

Black Panthers Usher In the Black Liberation Movement

Midstride the 60's, on February 21, 1965, Malcolm was assassinated, but his star continued to rise and his seeds fell on fertile soil. The following year, October 1966 in Oakland, California, Huey P. Newton and a handful of armed youths founded the Black Panther Party for Self Defense on principles that Malcolm had preached - and the Black Liberation Movement (BLM) was born. Subsequently the name was shortened to the Black Panther Party (BPP) and a 10-point program was created which stated:

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black community.
2. We want full employment for our people.
3. We want an end to the robbery by the CAPITALIST of our Black community.
4. We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings.
5. We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present day society.
6. We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.
7. We want an immediate end to POLICE BRUTALITY and MURDER of Black people.
8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny.

The Panthers established numerous programs to serve the Oakland ghetto - free breakfasts for children, free health care, free day-care, and free political education classes. The program that riveted the ghetto's attention was their campaign to "stop police murder and brutality of Blacks". Huey, a community college pre-law student, discovered that it was legal for citizens to openly carry arms in California. With that assurance the Black Panther Party began armed car patrols of the police cruisers that patrolled Oakland's Black colony. When a cruiser stopped to make an arrest, the Panther car stopped. They fanned out around the scene, arms at the ready, and observed, tape recorded, and recommended a lawyer to the arrest victim. It didn't take long for the police to retaliate. They confronted Huey late one night near his home. Gunfire erupted, leaving Huey critically wounded, a policeman dead and another wounded. The Panthers and the Oakland-Bay community responded with a massive campaign to save Huey from the gas chamber. The California Senate began a hearing to rescind the law permitting citizens to openly carry arms within city limits. The Panthers staged an armed demonstration during the hearing at the Sacramento Capitol to protest the Senate's action, which gained national publicity. That publicity, together with the Panthers' philosophy of revolutionary nationalism, self-defense, and the "Free Huey" campaign, catapulted the BPP to nationwide prominence. But not without cost. During August 1967 J. Edgar Hoover issued his infamous Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) memorandum which directed the FBI (and local police officials) to disrupt specified Black organizations and neutralize their leaders so as to prevent "the rise of a Black messiah".

Attacks Increase on Revolutionaries

The Panthers rolled eastward, establishing offices in each major northern ghetto. As they went, they set up revolutionary programs in each community that were geared to provide community control of schools, tenant control of slum housing, free breakfast for school children, free health, day-care, and legal clinics, and free political education classes for the community. They also initiated campaigns to drive dope pushers and drugs from the community, and campaigns to stop police murder and brutality of Blacks. As they went about the community organizing these various programs they were frequently confronted, attacked, or arrested by the police, and some were even killed during these encounters. Other revolutionary organizers suffered similar entrapments. The Revolutionary Action Movement's (RAM) Herman Ferguson and Max Starnford were arrested in 1967 on spurious charges of conspiring to kill Civil Rights leaders. In the same year Amiri Baraka (the poet and playwright LeRoi Jones) was arrested for transporting weapons in a van during the Newark riots and did a brief stint in Trenton State Prison until a successful appeal overturned his conviction. SNCC's Rap Brown, Stokely Carmichael, and other orators were constantly threatened or charged with "inciting to riot" as they crisscrossed the country speaking to mass audiences. Congress passed so-called "Rap Brown" laws to deter speakers from crossing state lines to address mass audiences lest a disturbance break out, leaving them vulnerable to federal charges and imprisonment. And numerous revolutionary organizers and orators were being imprisoned. This initial flow of revolutionaries into the jails and prisons began to spread a revolutionary nationalist hue through New Afrikans behind the walls. New Afrikan prisoners were also influenced by the domestic revolutionary atmosphere and the liberation struggles in Afrika, Asia, and Latin America. Small groups began studying on their own, or in collectives, the works of Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton, The Black Panther newspaper, The Militant newspaper, contemporary national liberation struggle leaders Kwame Nkrumah, Jomo Kenyatta, Frantz Fanon, Che Guevara, Fidel Castro, Ho Chi Minh, and Mao Tse-tung, plus Marx, Lenin, and Bakunin too. Increasing numbers of New Afrikan and Third World prisoners became more conscious of national liberation politics. The percentages of New Afrikan and Third World prisoners increased while the percentage of White prisoners decreased throughout US prisons. Under this onslaught of rising national liberation consciousness, increased percentages of New Afrikan and Third World prisoners, and decreased numbers of white prisoners, the last of the prisons' overt segregation policies fell by the wayside.

The New Afrikan Independence Movement

The seeds of Malcolm took further root on March 29, 1968. On that date the Provisional Government of the Republic of New Afrika (RNA) was founded at a convention held at the Black-owned Twenty Grand Motel in Detroit. Over 500 grassroots activists came together to issue a Declaration of Independence on behalf of the oppressed Black Nation Inside North America, and the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM) was born. Since then Blacks desiring an independent Black Nation have referred to themselves and other Blacks in the US as New Afrikans. That same month, March '68, during Martin Luther King's march in Memphis, angry youths on the fringes of the march broke away and began breaking store windows, looting, and firebombing. A 16-year-old-boy was killed and 50 people were injured in the ensuing violence. This left Martin profoundly shaken and questioning whether his philosophy was still able to hold the youth to a nonviolent commitment. On April 4th he returned to Memphis, seeking the answer through one more march, and found an assassin's bullet. Ghettos exploded in flames one after another across the face of America. The philosophy of Black Liberation surged to the forefront among the youth. But not the youth alone. Following a series of police provocations in Cleveland, on July 23, 1968, New Libya Movement activists there set an ambush that killed several policemen. A "fortyish" Ahmed Evans was convicted of the killings and died in prison ten years later of "cancer". More CIA dope surged into the ghettos from the Golden Triangle of Southeast Asia. Revolutionaries stepped up their organizing activities on both sides of the walls. Behind the walls the New Afrikan percentage steadily increased.

COINTELPRO Attacks

In 1969 COINTELPRO launched its main attack on the Black Liberation Movement in earnest. It began with the mass arrest of Lumumba Shakur and the New York Panther 21. It followed with a series of military raids on Black Panther Party offices in Philadelphia, Baltimore, New Haven, Jersey City, Detroit, Chicago, Denver, Omaha, Sacramento, and San Diego, and was capped off with a four-hour siege that poured thousands of rounds into the Los Angeles BPP office. Fortunately Geronimo ji Jaga, decorated Vietnam vet had earlier fortified the office to withstand an assault, and no Panthers were seriously injured. However, repercussions from the outcome eventually drove him underground. The widespread attacks left Panthers dead all across the country - Fred Hampton, Mark Clark, Bunchy Carter, John Huggins, John Savage, Walter Toure Pope, Bobby Hutton, Sylvester Bell, Frank "Capt. Franco" Diggs, Fred Bennett, James Carr, Larry Robeson, Spurgeon "Jake" Winters, Alex Rackley, Arthur Morris, Steve Bartholomew, Robert Lawrence, Tommy Lewis, Nathaniel Clark, Weldon Armstead, Sidney Miller, Sterling Jones, Babatunde Omawali, Samuel Napier, Harold Russle, and Robert Webb among others. (21) In the three years after J. Edgar Hoover's infamous COINTELPRO memorandum, dated August 25, 1967, 31 members of the BPP were killed, (22) nearly a thousand were arrested, and key leaders were sent to jail. Others were driven underground. Still others, like BPP field marshal Donald "D.C." Cox, were driven into exile overseas. Also in '69, Clarence 13X, founder of the Five Percenters, was mysteriously murdered in the elevator of a Harlem project building. His killer was never discovered and his adherents suspect government complicity in his death. The RNA was similarly attacked that year. During their second annual convention in March '69, held at reverend C.L. Franklin's New Bethel Church in Detroit, a police provocation sparked a siege that poured 800 rounds into the church. Several convention members were wounded; one policeman was killed, another wounded, and the entire convention,

140 people, was arrested en masse. When Reverend Franklin (father of "The Queen of Soul", singer Aretha Franklin) and Black State Representative James Del Rio were informed of the incident they called Black judge George Crockett, who proceeded to the police station where he found total legal chaos. Almost 150 people were being held incommunicado. They were being questioned, fingerprinted, and given nitrate tests to determine if they had fired guns, in total disregard of fundamental constitutional procedures. Hours after the roundup, there wasn't so much as a list of persons being held and no one had been formally arrested. An indignant Judge Crockett set up court right in the station house and demanded that the police either press charges or release their captives. He had handled about fifty cases when the Wane County prosecutor, called in by the police, intervened. The prosecutor promised that the use of all irregular methods would be halted. Crockett adjourned the impromptu court, and by noon the following day the police had released all but a few individuals who were held on specific charges. Chaka Fuller, Rafael Viera, and Alfred 2X Hibbits were charged with the killing. All three were subsequently tried and acquitted. Chaka Fuller was mysteriously assassinated a few months afterwards. Revolutionaries nationwide were attacked and/or arrested: Tyari Uhuru, Maka, Askufu, and the Smyrna Brothers in Delaware, JoJo Muhammad Bowers and Fred Burton in Philadelphia, and Panthers Mondo Langa, Ed Poindexter, and Veronza Daoud Bowers, in Omaha. Police mounted an assault on the Panther office in the Desiree Projects of New Orleans which resulted in several arrests. A similar attack was made on the Peoples Party office in Houston. One of their leaders, Carl Hampton, was killed by police and another, Lee Otis Johnson, was arrested later on an unrelated charge and sentenced to 41 years in prison for alleged possession of one marijuana cigarette.

The Rise of Prison Struggles

Like the Panthers, most of those arrested brought their philosophies with them into the prisons. Likewise, most had outside support committees to one degree or another so that this influx of political prisoners linked the struggle behind the walls with the struggles in the outside local communities. The combination set off a beehive of political activity behind the walls, and prisoners stepped up their struggle for political, Afrikan, Islamic, and academic studies, access to political literature, community access to prisons, an end to arbitrary punishments, access to attorneys, adequate law libraries, relevant vocational training, contact visits, better food, health care, housing, and a myriad of other struggles. The forms of prison struggle ranged from face-to-face negotiations to mass petitioning, letter-writing and call-in campaigns, outside demonstrations, class action law suits, hunger strikes, work strikes, rebellions, and more drastic actions. Overall, all forms of struggle served to roll back draconian prison policies that had stood for centuries and to further the development of the New Afrikan liberation struggle behind the walls. These struggles would not have been as successful, or would have been much more costly in terms of lives lost or brutality endured, had it not been for the links to the community and community support that political prisoners brought with them into the prisons. Although that support was not always sufficient in quantity or quality, or was sometimes nonexistent or came with hidden agendas or was marked by frequent conflicts, on the whole it was this combination of resolute prisoners, community support, and legal support which was most often successful in prison.

The Changing Complexion of Prisons

As the 60's drew to a close New Afrikan and Third World nationalities made up nearly 50 percent of the prison population. National liberation consciousness became the dominant influence behind the walls as the overall complexion neared the changeover from white to black, brown, and red. The decade-long general decrease in prisoners, particularly whites, brought a drop of between 16,000 and 28,000 in total prison population. The total number of white prisoners decreased between 16,000 and 23,000 while the total number of New Afrikan prisoners increased slightly or changed insignificantly over the same period. Yet the next decade would begin the period of unprecedented new prison construction, as the primary role of US prisons changed from "suppression of the working classes" to "suppression of domestic Black and Third World liberation struggles inside the US."

To Be Continued

[Editor's note: Comrade Sundiata Acoli (aka: Clark Edward Squire) is a former BPP-BLA member who is currently a Political Prisoner/POW (#39794-066, USP Allenwood, (Squire), PO Box 3000, White Deer, PA 17887). The views and analysis presented here are his own and are presented as part of our ongoing study of the history and legacy of the original Black Panther Party. The NABPP-PC is a completely legal and aboveground political party and does not advocate or promote violence or illegal activity.]

Support Statement for NABPP-PC Minister of Human Rights

Hasan Shakur (AKA: Derrick Frazier)

Hasan Shakur represents the cream of our Black youths who are being killed off by this corrupt government's racist targeting of them for death penalties, police executions, foreign war fighters, drug arrests, AIDS, prison, life without parole sentences, school expulsions and 1001 other traps that trick our youths out of their right to a decent life.

Amerika eats its young to sustain a life of luxury for its wealthy. Hasan is all of us who are oppressed. He's your brother, cousin, or neighbor's son who got caught up in a rigged system and was unjustly convicted and given the death penalty.

We must do all we can to save Hasan and other youths like him wherever we find

them. Hasan has seen the light and acts accordingly, others can too. They are our future.

Sundiata Acoli, June 9th, 2006
USP Allenwood
White Deer, PA

Even though Comrade Hasan has been granted a temporary stay of execution by the Texas Appeals Court, there is no guarantee that he will get an appeal or a new and fair trial. He needs our continued support and for us to spread the word about the way he was railroaded and the righteous and revolutionary stand he has taken. You can send messages of support to be posted on-line at his website c/o Right On!, Rising Sun Press, PO Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105.

A Brief History of the New Afrikan Prison Struggle (Part 2) by Sundiata Acoli

Enter the 70's

A California guard, rated as an expert marksman, opened the decade of the 70's with the January 13th shooting at close range of W.L. Nolen, Cleveland Edwards, and Alvin "Jug" Miller in the Soledad prison yard. They were left lying where they fell until it was too late for them to be saved by medical treatment. Nolen, in particular, had been instrumental in organizing protest of guard killings of two other Black prisoners - Clarence Causey and William Powell - at Soledad in the recent past, and was consequently both a thorn in the side of prison officials and a hero to the Black prison population. When the guard was exonerated of the triple killings two weeks later by a Board of Inquiry, the prisoners retaliated by throwing a guard off the tier. George Jackson, Fleeta Drumgo, and John Cluchette were charged with the guard's death and came to be known as the Soledad Brothers. California Black prisoners solidified around the chain of events in the Soledad Brothers case and formed the Black Guerrilla Family (BGF). The Panthers spearheaded a massive campaign to save the Soledad Brothers from the gas chamber. The nationwide coalescence of prisoners and support groups around the case converted the scattered, disparate prison struggles into a national prison movement. On the night of March 9, 1970, a bomb exploded killing Ralph Featherstone and Che Payne in their car outside a Maryland courthouse where Rap Brown was to appear next day on "Inciting to Riot" charges. Instead of appearing, Rap went underground, was captured a year later during the robbery of a Harlem so-called "dope bar", and was sent behind the walls. He completed his sentence and was released from prison. On August 7, 1970, Jonathan Jackson, younger brother of George, attempted to liberate Ruchell Cinque Magee, William Christmas, and James McClain from the Marin County courthouse in California. Jonathan, McClain, Christmas, and the trial judge were killed by SWAT teams who also wounded the prosecutor and paralyzed him for life. Miraculously, Ruchell and three wounded jurors survived the fusillade. Jonathan frequently served as Angela Davis's bodyguard. She had purchased weapons for that purpose, but Jonathan used those same weapons in the breakout attempt. Immediately afterward she became the object of an international "woman hunt". On October 13, Angela was captured in New York City and was subsequently returned to California to undergo a very acrimonious trial with Magee. She was acquitted on all charges. Magee was tried separately and convicted on lesser charges. He remains imprisoned to date. On August 21, a guard shot and killed George Jackson as he bolted from a control unit and ran for the San Quentin wall. Inside the unit lay three guards and two trustees dead. The circumstances surrounding George Jackson's legendary life and death, and the astuteness of his published writings, left a legacy that inspires and instructs the New Afrikan liberation struggle on both sides of the wall even today, and will for years to come. September 13, 1971, became the bloodiest day in U.S. prison history when New York's Governor Nelson Rockefeller ordered the retaking of Attica prison. The previous several years had seen a number of prison rebellions flare up across the country as prisoners protested widespread maltreatment and inhumane conditions. Most had been settled peaceably with little or no loss of human life after face-to-face negotiation between prisoners and state and prison officials. At Attica black, brown, white, red, and yellow prisoners took over one block of the prison and stood together for five days seeking to negotiate an end to their inhumane conditions. Their now-famous dictum declared "We are men, not beasts, and will not be driven as such." But Rockefeller had presidential ambitions. The rebelling prisoners' demands included a political request for asylum in a non-imperialistic country. Rockefeller's refusal to negotiate foreshadowed a macabre replay of his father John D's slaughter of striking Colorado miners and their families decades earlier. Altogether 43 people died at Attica. New York State trooper bullets killed 39 people, 29 prisoners and 10 guards in retaking Attica and shocked the world by the naked barbarity of the U.S. prison system. Yet the Attica rebellion too remains a milestone in the development of the New Afrikan liberation struggle behind the walls, and a symbol of the highest development of prisoner multinational solidarity to date.

New World Clashes with the Nation of Islam

In 1973 the simmering struggle for control of Newark's NOI Temple No. 25 erupted into the open. Warren Marcello, a New World member, assassinated NOI Temple No. 25 Minister Shabazz. In retaliation several NWI members were attacked and killed within the confines of the New Jersey prison system, and before the year was out the bodies of Marcello and a companion were found beheaded in Newark's Weequahic Park. Ali Hassan, still in prison, was tried as one of the co-conspirators in the death of Shabazz and was found innocent.

The Black Liberation Army

COINTELPRO's destruction of the BPP forced many members underground and gave rise to the Black Liberation Army (BLA) - a New Afrikan guerrilla organization. The BLA continued the struggle by waging urban guerrilla war across the U.S. through highly mobile strike teams. The government's intensified search for the BLA during the early 1970s resulted in the capture of Geronimo ji Jaga in Dallas, Dhoruba Bin-Wahad and Jamal Josephs in New York, Sha Sha Brown and Blood McCreary in St. Louis, Nuh Washington and Jalil Muntaqin in Los Angeles, Herman Bell in New Orleans, Francisco and Gabriel Torres in New York, Russel Haroun Shoats in Philadelphia, Chango Monges, Mark Holder, and Kamau Hilton in New York, Assata Shakur and Sundiata Acoli in New Jersey, Ashanti Alston, Tarik, and Walid in New Haven, Safiya Bukhari and Masai Gibson in Virginia, and others. Left dead during the government's search and destroy missions were Sandra Pratt (wife of Geronimo ji Jaga, assassinated while visibly pregnant), Mark Essex, Woodie Changa Green, Twyman Kakuyan Olugbala Meyers, Frank "Heavy" Fields, Anthony Kimu White, Zayd Shakur, Melvin Rema Kerney, Alfred Kambui Butler, Ron Carter, Rory Hithe, and John Thomas, among others. Red Adams, left paralyzed from the neck down by police bullets, would die from the effects a few years later. Other New Afrikan freedom fighters attacked, hounded, and captured during the same general era were Imari Obadele and the

RNA-11 in Jackson, Mississippi, Don Taylor and De Mau Mau of Chicago, Hanif Shabazz, Abdul Aziz, and the VI-5 in the Virgin Islands, Mark Cook of the George Jackson Brigade (GJB) in Seattle, Ahmed Obafermi of the RNA in Florida, Atiba Shanna in Chicago, Mafundi Lake in Alabama, Sekou Kambui and Imani Harris in Alabama, Robert Aswad Duren in California, Kojo Boman Sababu and Dharuba Cinque in Trenton, John Partee and Tommie Lee Hodges of Alkebulan in Memphis, Gary Tyler in Los Angeles, Kareem Saif Allah and the Five Percenter-BLA-Islamic Brothers in New York, Ben Chavis and the Wilmington 10 in North Carolina, Delbert Africa and MOVE members in Philadelphia, and others doubtless too numerous to name.

Political Converts in Prison

Not everyone was political before incarceration. John Andaliwa Clark became so, and a freedom fighter par excellence, only after being sent behind the walls. He paid the supreme sacrifice during a hail of gunfire from Trenton State Prison guards. Hugo Dahariki Pinell also became political after being sent behind the California walls in 1964. He has been in prison ever since. Joan Little took an ice pick from a white North Carolina guard who had used it to force her to perform oral sex on him. She killed him, escaped to New York, was captured and forced to return to the same North Carolina camp where she feared for her life. Massive public vigilance and support enabled her to complete the sentence in relative safety and obtain her release. Dessie Woods and Cheryl Todd, hitching through Georgia, were given a ride by a white man who tried to rape them. Woods took his gun, killed him, and was sent to prison where officials drugged and brutalized her. Todd was also imprisoned and subsequently released upon completion of the sentence. Woods was denied parole several times then finally released. Political or not, each arrest was met with highly sensationalized prejudicial publicity that continued unabated to and throughout the trial. The negative publicity blitz was designed to guarantee a conviction, smokescreen the real issues involved, and justify immediate placement in the harshest prison conditions possible. For men this usually means the federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois. For women it has meant the control unit in the federal penitentiary at Alderson, West Virginia, or Lexington, Kentucky. In 1988 political prisoners Silvia Baraldini, Alejandrina Torres, and Susan Rosenberg won a D.C. District Court lawsuit brought by attorneys Adjoa Aiyetoro, Jan Susler, and others. The legal victory temporarily halted the practice of sending prisoners to control units strictly because of their political status. The ruling was reversed by the D.C. Appellate Court a year later. Those political prisoners not sent to Marion, Alderson, or Lexington control units are sent to other control units modeled after Marion/Lexington but located within maximum security state prisons. Normally this means 23-hour-a-day lockdown in long-term units located in remote hinterlands far from family, friends, and attorneys, with heavy censorship and restrictions on communications, visits, and outside contacts, combined with constant harassment, provocation, and brutality by prison guards.

Effect of Captured Freedom Fighters on Prisons

The influx of so many captured freedom fighters (i.e., prisoners of war - POWs) with varying degrees of guerrilla experience added a valuable dimension to the New Afrikan liberation struggle behind the walls. In the first place it accelerated the prison struggles already in process, particularly the attack on control units. One attack was spearheaded by Michael Deutsch and Jeffrey Haas of the People's Law Office, Chicago, which challenged Marion's H-Unit boxcar cells. Another was spearheaded by Assata Shakur and the Center for Constitutional Rights which challenged her out-of-state placement in the Alderson, West Virginia, control unit. Second, it stimulated a thoroughgoing investigation and exposure of COINTELPRO's hand in waging low intensity warfare on New Afrikan and Third World nationalities in the U.S. This was spearheaded by Geronimo ji- Jaga with Stuart Hanlon's law office in the West and by Dhoruba Bin- Wahad with attorneys Liz Fink, Robert Boyle, and Jonathan Lubell in the East. These COINTELPRO investigations resulted in the overturn of Bin-Wahad's conviction and his release from prison in March 1990 after he had been imprisoned 19 years for a crime he did not commit. Third, it broadened the scope of the prison movement to the international arena by producing the initial presentation of the U.S. political prisoner and prisoner of war (PP/POW) issue before the UN's Human Rights Commission. This approach originated with Jalil Muntaqin, and was spearheaded by him and attorney Kathryn Burke on the West Coast and by Sundiata Acoli and attorney Lennox Hinds of the National Conference of Black lawyers on the East Coast. This petition sought relief from human rights violations in U.S. prisons and subsequently asserted a colonized people's right to fight against alien domination and racist regimes as codified in the Geneva Convention. Fourth, it intensified, clarified, and broke new ground on political issues and debates of particular concern to the New Afrikan community, i.e., the "National Question", spearheaded by Atiba Shanna in the Midwest. All these struggles, plus those already in process, were carried out with the combination in one form or another of resolute prisoners, and community and legal support. Community support when present came from various sources - family, comrades, friends; political, student, religious, and prisoner rights groups; workers, professionals, and progressive newspapers and radio stations. Some of those involved over the years were or are: the National Committee for Defense of Political Prisoners, the Black Community News Service, the African Peoples Party, the Republic of New Afrika, the African Peoples Socialist Party, The East, the Bliss Chord Communication Network, Liberation Book Store, WDAS Radio Philadelphia, WBLS Radio New York, Radio New York, Third World Newsreel, Libertad (political journal of the Puerto Rican Movimiento de Liberacion Nacional [MLN]), the Prairie Fire Organizing Committee, the May 19th Communist Organization, the Madame Binh Graphics Collective, The Midnight Express, the Northwest Iowa Socialist Party, the National Black United Front, the Nation of Islam, Arm the Spirit [ATS note: When we started in 1990 we were unaware of the existence of this prisoner publication which had ceased publishing in the early 80's - there is no connection between us and them except for shared politics.], Black News, International Class Labor Defense, the Real Dragon Project, the John Brown Anti-Klan Committee, the National Prison Project, the House of the Lord Church, the American Friends Service Committee, attorneys Chuck Jones and Harold Ferguson of Rutgers Legal Clinic, the Jackson Advocate newspaper, Rutgers law students, the Committee to End the Marion Lockdown, the American Indian Movement, and others.

The End of the 70's

As the decade wound down the late 70's saw the demise of the NOI following the death of Elijah Muhammad and the rise of orthodox Islam among significant segments of New Afrikans on both sides of the wall. By 1979 the prison population stood at 300,000, a whopping 100,000 increase within a single decade. The previous 100,000 increase, from 100,000 to 200,000, had taken 31 years, from 1927 to 1958. The initial increase to 100,000 had taken hundreds of years. Since America's original colonial times. The 60's were the transition decade of white flight that saw a significant decrease in both prison population and white prisoners. And since the total Black prison population increased only slightly or changed insignificantly over the decade of the insurgent 60's thru 1973, it indicates that New Afrikans are imprisoned least when they fight hardest. The decade ended on a masterstroke by the BLA's Multinational Task Force, with the November 2, 1979, prison liberation of Assata Shakur - "Soul of the BLA" and preeminent political prisoner of the era. The Task Force then whisked her away to the safety of political asylum in Cuba where she remains to date.

The Decade of the 80's

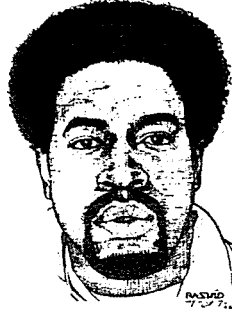
In June 1980 Ali Hassan was released after 16 years in the New Jersey state prisons. Two months later, five New World of Islam (NWI) members were arrested after a North Brunswick, New Jersey, bank robbery in a car with stolen plates. The car belonged to the recently released Ali Hassan, who had loaned it to a friend. Ali Hassan and 15 other NWI members refused to participate in the resulting mass trial which charged them in a Racketeering Influenced Corrupt Organization (RICO) indictment with conspiracy to rob banks for the purpose of financing various NWI enterprises in the furtherance of creating an independent Black Nation. All defendants were convicted and sent behind the walls. The 80's brought another round of BLA freedom fighters behind walls - Basheer Hameed and Abdul Majid in '80; Sekou Odinga, Kuwasi Balagoon, Chui Ferguson-El, Jamal Josephs again, Mutulu Shakur, and numerous BLA Multinational Task Force supporters in '81; and Terry Khalid Long, Leroy Ojore Bunting, and others in '82. The government's sweep left Mtayi Sundiata dead, Kuwasi Balagoon subsequently dead in prison from AIDS, and Sekou Odinga brutally tortured upon capture, torture that included pulling out his toenails and rupturing his pancreas during long sadistic beatings that left him hospitalized for six months. But this second round of captured BLA freedom fighters brought forth, perhaps for the first time, a battery of young, politically astute New Afrikan lawyers - Chokwe Lumumba, Jill Soffiyah Elijah, Nkechi Taifa, Adjoa Aiyetoro, Ashanti Chimurenga, Michael Tarif Warren, and others. They are not only skilled in representing New Afrikan POWs but the New Afrikan Independence Movement too, all of which added to the further development of the New Afrikan liberation struggle behind the walls. The decade also brought behind the walls Mumia Abu-Jamal, the widely respected Philadelphia radio announcer, popularly known as the "Voice of the Voiceless." He maintained a steady drumbeat of radio support for MOVE prisoners. While moonlighting as a taxi driver on the night of December 9, 1981, he discovered a policeman beating his younger brother. Mumia was shot and seriously wounded, the policeman was killed. Mumia now sits on death row in greatest need of mass support from every sector, if he's to be saved from the state's electric chair. Kazi Toure of the United Freedom Front (UFF) was sent behind the walls in 1982. He was released in 1991. The New York 8 - Coltrane Chimurenga, Viola Plummer and her son Robert "R.T." Taylor, Roger Wareham, Omowale Clay, Lateefah Carter, Colette Pean, and Yvette Kelly were arrested on October 17, 1984, and charged with conspiring to commit prison breakouts and armed robberies, and to possess weapons and explosives. However the New York 8 were actually the New York 8+ because another 8 or 9 persons were jailed as grand jury resisters in connection with the case. The New York 8 were acquitted on August 5, 1985. That same year Ramona Africa joined other MOVE comrades already behind the walls. Her only crime was that she survived Philadelphia Mayor Goode's May 13, 1985, bombing which cremated 11 MOVE members, including their babies, families, home, and neighborhood. The following year, November 19, 1986, a 20-year-old Bronx, New York, youth, Larry Davis, now Adam Abdul Hakeem, would make a dramatic escape during a shootout with police who had come to assassinate him for absconding with their drug-sales money. Several policemen were wounded in the shoot-out. Adam escaped unscathed but surrendered weeks later in the presence of the media, his family, and a mass of neighborhood supporters. After numerous charges, trials, and acquittals in which he exposed the existence of a New York police-controlled drug ring that coerced Black and Puerto Rican youths to push police-supplied drugs, he was sent behind the walls on weapon possession convictions. Since incarceration, numerous beatings by guards have paralyzed him from the waist down and confined him to a wheelchair. On July 16, 1987, Abdul Haqq Muhammad, Arthur Majeed Barnes, and Robert "R.T." Taylor, all members of the Black Men's Movement Against Crack, were pulled over by state troopers in upstate New York, arrested, and subsequently sent to prison on a variety of weapon possession convictions. Herman Ferguson at 68 years old voluntarily returned to the U.S. on April 6, 1989, after 20-year's exile in Ghana, Afrika and Guyana, South America. He had fled the U.S. during the late 60's after the appeal was denied on his sentence of 3 1/2 to 7 years following a conviction for conspiring to murder civil rights leaders. Upon return he was arrested at the airport and was moved constantly from prison to prison for several years as a form of harassment. The 80's brought the Reagan era's rollback of progressive trends on a wide front and a steep rise in racist incidents, White vigilantism, and police murder of New Afrikan and Third World people. It also brought the rebirth and re-establishment of the NOI, a number of New Afrikan POWs adopting orthodox Islam in lieu of revolutionary nationalism, the New Afrikan People's Organization's (NAPO) and its chairman Chokwe Lumumba's emergence. From the RNA as banner carrier for the New Afrikan Independence Movement (NAIM), the New Orleans assassination of Lumumba Shakur of the Panther 21, and an upsurge in mass political demonstrations known as the "Days of Outrage" in New York City spearheaded by the December 12th Movement, and others. The end of the decade brought the death of Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panther Party, allegedly killed by a young Black Guerrilla Family adherent on August 22, 1989, during a dispute over "crack." Huey taught the Black masses socialism and popularized it through the slogan "Power to the People!" He armed the Black struggle and popularized it through the slogan "Political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." For that, and despite his human shortcomings, he was a true giant of the Black struggle, because his particular contribution is comparable to that of other modern-day giants, Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King. AIDS, crack, street crime, gang violence, homelessness, and arrest rates have all exploded throughout the Black colonies. The prison population on June 30, 1989, topped 673,000, an incredible 372,000 increase in less than a decade, causing the tripling and doubling of prison populations in 34 states, and sizable increases in most others. New York City prisons became so overcrowded they began using ships as jails. William Bennett, former U.S. Secretary of Education and so-called Drug Czar, announced plans to convert closed military bases into concentration camps. The prison building spree and escalated imprisonment rates continue unabated. The new prisoners are younger, more volatile, have long prison sentences, and are overwhelmingly of New Afrikan and Third World nationalities. It is estimated that by the year 1994 the U.S. will have over one million prisoners. Projections suggest that over 75 percent of them will be Black and other people of color. More are women than previously. Their percentage rose to 5 percent in 1980 from a low of 3 percent in 1970. Whites are arrested at about the same rate as in Western Europe while the New Afrikan arrest rate has surpassed that of Blacks in South Africa. In fact, the U.S. Black imprisonment rate is now the highest in the world. Ten times as many Blacks as whites are incarcerated per 100,000 population.

The 90's and Beyond

As we begin to move through the 90's the New Afrikan liberation struggle behind the walls finds itself coalescing around campaigns to free political prisoners and prisoners of war, helping to build a national PP/POW organization, strengthening its links on the domestic front, and building solidarity in the international arena. Although the established media concentrates on the sensationalism of ghetto crack epidemics, street crime, drive-by shootings, and gang violence, there has been a long quiet period of consciousness-raising in the New Afrikan colonies by the committed independence forces. This heightened consciousness of the colonies is just beginning to manifest itself through seemingly random sparks and the rise of innovative cultural trends, i.e., Rap/Hip Hop, "message" music, culturally designed hair styles, dissemination of political/cultural video cassettes, resprouting of insurgent periodicals, and the resurrection of forgotten heroes; all of which presage an oppressed people getting ready to push forward again. The New Afrikan liberation struggle behind the walls now follows the laws of its own development, paid for in its own blood, intrinsically linked to the struggle of its own people, and rooted deep in the ebb and flow of its own history. To know that history is already to know its future development and direction.

[Editor's note: Comrade Sundiata Acoli (aka: Clark Edward Squire) is a former BPP-BLA member who is currently a Political Prisoner/POW (#39794-066, USP Allenwood, Squire PO Box 3000, White Deer, PA 17887). The views and analysis presented here are his own and are presented as part of our ongoing study of the history and legacy of the original Black Panther Party. The NABPP-PC is a completely legal and aboveground political party and does not advocate or promote violence or illegal activity.] □

NOW IS THE TIME: PANTHERS WHERE YOU AT?



by Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

"At this time more than ever we need activists who are motivated and dedicated to organizing people, raising consciousness and instilling self-respect and Black community love in African Americans. We especially need creative Black youth who know our history and who understand that Black Unity is the catalyst to help humanize this racist world. We need socially conscious activists who will work toward the ultimate goal of community control, as well as political and economic empowerment of our people. We need activists who cross all ethnic and religious backgrounds and color lines who will establish civil and human rights for all, including the right to an ecologically balanced, pollution-free environment. We must create a world of decent human relationships where revolutionary humanism is grounded in [respect for] democratic human rights for every person on earth. Those were the political revolutionary objectives of my old Black Panther Party. THEY MUST NOW BELONG TO THE YOUTH OF TODAY." – Bobby Seale in Seize The Time

"Pantherism is the ideology of revolutionary Black Nationalism. Pantherism incorporates the fundamental tenets of revolutionary socialism. Socialism is the rule of the working class. When we say: 'All Power to the People!', we mean the working people having control over the basic means of production and distribution of goods; land, oil, mines, factories, transportation, warehouses, and so on as well as the government and military. We are talking about confiscating the wealth of the super-rich exploiters, the bourgeoisie, through a revolutionary war of liberation. This will require the organized power of the people. Pantherism teaches that Black liberation requires that the working class as a whole must embrace the idea that: 'Another World is Possible,' and that they must step forward to take history into their own hands. The working class in the U.S. must decide to throw its weight and power behind the international campaign to smash imperialism. Pantherism also demands that we oppose both narrow (Black bourgeois) nationalism and reactionary (American) patriotism with revolutionary Black nationalism and proletarian (working class) internationalism. Each people has the right to self-determination, so we say: 'Black Power to the Black people, and 'Indian Power to the Indian people!, Arab Power to the Arab people!, and so on, but also we support the unity of all oppressed people.'" – Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu in the New Afrikan Black Panther Party newsletter Right On!#1

OLD HABITS DIE HARD

Whenever new revolutionary ideas and concepts and theories come to fruition or burst their barriers in a rough and tumble manner, they will be received by loud cries from the ruling class capitalist pigs to

contain the flood before it drowns the status quo in a sea of revolutionary resistance. They are usually the first to grasp the "treasonous" nature of new ideas long before the revolutionaries are able to explain them to the masses.

This is understandable and no defect on the part of above-ground revolutionary movements, since they have to engage in political education training by informing its small or large membership of the new political line through its organ of communication. Furthermore, in order to reach the membership and bring them along in a serious and determined way, the revolutionary movement is charged with the task of teaching "The correct handling of a revolution."

But the revolutionary leaders should at all times guard against carelessness or a failure to advance secure communication between comrades. To forget this lesson will mean that the enemy will be visiting you by breaking down your door in the early morning hours while you slumber or otherwise disrupt your activities.

Everything we do should be considered in the light that revolution is "illegal" in Amerikkka and that the oppressed have no constitutional rights that the oppressor is bound to respect. So even when we are being legal and aboveboard, there is no guarantee that we won't be arrested, harassed or even assassinated.

LOST FOCUS SOMEWHERE

I think that some of our old comrades lost focus in the late 60s and early 70s and got caught up in the stage of still believing that as revolutionaries that sought to bring monopoly capitalism and the genocidal State to its knees, that they still had some rights in Empireland or that the enemy was not watching their every move. Such thinking lead to comrades in aboveground structures during the day moonlighting as Black urban guerrillas at night. Comrades doing legal work must stay focused and not endanger that work in any way.

In the light that we still hold the principle that *politics is war without bloodshed and war is politics with bloodshed*, it is incumbent upon us to deal with the enemy correctly and not get caught up in flights of fantasy. We should not confuse one stage of the struggle with another.

Our task should be to unite theory with practice. For too long we have been sidetracked by other people's concern over our politics, and this has lead to revolutionary armchairing by some otherwise dedicated brothers and sisters. Our Party should be considered in this light: It is an ox that the people can ride on the road to socialist revolution. We must have patience and persevere in a protracted struggle.

COMING TO TERMS WITH DEFEAT

It should be accepted broadly in the revolutionary movement now after decades of debates that the oppressor was able to crush revolutionary resistance in the old movements; that a combination of internal political weaknesses and external pig structures of counterinsurgency ate us up like chocolate cake. If we believe that "in revolution one wins or dies," then we are compelled to review old political positions if we want to emerge this time around as victors in the struggle for Black liberation and socialist revolution.

As Mao Tse-tung pointed out: "To fight and fail and fight again until victory is the people's logic." Failure is the mother of success. This doesn't mean that everything in the past was done wrong. But we must critically examine and analyze the positions of the past to see what we can learn from and do better.

The original BPP emerged at a time of high tide in the international revolutionary struggle, but already serious reverses were taking place. The Soviet Union, once the bastion of socialist revolution, had already changed color and become socialist in words but imperialist in deeds. A system of state capitalism had been rigged up that continued to pose as a socialist state.

Not everyone was clear on this, including the leaders in Cuba and Vietnam, who tried to play a "centrist" role between the Soviet social-imperialists and revolutionary China led by Mao Tse-tung. This caused great confusion in the revolutionary ranks. Many formerly revolutionary parties and movements were led astray and degenerated into reformism and class collaboration. At first the BPP had a correct line on this, but later confusion set in. Che' Guevara, a great hero of the Cuban Revolution, who also fought in the Congo and elsewhere, formulated that shortcuts could be taken in waging revolutionary warfare deviating from the correct strategy and tactics of People's War developed by Mao in the Chinese Revolution.

This "Foco Theory," as it was called, was not materialist but idealist and led to many disasters including getting Che', himself, killed in Bolivia. Others adapted this theory to "Urban Guerrilla Warfare" with equally disastrous results. Many in the BPP became infected with this idealist theory, while others went the other way and retreated into reformism leading to a split in the Party.

While the Maoists put up a heroic struggle to prevent capitalist restoration in China, dubbed the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," they were overwhelmed by the "capitalist-roaders" after Mao's death. This was tremendously demoralizing to revolutionaries all over the world.

ARE WE WORSE OFF NOW?

The daily drumbeat of the news heralds our political and economic powerlessness, the visual images of the emaciated bodies of our young and old people in Afrika, the violent gang epidemic, the drug plague, fascist pig violence and brutality, Hurricane Katrina, wars of imperialist aggression, racism and the rape of a Black womyn at Duke University, homelessness, neocolonialism, self-hate, lack of decent education, lack of employment, the prison industrialize complex, broken Black families, cowardice and hypocrisy of ersatz black leaders—are all factors that indicate to me that concrete conditions of our people are far worse than 30 years ago when consciousness and "I'm Black and I'm proud" was on the lips of everyone, even the blue vein Black bourgeoisie!

The critical test for oppressed Black people living in the decadent system of North Amerika in the 21st century, and all oppressed people throughout the world, is whether we are going to erect a battering ram for our human rights and freedom from neocolonialism or remain subjects and slaves to hostile, alien imperialist structures of force and domination. No ersatz Black leader nor the masters of capital could efface the historical record of genocidal murder and vicious white-supremacist brutality visited on our people since being kidnapped from our Motherland and thrown onto the plantation fields of North Amerika. For 500 years we have been the victims of chattel slavery, Ku Klux Klan terror, Jim Crowism, segregation, the Lynch mob, colonialism and neo-colonialism and a plethora of evils too wide and large to enumerate here.

We are the worse off materially, politically, economically and socially under the New World Order, as many of the gains of past struggle have been taken back, and our ability to resist by standing up collectively has diminished due to our lack of unity and the absence of a revolutionary vanguard party.

IDENTIFYING WITH THE OPPRESSOR

Our colony/community has become a firing range of morbid and unhealthy emulation of the oppressor only in this sense: We are at each others' throats to acquire the material objects and prestige denied us by the oppressor, so like rabid cats and dogs we fight and kill each other for the measly crumbs from the oppressor's table of world-wide exploitation of people that look like you and I.

In the absence of a consciousness-raising, revolutionary pan-Afrikanist vanguard, like the old Black Panther Party, the oppressor has gotten over on our people politically, socially and culturally, promoting the illusion of inclusion, the illusion of equal opportunity, and a self-destroying gangsta/ho culture that turns frustration and anger into lateral violence against our own along with the craving for crass consumerism and cheap thrills.

THEY HATE ME

For Black people no other event in the 21st century serves as a classic textbook example of oppression than the seminal event of 2005: Hurricane Katrina. It has uncovered the ugly scab of capitalistic exploitation which festers upon the face of the Black colony. Here, our people were neglected, rejected, starved, left behind, shot down like animals looking for food, cursed and ridiculed by King George Bush's mother. The corporate capitalist media made the victim look like the criminal and the criminals like innocent bystanders.

The Black Mayor, Ray Nagin, knew before the storm hit our people like a battering ram that 85% percent of Black New Orleanians was unable to leave the city. Socio-economic oppression hemmed us in, but what did he do? He advised all the whites to leave the city, and hightailed himself to higher ground; forgetting the poor Blacks that elected him to political office. City and school district buses that could have been used for evacuation were left parked. The trains that could have evacuated many thousands were not employed.

The lower and higher Ninth ward of New Orleans brought to life the brutality of the thrice evils of capitalism, imperialism and racism. But it also left a lesson that we should heed: the betrayal of ersatz Black leaders that pay more attention to their status and position in the Democratic Leadership Council (a branch of the Democratic Party) than they do to eradicating the blight of oppression in the Black colony.

The whole world watched the spectacle of masses of poor Black people left to die while FEMA fiddled around making sure that well-connected corporations would reap the benefits of reconstruction and urban renewal. Our people were treated worse than animals. Prisoners were left to drown in their cells. The elderly and handicapped were abandoned in their nursing homes.

There can be no doubt that: We are the worse off materially, politically, economically and socially! When will we stand up collectively?

BACKWARD PRIORITIES

In Amerika, where the victim is punished by the law and the criminal is rewarded handsomely for invading nations and stealing oil, colt rate, bauxite, copper, diamonds, gold and the minds of other people, it's best that we began the process of breaking the fascist chains that bind us now, or we will go down in history as the most stupid and naive people to walk the earth.

What we fail to see is that the fear us, and are out to destroy us, because of the potential we have to end their rule by playing a leading and revolutionary role in this society. Our position in the "Belly of the Beast" and our long history of oppression and exploitation, and of resistance to that oppression and exploitation, makes us a potent threat to the continuation of this system based on oppression and exploitation.

OUR ENEMY IS GROWING WEAKER

We must keep in mind that this system is in decline, that imperialism is capitalism in decline. It is obsolete and dysfunctional. The U.S. is objectively weaker than it was 30 years ago. It is not only the sole imperialist superpower but the number one debtor nation in the world. Just servicing the interest on this debt is going to take more and more of its GNP every year.

It is stuck in a quagmire in Afghanistan and Iraq that is weakening it further. It dares not institute a draft for fear of unleashing the rebellion of the youth and students as it did during the Vietnam War. Attempting to bully other countries to go along with it has only alienated it in the international community of nations. All the prisons it has built and the millions incarcerated in them are so many mill stones around its neck, as are the many military bases it has built and maintains all around the world.

Globalization has increased the anarchy of capitalism and weakened it in many ways. Look at the storm it has set off trying to suppress and regulate the flow of illegal immigration by threatening to make the undocumented workers felons!

THE REVOLUTIONARY TIDE IS AGAIN ON THE RISE

Despite the setbacks of the past, the fire of revolution was not completely extinguished. Some revolutionary forces were able to correctly sum up the lessons and keep moving forward, greatly enriching the science of revolution with a better understand of the dynamics of the continuing class struggle under socialism and the danger of capitalist restoration. In several countries, most notably Nepal, Peru, India and the Philippines, the revolutionaries persisted in applying Mao's strategy and tactics of waging protracted people's war to advance New Democratic Revolution against imperialist domination, the remnants of feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. Despite some serious setbacks, they have demonstrated the resilience of this style of fighting and continue to advance today.

Massive international demonstrations against globalization, the World Trade Organization, the IMF and the World Bank and the U.S.-British invasion and occupation of Afghanistan and Iraq have brought millions into the streets, despite police repression, and have brought forth a new generation of militantly anti-capitalist youth. Mass struggles against the oppression of immigrants have rocked Europe and the U.S. There is growing anti-imperialist sentiment and resistance around the world and particularly in the Third World.

GO UNDERGROUND FIRST?

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter is a legal and above-ground party. We are working above ground to lead the people in a national liberation struggle. Some comrades wrote to me saying that we must go "underground" and work from that position. What these comrades fail to see is that all revolutionary movements started out aboveground; Mao Tse-tung's C.C.P., Fidel Castro's July 26 Movement, Amilcar Cabral's PAIGC, Ben Bella's FLN and so on. All of them were pushed underground by the oppressor, which demonstrated its illegality and illegitimacy.

Whether we go underground or remain aboveground doesn't really matter to the oppressor. Revolution will still be "illegal," and in either case "a revolutionary must realize that if he [she] is sincere, death is imminent due to the fact that the things he [she] is saying and doing are extremely dangerous. Without this realization, it is impossible to proceed as a revolutionary."

Before going underground we want to have the masses on our side. Mao Tse-tung even remarked about the importance of the people in national revolutionary struggles. I can't find the quote, but it was similar to the guerrillas being the fish and the people being the water. If comrades don't want to take that lesson from Chairman

Mao, then investigate the failure of our own experience with the Black Liberation Army (BLA). The lesson is there.

Name one revolutionary formation in history that began its political life underground, and I will show you that you are wrong. Revolutionary movements are always forced underground by the enemy, because they can't tolerate the exposure of their criminal nature and of the possibility for making real change.

This reactionary criticism leveled against our Party reminds me of what Comrade Fred Hampton said some 30 years back to the same charges leveled against the original Black Panther Party. He said:

"The Black Panther Party is the vanguard party. You better get on the Black Panther Party. If you can't get on, goddamit you better get behind. If you can't get behind goddamit, you better get behind somebody else so you'll at least be able to follow indirectly, motherf#\$%2&! We ain't asking you to go out and ask no pig to leave us alone. We know that the pigs fu%\$ with us 'cause they know we're doing something.

"I know some revolutionary groups say these nigg8\$# are running around saying these things--the PL motherf@#\$%~! talking that bullshit, couldn't even find things to criticize. They was so far in the ground, What was they doing? Organizing groundhogs, educating groundhogs, arming groundhogs and teaching groundhogs revolutionary political power."

Some comrades think that revolution is a purely military affair. They confuse winning revolutionary state power with winning over the masses as separate things to be dealt with later on. This tendency of seeing things one-sidedly is called Jackanape militarism. That is, some comrades are made dizzy by the gun, and think that leading political education classes is for others. This fallacious view find no audience here.

For oppressed nationals everywhere, the guerrilla "is not only the warrior, the military fighter, he is also the military commander as well as the political theoretician." The guerrilla is politicized; he/she keeps politics in command. It is politics which must control the gun not the other way around. And finally, it is the people that protect the guerrilla, but in order for this to happen, the people must first be politicized by vanguard elements to think of the fighter as his brother and sister rather than a criminal/terrorist which the oppressor will seek to paint us as.

Now, I'm not saying that guerrilla warfare is the way we must go in this country. But the spirit of the guerrilla fighter and putting politics in command are universally applicable. We must find the strategy, tactics and style of resistance best suited to our own situation. The strategy we are employing at this time is to transform the prisons into "schools of liberation" and the oppressed communities into base areas of cultural, social and political revolution. We are doing this in the context of building the international United Front Against Imperialism (UFAI), the key alliance of which is the oppressed nations and nationalities and the multinational working class.

The masses are the makers of history and the makers of revolution. It is the revolutionary's job to make them conscious and to teach them to apply revolutionary science to their struggles. We do this through the application of the "mass line" taking the spontaneous and unsystematic ideas of the masses and returning them to them in the form of systematic revolutionary line and program.

We provide leadership in creating and building people's power and community-based programs to serve the people based upon self-reliance and arduous struggle. We have a great deal of work to do, and we need the best sons and daughters of our people to: DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! JOIN US! SEIZE THE TIME! SERVE THE PEOPLE! BUILD PANTHER POWER! PANTHER LOVE!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

Recent Indictment of Comrade Rashid, Defense Minister of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party Prison Chapter

Since last year, the Virginia Department of Corrections (VDOC), and especially its highest security level prisons located in rural southwestern Virginia, have been waging a battle to whitewash abuses occurring, and to demonize prisoners housed at these remote prisons. Routine torture and abuses occur at these prisons - Red Onion and Wallens Ridge State Prisons (ROSP and WRSP) which differ very little from the scenes exposed in the scandals surrounding U.S. military prisons at Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay. At these Virginia prisons, prisoners routinely suffer racially motivated beatings and usually while handcuffed and shackled, which result in broken bones and teeth and need of outside emergency room care. Many times no care is given to them at all.

Because Virginia prison officials at all levels have acted at every turn to conceal and deny these abuses, and to maintain strong relations with local communities and media outlets, so as to neutralize local concern and exposure about our treatment, I along with an outside contact, founded an organization called FedUp!, with the aim of collecting and publicly exposing reports of our actual treatments at these remote prisons, and to bring prisoners families out in protest against these abuses.

Within a short period of coming into existence, FedUp! was flooded with many complaints and accounts of prisoner abuses, tortures and beatings at ROSP and WRSP. Copies of this information was made public, turned over to prisoners families and supporters and to top level Virginia Government officials. These exposures led to outside rallies and demonstrations outside of ROSP, and demands for answers from officials. Within Red Onion I was a principal source of spreading the word about FedUp!, and collecting facts and articulating reports on the routine abuses. My activities did not escape attention of prison officials.

In response to my activities I've been routinely threatened by guards with attacks and destructions of my property, my mail has been routinely destroyed and mishandled. There have been efforts to set me up to have feces thrown on me by inmates who work with guards to carry out such attacks on select prisoners, etc. My activities continued. Meantime I was appointed as a leading member of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party- Prison Chapter, an autonomous political organization that is working to develop self-help initiatives for oppressed black communities and people. I've also been working in collaboration with various other social support and prisoner advocacy groups. Prison officials have been as much and more opposed to and obstructive of these activities as well.

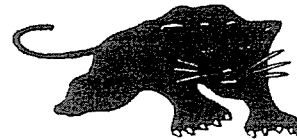
Because of my refusal to back down and so to project me in a certain derogatory light as on attack on the credibility of my activities, on January 27, 2006 I was served with a five count indictment on criminal charges relating to events occurring two and ½ years ago. The indictment charges me with one count of attempted capital murder of a prison guard, three counts of felony assault and battery on three other guards and one count of possessing a weapon. These charge stem from incidents involving guards having beaten a fully restrained black prisoner inside the cell next to me, which was followed by confrontations with myself and five other prisoners by several teams of guards in full riot armor, and yet another confrontation with me by armored guards while I was shackled. Any actual injuries suffered by any guards were the result of my defending against their actions and unprovoked attacks, and in an environment where beatings and abuses of defenseless Black prisoners by white guards are routine; where local courts refuse to prosecute white guards for brutalities and systematically slam their doors in the faces of prisoners attempting to litigate against abuses; where prison grievance and investigative officials frequently invalidate, cover-up and refuse to process abuse complaints; and where guards abuses and overall conduct are protected and condoned, giving them complete license to abuse us free of all accountability.

This license to abuse given to politically empowered and armed poor whites against disfranchised and powerless blacks duplicates the historical divisive conditions created by the wealthy whites who monopolized high political offices, which produced the cost heinous an sadistic violence against Blacks during Amerika's chattel slavery system. Indeed many of the abusive guards at ROSP and WRSP are known to be active members and supporters of white supremacist hate groups.

This recent indictment brought against me is a strategically timed act of political violence calculated to attack prisoner dissent, self defense, and exposure of corruption and duplicity, and deter challenges and organizing against institutionalized racism and governmental excesses. This political attack is also calculated to send a message that oppressed classes and races have no right to resist abuse, that the political institutions with protect their abusers and punish their resistance against abuse. It is because the pretended democracy under capitalism is inherently oppressive of the common working class people, and oppression breeds resistance that Amerika's political economy inevitably produces multitudes of outlaws. And it is because of this fundamental contradiction that the common people must seize and themselves control political and economic power.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, Minister of Defense, NABPP-PC



Legal Update on Mumia

January 24, 2006

Legal Update from Robert Bryan

Re: Mumia Abu-Jamal v. Martin Horn, Pennsylvania Director of Corrections

U.S. Court of Appeals Nos. 01-9014, 02-9001 (death penalty)

Dear Friends:

Last month, the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, Philadelphia, issued the most important decision affecting my client, Mumia Abu-Jamal, since his arrest nearly a quarter of a century ago. This is the first time any court has made a ruling that could lead to a new trial and his freedom. The court has accepted for review the following issues raised on federal habeas corpus and in the subsequent appeal, all of which are of great constitutional significance concerning the right to a fair trial, due process of law, and equal protection of the law under the Fifth, Sixth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution:

Claim 14: Whether appellant was denied his constitutional rights due to the prosecution's trial summation?

Claim 16: Whether the Commonwealth's use of peremptory challenges at trial violated appellant's constitutional rights under *Batson v. Kentucky*, 476 U.S. 79 (1986)?

Claim 29: Whether appellant was denied due process during post-conviction proceedings as a result of alleged judicial bias?

Claim 14 relates to the prosecutor's prejudicial argument to the jury including the comment that if convicted Mumia would have "appeal after appeal." That reduced the burden on the jurors, and

turned the concept of reasonable doubt and presumption of innocence on its head.

Claim 16 concerns the prosecutorial use of peremptory challenges to remove African-Americans from the jury. The record establishes that race is a major thread that has run throughout this case since Mumia's 1981 arrest.

Claim 29 is about the bias and racism of the trial judge, Albert Sabo. Evidence was discovered in recent years through a courageous court stenographer, who overheard the judge say during a trial recess that he was "going to help 'em fry the n****r."

Another issue under consideration by the federal court, Claim 25, pertains to the death penalty. It addresses whether the death judgment can stand due to an unfair jury instruction. *Mills v. Maryland*, 486 U.S. 367 (1988).

The case is now moving rapidly. The court has issued a schedule for extensive briefing, with the first brief to be filed by the prosecution. The District Attorney made a 30-day extension-of-time request, which has been granted, so its initial brief is now due on February 16. The complicated briefing process will go through the spring. Then we will present oral argument before a three-judge panel in the U.S. Court of Appeals.

This is a giant step in our effort to secure a new and fair trial for Mumia. Our goal is to win in this life-and-death struggle and see him walk out of jail a free person. However, we must not forget that Mumia remains in enormous danger. If the case is lost, he will die in the execution chamber.

Thank you for your concern and support in this campaign for justice.

Cordially yours,

Robert R. Bryan
Lead counsel for Mumia Abu-Jamal

Master Plan

by: Nantambu Lumumba

From the NPVM website

Prisons are a part of a "Master Plan," that is designed and directed against New Afrikans and people of color. In the 1960's, in nearly every prison throughout the United States, the New Afrikan population was five, ten or 20%, with the exception of a few southern states, such as Mississippi, Alabama and Georgia. Now prisons all over Amerikkka are full of new Afrikans. There has been a diametrical change in the racial make up of the population or prisons, exactly opposite of what it was 25 years ago. Now New Afrikans are 60, 70 or even 80 and 90 % of the prison population, totally out of proportion with the percentage of New Afrikans in the general population of society.

Why is this? The starting point to answering this question is the fact that the racist white power structure of this society, who has carefully studied the manufactured nature of New Afrikan people, will so easily and quickly adapt to captivity. For four hundred years in this kkkountry, New Afrikans, our culture, and our physical and psychological behavior

patterns, have been put under the microscope, and the power structure has determined that New Afrikan people will so complacently adjust to, accept, and in some cases appreciate prison life.

Prisons have become an enterprise. It is more profitable to have New Afrikans and people of color behind bars, rather than walking the streets, demanding jobs that are reserved for white society. Prisons have become so profitable that many large corporations, such as Goldman Sachs and Company, Prudential Insurance, Smith Barney Shearson Corporation and Merrill Lynch, are investing in prisons. These companies are underwriting prison construction bonds. Westinghouse Electric Company, Minnesota Mining Company, and Alliant Techsystems are adapting and selling their technology to fight crime. It must be recognized that the existing prison system, as a big business, is making people of color and the poor their largest commodity. The reality is that incarceration is not just the exploitation of New Afrikans, but part of the "Master Plan" of complete modern day genocide of Afrikan people.

So, this government (which is the racist white power structure regardless of the color of the skin) initiated legal policies and statutes through legislative acts of Congress, under the guise of the "War on Drugs" in order to in motion the "Master Plan" that we see at work now (sweeping thousands of young New Afrikan men and women off the streets and into crowded prison kkkamps). The "War on Drugs" has a more compact meaning; it means that the U.S. Constitution, in time of "War," is suspended.

At one time in the legal history of this kkkountry one could merely prove that his/her constitutional rights were violated and justice would demand that he/she receive redress. But now constitutional violation is not quite enough. There are technicalities involved in the law that makes it almost impossible to receive justice. The whole purpose of prisons nowadays is to isolate, exploit and eliminate by any means necessary.

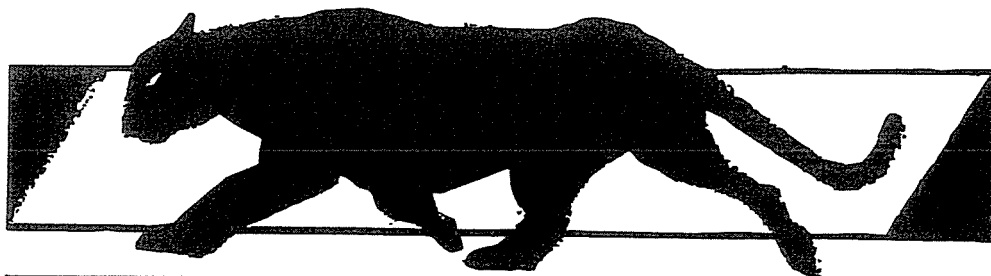
If we are going to be successful in overcoming obstacles that constantly confront us, we are going to have to start forming united fronts and establish bases of support through which we can collectively support each other and combat enemy aggression.

Those who are reading this article, I'm asking for your help and support to fight in the kkkolonial arena that's founded on racist politics and white supremacy. I also request that you become involved in or with the prison struggle. Strength is ours and victory is only certain when guided by the people. If there is no resistance to downpression, there will be no progress towards revolution to overthrow Babylon. All power to those who don't fear freedom! Let's be up and doing!□

**"Education is our passport to the future.
For tomorrow belongs to people who
prepare for it today."**

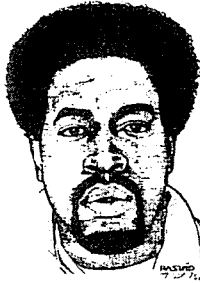
- Malcolm X

**New Panther Vanguard Movement - International
Panther Headquarters
1470 Martin Luther King Blvd. Los Angeles, CA 90062
phone: (323) 296-4383**



NEW-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

How To Apply Aspects Of It In Amerika



by Chairman Shaka S. Zulu

Reprinted from Right On!, No. #6

"The more i studied, the more critical i became of the political education (PE) program in the Party. There were three different political education classes: community clases, classes for BPP cadre, and PE classes for Panther Leadership. In community classes, Panthers explained the ten-point program and the general objectives and, philosophy of the BPP as well as various articles that appeared in the Black Panther newspaper. As far as i was concerned, these were the best PE classes the party ever gave. If the teachers were good, the classes were interesting and fun." — ASSATA, *An Autobiography*, by Assata Shakur

"One looks in vain for a political/radical or revolutionary perspective that survives in Hilliard's book [This Side of Glory], and in its stead one finds the author promoting the ten steps to sobriety from Alcoholics Anonymous rather than the socially dynamic ten-point Black Panther Party program, which cries out for implementation almost thirty years later..

"People flee to drink or drugs to escape the torturous conditions that daily plague and devalue black life in this world. The very conditions that gave rise to the party in the 1960s — brutal cops, racist courts, ineffective education, joblessness, and the like — still plague our people to this day. A few black, largely powerless politicians pose no solution. We still have far to go." — *Live from Death Row*, Mumia Abu-Jamal

"Poor people need political power, not Dashikis. Black capitalism will not free black people. It is capitalism which has made them poor." — Emory Douglas

New Democratic Revolution is a two-stage process in building towards revolutionary socialist government and society in a colonial or neo-colonially oppressed country. New Afrikan Black Panther Party members must bend, twist and elongate the orthodox definition in relationship to preparing for proletarian revolution within the confines of imperialist centers that house colonized national groupings, and internal colonies. Our situation is unique, but aspects of the fundamental principles of New Democratic Revolution do apply.

The essence of New Democratic Revolution (NDR) is anti-imperialism and anti-capitalism and sweeping away the pre-capitalist socio-economic relations to clear the way for socialist revolution; that is the heart of New Democratic Revolution. It is bourgeois-democratic revolution being carried out under proletarian leadership.

As the bourgeoisie have become thoroughly reactionary under imperialism, they are no longer capable of carrying forward liberal-

democratic revolution and instead become the main prop of surviving pre-capitalist forms of exploitation and socio-economic relations. Examples of this are the propping up of monarchies in Kuwait and Nepal and warlords in Afghanistan.

Following the Civil War in the United States, which was a continuation of the liberal democratic Revolution of 1776, the rising monopoly capitalist class reneged on the promise to redistribute the land-holdings of the former slave-owners and provide the former slaves with 40 acres and a mule, which would have made them independent farmers. Instead, they imposed conditions amounting to feudalism, re-subordinating them to the former slave-owners as tenant farmers and allowing their newly-won democratic rights to be taken away by KKK terror and "Jim Crow" segregation laws.

Thus Black people in the Black Belt South became an internal colony of the United States under Third World-like conditions. Only in the later part of the 20th Century did this break down with the Civil Rights Movement, following a mass migration of Black people from the deep South to industrial centers in the North and West to become proletarians.

But even under these changed conditions, white racism and segregation continued to shape a New Afrikan Nation to which Black skin was the only criteria for membership. The Civil Rights movement was a continuation of liberal democratic revolution, but the white and rising Black bourgeois leadership were determined to only let it go so far. The Black bourgeoisie desired their inclusion in the U.S. bourgeoisie and some upward mobility for the Black middle class, but the Black masses were left in pretty much the same situation of both national and class oppression.

A revolutionary Black Nationalist Movement, of which the original Black Panther Party (BPP) was the principle force, emerged to lead the struggle of the oppressed Black masses. The BPP was inspired by both earlier Black nationalists, like Malcolm X, and revolutionary communists, like Mao Tse-tung.

Mao Tse-tung invented the theory of New Democratic Revolution in leading the Chinese people to throw off the yoke of imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and the remnants of feudalism. As the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie was co-opted by foreign imperialism, it fell to the advanced detachment of the proletariat to give leadership the national liberation struggle and liberal democratic revolution.

So taking into consideration that Mao was principally speaking about 3rd world national liberation movements, and the strategy of people's war being based in the country side and slowly working to surround the cities — does not take away the essence of New Democratic Revolution, which is anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist:

"The New democratic-revolution is a part of the world proletarian-socialist revolution for it resolutely opposes imperialism, i.e., international capitalism. Politically, it strives for the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes over imperialists, traitors and reactionaries... economically, it aims at the nationalization of all the big enterprises and capital of the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries..." – Mao Tse-tung

Again, anti-colonial movements built their organizations in the countryside, with the masses of peasants constituting the *main force* of national liberation revolution, but the *leading force* of the revolution consisted of an advanced detachment of the working class – a proletarian vanguard party.

Under the strategy of NDR, the proletarian party builds and leads a united front of all democratic classes, including elements of the national bourgeoisie (even though they may only be vacillating allies), with the peasantry being the main ally of the proletariat.

Third world nations still dominated by imperialist, traitors and reactionaries with a predominantly agricultural set-up must stick stubbornly to the orthodox method on how to develop and lead a New Democratic Revolution, or else they will face inevitably the cold hard facts of bourgeois betrayal in the towns and cities populated with members of the nation that have closely allied themselves with imperialist monopoly capitalism:

"The national bourgeoisie and bourgeois intellectuals are vacillating and unstable allies for the democratic revolution. They sometimes support the revolution, sometimes oppose it and even betray the revolution on some occasions. They have a dual nature. As such, it is necessary to build a democratic front with all these classes under the leadership of the proletariat in order to carry out the New Democratic Revolution to its completion." – Quoted From The Programme of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

The fundamental contradictions in all 3rd world oppressed nations are between feudalism and the masses; between imperialism and the nation; between capital and labor; and the internal contradictions among the native ruling circle. These contradictions can only be resolved by stubbornly sticking to orthodox New Democratic Revolution.

A schematic list of countries currently undergoing New Democratic Revolution in their own words:

India: "In the present era of imperialism and proletarian revolution, imperialism is heading towards total collapse and socialism is advancing towards world wide victory. Therefore, after the New Democratic Revolution, the Indian revolution will advance into the stage of Socialist Revolution. Then a socialist state will be established under the leadership of the proletariat." – From The Programme of the Communist Party of India (Maoist)

Peru: "Here we stand as flesh and blood of the people and fighting in these trenches, that are also trenches for combat. This we do, because we are communist! Because here, we also defend the interests of the people, the principles of the Party, and the People's War. That is what we have done, what we are doing, and what we will continue to do!" – From Chairman Gonzalo, Communist Party of Peru

Philippines: "The Communist Party of the Philippines is the advanced detachment of the proletariat, which is the leading class in the Philippine revolution. The vanguard role of the proletariat is absolutely necessary in order to

carry out the Philippine revolution in two distinct but continuous stages: new democratic and socialist." – From the Directive of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee to All Units and Members of the Party.

We could list more, but essentially revolutionaries in 3rd world nations must proceed from the backward rural areas, creating zones of operations and extending them to wider areas, "from solitary places to populated areas, and to extensive areas from small areas, establishing base areas one after another and gradually encircling the cities and finally seizing political power and achieving nation-wide victory. This is the strategy of protracted people's war."

Our struggle here must take a different form because of the very different circumstances. The New Democratic aspect of our struggle must inevitably be a prelude to a general proletarian uprising to make socialist revolution.

"Racial discrimination in the United States is a product of the colonialist and imperialist system. The contradiction between the Black masses in the United States and the U.S. ruling circles is a class contradiction. Only by overthrowing the reactionary rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class and destroying the colonialist and imperialist system can the Black people in the United States win complete emancipation. The Black masses and the masses of white working people in the United States have common interests and common objectives to struggle for. Therefore, the Afro-American struggle is winning sympathy and support from increasing numbers of white working people and progressives in the United States. The struggle of the Black people in the United States is bound to merge with the American workers' movement, and this will eventually end the criminal rule of the U.S. monopoly capitalist class." – Mao Tse-tung

"The evil system of colonialism and imperialism grew on along with the enslavement of the Negroes and the trade in Negroes; it will surely come to its end with the thorough emancipation of the black people." – Mao Tse-tung

NEO-LIBERALISM UNDER ATTACK IN LATIN AMERICA

Okay, Venezuela is not totally seizing all bourgeois property and must one day have to face the lessons accrued from the Allende socialist government in Chile, which sought a compromise with its ruling class – leaving in place sections of ruling class dominance over Chile's superstructure – which ended up crushing the infant experiment in democratic socialism with the help of U.S. imperialism.

No revolutionary leader, and especially a new government with proletarian socialist principles and aspirations, can afford to underestimate people's power or the power of U.S. imperialism. Revolutionaries must always and everywhere rely on the masses to defend the revolution and the country's national resources and borders at all times.

But I think what we have in Venezuela has aspects of New Democratic Revolution being given play under what Hugo Chavez has labeled "21st Century Socialism." Venezuela is now being prepared, hopefully, for complete and total socialist transformation by nationalization of its oil industries (means of production), which were in the hands of western monopoly capitalism. It is still at the first stage of proletarian New Democratic Revolution. According to Chairman Mao Tse-tung:

"The New-type of democratic revolution clears the way for capitalism on the one hand and creates the prerequisites for socialism on the other."

So while the new-type of democratic revolution skims the surface of confiscation of all of the means of production from ruling and comprador bourgeois class forces, *it nevertheless is* taking progressive steps in liberating the masses from human alienation and the agony of day to day poverty by establishing new democratic human and civil rights enshrined in social justice laws, (i.e. Venezuela's new Bolivarian Constitution which was subjected to a national vote in which 70% percent of the people approved of it, on December 15, 1999.)

80% percent of the people – that vast sea of humanity living outside the national economy of Venezuela for forty (40) years – finally recovered it balance and stood up to two (2) bourgeois parties (Accion Democratica and the Christian Democrat COPEI) that used Venezuela's oil to line their own pockets and those of their monopoly capitalist allies and sponsors – now had to face the angry wrath of people's power – which they detest and hate.

According to their capitalist ethic, the people must do as they say: obey, obey and evermore obey!

The Bolivarian Constitution's new social laws consist of: state supplied health care, free education, a minimum wage, social security (this include stay at home mothers or fathers too). The Constitution forbids privatization of resources and health care, foreign military bases, nuclear weapons, and the death penalty. Here, we find the essence of New Democratic Revolution at a stage that eventually must carry-over into full blown socialism, if it is not overthrown by imperialism first.

In leading New Democratic Revolutions, it important to keep in mind the totality of socialist revolution. Our Party must be cognizant of this crucial point and resolutely oppose any attempts by other classes to divert and mislead the revolution. This simply means that our political line is everything, for it correctly grasps the difference between people's revolution and the swamp of reformism promoted by the imperialists, traitors and reactionaries, domestically and internationally. What is our political line? The Mass Line: "From the masses to the masses" is the line of our party. Our line can be summed up this way: "We are nothing without the people!"

Our task is to bring the Science of Revolution (Historical and Dialectical Materialism) to the masses and arm them with it, to be teachers and not bosses over the people; to be their servants and support them in their struggles; to share their lives and help them develop survival programs to meet their needs; to be their warriors!

Since we do not have a revolutionary situation on our hands right now, we must nevertheless work resolutely and tirelessly and courageously to advance our form of New Democratic Revolution in the huge steel cities of U.S. imperialism by developing base areas of cultural, social and political revolution that will generate a desire in the people for socialist state power, socialist culture and political economy.

How do we do this? By putting into practice our line and general strategy of: "Turn the Iron Houses of Oppression into Schools of Liberation, and the Oppressed Communities into Base Areas of Cultural, Social and Political Revolution." Everywhere Black people are concentrated, there are common problems; poverty, hunger, police oppression, illiteracy, unemployment, disease, crime, homelessness, hopelessness, mental illness and fear.

We can only address these things by strictly adhering to our Ten Point Program and Platform, which should serve as our relationship with the masses always and everywhere. When we are out doing political work – Our Free Breakfast for Children; Combating Aids; Serving Overall Health Care and Public Health; Assisting Prisoners and their Families and War and Disaster Refugees; Developing our

Intercommunal News Service; Campaigning for Abolition of the Racist Death Penalty and Amending the 13th Amendment; and in general Building the United Front Against Imperialism, these are all aspects of our unique application of New Democratic Revolution.

The Party must look upon the oppressed communities within the huge cities of Amerika as our base areas and liberate these internal colonies. And as we build our Party, it is incumbent on us to stress to all our members that we must work with other Black formations, whether revolutionary or not, to Serve The People. What do I mean by this? As long as we maintain independence and initiative, there is no contradiction in working with Black bourgeois and petty-bourgeois elements who have a reformist agenda around specific issues and aims that advance our strategy. In doing this, we make it more easy for us to unite the left, win over the middle and isolate the right.

We must not forsake any opportunity to explain the Party's Ten-Point Program to the masses. When we talk about education to youth and parents, we can relate to them number five of the Ten-Point Program:

"We want decent education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want an education that teaches us our true history and role in present-day society."

"We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of the self. If you do not have knowledge of yourself and your position in the society and in the world, then you will have little chance to know anything else."

We must always remember that poor people do not respond to words alone, so we have to show in practice that we mean what we say and are willing to put our lives on the line to bring the aims and goals of our Ten-Point Program, which are the people's desires and needs, into reality. Comrade Huey P. Newton put it this way:

"The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses know that the party exist. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party."

We now have before us a methodology to advance our form of New Democratic Revolution. We move from the simple task speaking with people to a higher level of organizing them for revolution.

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! SEIZE THE TIME!

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Chairman Shaka S. Zulu

Editorial: Shine the Light on the Oppressor



by Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu
Reprinted from Right On!, No. # 5

The racist, capitalist power structure wants to murder Hasan Shakur, the Party's Minister of Human Rights; they also want to murder Mumia Abu-Jamal, the elder Panther who speaks out from Death Row in Pennsylvania for the inarticulate and brutalized souls of Black folks and oppressed people and communities everywhere. Death by the State is nothing more or less than warfare against the poor intended to stifle the defenseless people struggling to survive under conditions of capitalist exploitation, brutality and social inequality.

More and more the people are waking up, and for this we must thank the imperialist monopoly capitalist and their hired flunkies who make up our government, military, and police. Their bombs and bullets, invasions of oppressed countries and neighborhoods, and documented brutality and torture are waking people up! Stealing elections and lying to the people, awarding fat contracts to their cronies and doing nothing when people are being drowned by floods or gouged by oil companies.

The people now identify the Neo-Cons as blatant fascists and the Neo-Liberals as subtle ones. This is a start for us. We must not miss an opportunity to deepen the masses consciousness or fan the flames of their discontent, and expose the true face of the political-economic system of exploitation and oppression that rules over us and which must be swept aside so that humanity can advance to a higher level of social development.

Watch out oppressors! You and your technologies of death are not stronger than organized, proletarian, people's power. We are hip to your bag of tricks and how you deceived our people in the past. We will not be put off by your endorsed "Black" spokesmen and "spin doctors" with their promises of trite and meaningless concessions. In fact, the only concession that the people want is for you to hit town by sundown —no more, no less!

Get this through yo' head: This wave of revolutionaries cannot be defeated by any imaginative ways your brutal and crafty minds can devise. We have learned from the past and are ready for the future. We are one with the people and won't be divided from them. We have cast away illusions and idealism.

That is why the Party calls upon the People to arm themselves with the Science of Revolution (Historical & Dialectical Materialism). It is right to put this weapon in the hands of the People; it is right for us to put our faith in the People; they are the makers of history!

The Party does not like guns, bullets and fire fights. We are not adventurers and we are not posers. But we know that your political power grows out of the barrel of a gun. And in order to do away with the gun factories, bullet production plants and the violence that plagues our communities, the People must seize state power, confiscate the means of production and suppress fascist counter-revolutionaries.

Only with the complete transition from capitalism to socialism will it be possible to finally put down the gun. Socialism will make imperialist wars of aggression, criminal gangsterism and the daily haze of gunfire and bullets, and the pain of victimization, prison and the death penalty things of the past.

The new society will be based upon social justice and equality. The People will themselves decide! Step by step we will struggle to advance society to eliminate the need for a State altogether and to reach the point where each contributes according to their abilities and receives according to their needs, where there is no poverty or discrimination.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!



Axioms of Kwame Nkrumah

"What is Black Power? By Black Power we mean the power of the four-fifths of the world population which has been systematically damned into a state of underdevelopment by colonialism and neo-colonialism. In other words, Black Power is the sum total of the economic, cultural and political power which the black man must have in order to achieve his survival in a highly developed technical society, and in a world ravaged by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and fascism."

"All people of African descent, whether they live in North or South America, the Caribbean, or in any part of the world are Africans and belong to the African nation."

"The freedom and development of the African woman are indispensable to the freedom and emancipation of the African people."

"Go to the People. Live among them. Learn from them. Love them. Serve them. Plan with them. Start with what they know. Build on what they have."

"History is the memory of a people, if correctly presented it can help the people choose the proper strategic routes to resolve the issues inherent in powerlessness and marginalization."

"We have the resources to create a better life for our people. What we need is widespread conviction in the correctness of our ideology, the will

and the effort to mobilise our intellectual, social and material resources in dynamic effort to establish the just and prosperous society."

"So many blessings flow from our unity, so many disasters must follow our continued disunity, that our failure today will not be attributed by posterity only to faulty reasoning and lack of courage, but to our CAPITULATION before the forces of neo-colonialism and imperialism."

"Experts have estimated that the Congo Basin alone can produce enough food crops to satisfy the requirements of nearly HALF the population of the whole world and here we sit talking about regionalism, talking about gradualism, talking about step by step. Are you afraid to tackle the bull by the horn?"

"Freedom is not a commodity which is 'given' to the enslaved upon demand. It is a precious reward, the shining trophy of struggle and sacrifice."

"We Must Organize as never before, for organization decides everything."

"A Revolutionary fails only if he/she surrenders."

"Time is on the side of the masses, and nothing can permanently frustrate their ultimate fulfilment."

"There is no force, however formidable that a united people cannot overcome."

"The secret of life is to have no fear."

"Capitalism is but the gentlemen's method of slavery."

"Political power is the inescapable prerequisite to economic and social power."

"The Degree of a country's revolutionary awareness may be measured by the political maturity of its women."

"Africa wants her freedom, AFRICA MUST BE FREE, It is a simple call, but it is also a signal lighting a red warning to those who would tend to ignore it."

"Real Black freedom will only come when Africa is politically united. it is only then that the Black man will be free to breathe, the air of freedom, which is his to breathe, in any part of the world."

"No man is born a criminal, society makes him so, and the only way to change things is to change the social conditions."

"It is my deep conviction that all peoples wish to be free, and that the desire for freedom is rooted in the soul of everyone of us."

"When all is said and done, it is the so-called little man, the bent-backed, exploited, malnourished, blood-covered fighter for independence who decides, and he invariably decides for freedom."

"Neo-colonialism has no permanent friends, its only companions are its own interests."

"Let us remember always that in the final analysis the masses are the final arbiter. They will always choose freedom and justice, as against oppression and corruption."

"The people's armed struggle, the highest form of political action, is a revolutionary catalyst in the neo-colonialist situation."

"It has often been said that Africa is poor, what nonsense! It is not Africa that is poor, it is the Africans, who are impoverished by centuries of exploitation and domination."

"Africa is clearly fragmented into too many small, uneconomic and non-viable states, many of whom are having a very hard struggle to survive."

"I do not know of any greater satisfaction than honest and efficient service rendered to the people in the best interest of all the people."

"The people are the makers of history and it is they who, in the final analysis, win or lose wars."

"Our war is not a war of conquest, it is a war of revolutionary liberation, we fight not only in self-defence but to free, unite and reconstruct."

"Africa is a paradox which illustrates and highlights neo-colonialism. Her earth is rich, yet the products that come from above and below the soil continue to enrich, not Africans predominantly, but groups and individuals who operate to Africa's impoverishment."

"We are today the richest and yet the poorest of continents, but in unity our continent could smile in a new era of prosperity and power."

"If we do not formulate plans for unity and take active steps to form political union, we will soon be fighting and warring among ourselves with the imperialists and colonialist standing behind the screen and pulling vicious wires, to make us cut each other's throats for the sake of their diabolical purposes in Africa."

"It is far easier for the proverbial camel to pass through the needle's eye, hump and all, than for an erstwhile colonial administration to give sound and honest counsel of a political nature to its liberated territory."

"The fully-trained guerilla is armed both ideologically and physically for the revolutionary struggle. The tactics of guerilla warfare rest in the main with him or her. With the support of the masses, and with unified direction of the revolutionary party, she or he is invincible."

"The Black Power movement in the U.S.A., and the struggles of peoples of African descent in the Caribbean, South America and elsewhere, form an integral part of the African politico-military revolutionary struggle. Our victory will be their victory also and the victory of all the revolutionary, oppressed and exploited masses of the world."

"It must be understood that liberation movements in Africa, the struggle of Black power in America or in any other part of the world, can only find consummation in the political unification of Africa, the home of the Black man and people of African descent throughout the world."

"Black power is a part of the world rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, of the exploited against the exploiter. It operates throughout the African continent, in North and South America, the Caribbean, and wherever African and people of Africa descent live. It is linked with the Pan-African struggle for unity on the African continent, and with all those who strive to establish a socialist society. The Civil Rights movement did not speak for the needs of the African-American masses. Black power gives the African-American an entirely new dimension. It is a vanguard movement of Black people, but it opens the way for all oppressed masses."

"The masses of the people of Africa are crying for unity."□

'Indict the social system!'

By Angelo Herndon

Angelo Herndon was an African American communist organizer. He was arrested and charged with "insurrection" in 1932 after organizing poor and unemployed Blacks and whites in Atlanta, Georgia. In his defense, Herndon spoke at length to the all-white, all-male jury. He talked of uniting workers of different races to fight against a common enemy—capitalism.

The jury found Herndon guilty. Even so, they recommended mercy. Herndon was sentenced to 18 to 20 years in prison. However, he was released in 1934, after his case drew significant international support and attention.

Socialism and Liberation publishes Herndon's "Speech to the Jury" to honor the heroic struggles of African Americans for justice and equality in the U.S.

Gentlemen of the jury: I would like to explain in detail the nature of my case and the reason why I was locked up. I recall back about the middle of June 1932, when the Relief Agencies of the City of Atlanta, the County Commission and the city government as a whole, were cutting both Negro and white workers off relief. We all know that there were citizens who suffered from unemployment. There were hundreds and thousands of Negroes and whites who were each day looking for work, but in those days there was no work to be found.

The Unemployment Council, which has connection with the Unemployed Committees of the United States, after 23,000 families had been dropped from the relief rolls, started to organize the Negro and white workers of Atlanta on the same basis, because we know that their interests are the same.

The Unemployment Council understood that in order to get relief, both races would have to organize together and forget about the question

whether those born with a white skin are "superior" and those born with a black skin are "inferior." They both were starving and the capitalist class would continue to use this weapon to keep them further divided.

The policy of the Unemployment Council is to organize Negroes and whites together on the basis of fighting for unemployment relief and unemployment insurance at the expense of the state.

The Unemployment Council of Atlanta issued those leaflets after the relief had been cut off, which meant starvation for thousands of people here in Atlanta. The leaflets called upon the Negro and white workers to attend a meeting at the courthouse building on a Thursday morning. I forget the exact date.

This action was initiated as the result of statements handed out to the local press by County Commissioners who said that there was nobody in the City of Atlanta starving, and if there were, those in need should come to the offices of the Commissioners and the matter would be looked into. That statement was made by Commissioner Hendrix.

The Unemployment Council pointed out in its circulars that there were thousands of unemployed workers in the City of Atlanta who faced hunger and starvation. Therefore, they were called upon to demonstrate in this courthouse building, about the middle part of June.

When the Committee came down to the courthouse, it so happened that Commissioner Hendrix was not present that morning. There were un-employed white women with their babies almost naked and without shoes to go on their feet, and there were also Negro women with their little babies actually starving for the need of proper nourishment, which had been denied them by the county of Fulton and State of Georgia and City of Atlanta as well.

Well, the Negro and white workers came down to the Commissioners' office to show that there was starvation in the City of Atlanta and that they were in actual need of food and proper nourishment for their kids, which they never did receive.

I think Commissioner Stewart was in the office at that time. The white workers were taken into his room and the Negroes had the door shut in their faces. This was done with the hope of creating racial animosity in order that they would be able to block the fight that the Negro and white workers were carrying on—a determined fight to get relief.

The white workers were told: "Well, the county hasn't any money and of course, you realize the depression and all that but we haven't got the money." We knew that the county did have money but they were using it for their own interest, and not for the interest of the Negro workers or white workers, either way.

They talked to the white workers some considerable time, but when the white workers came out, they had just about as much results as the Negroes did—only a lot of hot air blown over them by the Commissioners, which didn't put any shoes on their little babies' feet and no milk in their stomachs to give them proper nourishment. No one disputed the fact they did keep the Negroes on the outside, but the white workers were in the same condition that their Negro brothers were in.

In spite of the fact that the County Commissioners had published statements to the effect that there was no money in the county treasury to provide unemployment relief for the Negro and white workers, still the next day after the demonstration the County Commissioners voted \$6,000 for relief, mainly because it was shown that for the first time in the history of Atlanta and the State of Georgia, Negro and white workers did join together and did go to the Commissioners and demand unemployment insurance.

Have not they worked in the City of Atlanta, in different industries, different shops and other industrial concerns located in Atlanta for all their years, doing this work, building up the city where it is at the present time? And now, when they were in actual need of food to hold their bodies together, and when they came before the state and county officials to demand something to hold their bodies together, they were denied it.

The policy of the Unemployment Council is to organize these workers and demand those things that are denied them. They have worked as

slaves, and are entitled to a decent living standard. And, of course, the workers will get it if you ever organize them.

Jailed for organizing the working class

After the successful demonstration, the solicitor's office had two detectives station-ed at the post office to arrest anyone who came to take mail out of box 339. On Monday, July 11, 1932, I went to the post office to get mail from this box and was arrested by detectives, Mr. Watson and Mr. Chester.

I had organized unemployed workers, Negro and white, of Atlanta, and forced the County Commissioners to kick in \$6,000 for unemployment relief. For this I was locked up in the station house and held eleven days without even any kind of charges booked against me. I was told at the station house that I was being held on "suspicion."

Of course, they knew what the charges were going to be, but in order to hold me in jail and give me the dirtiest kind of inhuman treatment that one could describe, they held me there eleven days without any charge whatsoever until my attorney filed a writ of habeas corpus demanding that they place charges against me or turn me loose.

It was about the 22nd of July, and I still hadn't been indicted. There had been three sessions of the grand jury and my case had been up before them each time, but still there was no indictment. This was a deliberate plot to hold me in jail. At the habeas corpus hearing, the judge ordered that if I wasn't indicted by the next day by 2:30, I should be released. Solicitor Hudson assured the judge that there would be an indictment, which, of course, there was.

Ever since then I have been cooped up in Fulton County Tower, where I have spent close to six months—I think the exact time was five months and three weeks. But I want to describe some of the horrible experiences that I had in Fulton Tower.

I was placed in a little cell there with a dead body and forced to live there with the dead body because I couldn't get out of the place. The man's name was William Wilson, who fought in the Spanish-American war for the American principles as we usually call it. He was there on a charge of alimony. His death came as a result of the rotten food given to all prisoners, and for the want of medical attention.

The county physician simply refused to give this man any kind of attention whatsoever. After three days of illness, he died, and I was forced to live there with him until the undertaker came and got him. These are just some of the things that I experienced in jail.

I was also sick myself. I could not eat the food they gave me as well as hundreds of other prisoners. For instance, they give you peas and beans for one dinner, and at times you probably get the same thing three times a week. You will find rocks in it, and when you crack down on it with your teeth, you don't know what it is, and you spit it out and there it is. They have turnip greens, and just as they are pulled up out of the ground and put in the pot, with sand rocks and everything else. But that's what you have to eat, otherwise you don't live.

For breakfast they feed grits that look as if they were baked instead of boiled, a little streak of grease running through them, about two strips of greasy fatback. That is the main prison fare, and you eat it or else die from starvation. I was forced to go through all of this for five months without a trial. My lawyers demanded a trial time after time, but somehow the state would always find a reason to postpone it.

'Indict the capitalist system!'

They knew that the workers of Atlanta were starving, and by arresting Angelo Herndon on a charge of attempting to incite insurrection the unity of Negro and white workers that was displayed in the demonstration that forced the County Commissioners to kick in with \$6,000 would be crushed forever. They locked Angelo Herndon up on such charges. But I can say this quite clearly, if the State of Georgia and the City of Atlanta think that by locking up Angelo Herndon, the question of unemployment will be solved, I say you are deadly wrong.

If you really want to do anything about the case, you must go out and indict the social system. I am sure that if you would do this, Angelo Herndon would not be on trial here today, but those who are really guilty of insurrection would be here in my stead. But this you will not do, for

your role is to defend the system under which the toiling masses are robbed and oppressed.

There are thousands of Negro and white workers who, because of unemployment and hunger, are organizing. If the state wants to break up this organization, it cannot do it by arresting people and placing them on trial for insurrection. Insurrection laws will not fill empty stomachs. Give the people bread. The officials knew then that the workers were in need of relief, and they know now that the workers are going to organize and get relief.

After being confined in jail for the long period of time that I have already mentioned, I was sick for several weeks. I asked for aid from the county physician and was refused that. The physician came and looked through the bars at me and said, "What's the matter with you?" I told him, "I'm sick, can't swallow water, my chest up here is tight and my stomach absolutely out of order, seems as if I am suffering with ulcers or something." He would answer, "Oh, there's nothing the matter with you, you're all right." I explained, "I know my condition. I know how I'm feeling." He said, "You will be all right." Through friends I was able to get some medicine; otherwise I would have died.

On Christmas Eve I was released. My bail was once \$3,000 but they raised it to \$5,000 and from that up to \$25,000, just in order to hold me in jail. You can hold this Angelo Herndon and hundreds of others, but it will never stop these demonstrations on the part of Negro and white workers, who demand a decent place to live in and proper food for their kids to eat.

I want to say also that the policy of the Unemployment Council is to carry on a constant fight for the rights of the Negro people. We realize that unless Negro and white workers are united together, they cannot get relief.

The capitalist class teaches race hatred to Negro and white workers and keeps it going all the time, tit for tat. The white worker running after the Negro worker and the Negro worker running after the white worker, and the capitalist becomes the exploiter and the robber of them both. We of the Unemployment Council are out to expose such things. If there were not any Negroes in the United States, somebody would have to be used as the scapegoat. There would still be a racial question, probably the Jews, or the Greeks, or somebody.

It is in the interest of the capitalist to play one race against the other, so greater profits can be realized from the working people of all races. It so happens that the Negro's skin is black, therefore making it much easier for him to be singled out and used as the scapegoat.

Class unity is the solution

No doubt some of you jurymen sitting over there in that box right now are unemployed and realize what it means to be without a job, when you tramp the streets day in and day out looking for work and can't find it. You know it is a very serious problem and the future looks so dim that you sometimes don't know what to do; you go nuts and want to commit suicide or something.

But the Unemployment Council points out to the Negro and white workers that the solution is not in committing suicide, that the solution can only be found in the unity and organization of Black and white workers. In organization the workers have strength.

Now, why do I say this? I say it because it is to the interest of the capitalist class that the workers be kept down all of the time so they can make as much profit as they possibly can. So, on the other hand, it is in the interest of Negro and white workers to get as much for their work as they can—that is, if they happen to have any work.

Unfortunately, at the present time there are millions of workers in the United States without work, and the capitalist class, the state government, city government and all other governments, have taken no steps to provide relief for those unemployed. And it seems that this question is left up to the Negro and white workers to solve, and they will solve it by organizing and demanding the right to live, a right that they are entitled to. They have built up this country, and are therefore entitled to some of the things that they have produced. Not only are they entitled to such things, but it is their right to demand them.

When the State of Georgia and the City of Atlanta raised the question of

inciting to insurrection and attempting to incite to insurrection, or attempting to overthrow the government, all I can say is, that no matter what you do with Angelo Herndon, no matter what you do with the Angelo Herndons in the future, this question of unemployment, the question of unity between Negro and white workers cannot be solved with hands that are stained with the blood of an innocent individual.

You may send me to my death, as far as I know. I expect you to do that anyway, so that's beside the point. But no one can deny these facts. The present system under which we are living today is on the verge of collapse. It has developed to its highest point and now it is beginning to shake. For instance, you can take a balloon and blow so much air in it, and when you blow too much it bursts; so with the system we are living under—of course, I don't know if that is insurrection or not!□

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And Right On!, No. #6

Amerikan Prisons are Government Sponsored Torture



By Minister of Defense NABPP-PC
Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

It's likely that many of those attending this forum don't quite relate US prisons to government-sponsored torture. To the extent that this is the case we can probably thank the mainstream media politicians. Since the 1960s and 1970s they've persistently projected the false image of US prisons to the public as resorts where criminal predators eat chips, lift weights, and watch videos all day. Much like the false images given of slavery as an experience that Black folks actually enjoyed. These false images are sustainable because the real world of prisons is a hidden one, concealed behind walls and razor wire, inaccessible to the public.

There's also a connection between prison and slavery. The plantation system actually merged with the penitentiary system after the civil war and the torture and savagery of slavery, especially beatings remained a mainstay. In fact at the end of the civil war slavery was for the first time authorized by the US constitution in the 13th amendment, which authorized the government to treat convicts as slaves. So the newly freed Blacks were simply targeted with criminal prosecutions and then placed right back into bondage to serve as contract laborers, on chain gangs, on prison plantations, etc. Today in a mad rush to find cheap labor, prisons serve as a source of free workers for corporate Amerika. But let's look at torture.

Brutality and torture is the common feature of US prisons. Nothing coming out of Guantanamo Bay or Abu Ghraib matches the images that showed the savage torture of prisoners following the Attica uprising in 1971. And what about California's Corcoran state prison where guards set up fights between prisoners, gambled on the outcomes and then shot the prisoners for fighting. Some 43 were shot and 8 killed just between 1989 and 1994. Others were shot and killed with no justification. These are documented situations.

Sexual abuse by officials in US prisons is prevalent. There has long been a nationwide scandal surrounding women prisoners being raped by male guards. Then there's the sexual humiliations attendant to

abusive strip searches, which often go along with verbal abuse. This all exacerbated by complete denial of voluntary heterosexual relations. And there's a genocidal component to this and the vast targeting of virile aged youth of color for imprisonment where they cease to be able to reproduce and is an environment where HIV, AIDS, and Hepatitis abounds.

There's a higher grade of torture. After World War II western governments established an aversion to physical torture, which they embodied in their newly established United Nations, its charters and treaties. This was brought on by the outrages of Nazi Germany tortures and experiments of its own white citizens: Jews, Slavs, Gypsies, the disabled, the dissidents, etc. On account of this, the newly established CIA became very interested in developing less physically evident methods of mentally breaking enemies and brainwashing. As a result, the CIA and the Defense Department financed several studies with Harvard University and National Institute of Mental Health Psychologists and psychiatrists.

These studies led to breakthrough developments in the art of torture that focused primarily on psychological methods but produced revolutionary effects never before seen under physical torture. What the CIA learned was that states of mental disorder, collapse, capitulation, and psychosis could be produced in a victim by use of seemingly harmless and benign methods. Namely sensory deprivations and self-inflicted pain, coupled with attacks on cultural sensitivities and personal problems.

Sensory deprivation alone proved effective and tortuously traumatic to its victims. As one CIA researcher Dr. Donald Mebb discovered, "the effect of isolation on the brain function of the prisoner is much like that which occurs if he is beaten, starved, or maybe deprived of sleep." He found that normal brain function was severely impaired if a person is deprived of the complex sensory stimulation of normal social environments. In fact, the Harvard psychiatrists found that "sensory deprivation can produce major mental and behavioral changes in man," and will produce psychosis more naturally and consistently than drugs and physical torture.

The CIA embodied the findings of these studies in its 1963 torture manual "Kubark Counterintelligence Interrogation," where it confirmed that:

1. the deprivation of sensory stimuli induces stress;
2. the stress becomes unbearable for most subjects;
3. the subject has a growing need for physical and social stimuli; and
4. some subjects progressively lose touch with reality, focus inwardly, and produce delusions, hallucinations, and other pathological effects.

The second feature of mental torture the CIA developed was self-inflicted pain, where the victim was caused to remain in physically and mentally painful positions and conditions, which he is told will end upon his own cooperation with his captors. This causes the victim to feel he is the cause of his own pain, thus making him the master of his fate. So long as he resists, he will suffer, but as soon as he cooperates his sufferings will instantly stop.

The last two methods, which were later developed, were to target the victim's cultural sensitivities and personal phobias. Such as the practices of destroying a Muslim detainee's Quran or flushing it, forcing him to commit acts that violate his religion, exposing him to animals he fears like dogs, etc.

These four techniques were apparent in the photographic images coming out of Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo Bay: prisoners hooded and goggled and gloved to shut out sensory stimulation, or attacks on senses such as with loud noise and music; forced to remain in painful positions (kneeling and standing at length, forced to keep arms outstretched) etc. Those who saw the images of those combined techniques saw nothing alarming because there was no evidence of physically damaging brutality. However all who have made expert analyses comparing psychological and physical torture have unanimously found mental torture the worst kind of torture, because it causes more severe mental damage, is hard to prove, and its effects last longer.

But what many who saw those images coming out of the US military prisons also did not recognize was they were a stark reflection of conditions and practices inside prisons across Amerika.

The Amerikan reformers who first devised the penitentiary believed that criminals could be "reformed" through solitary confinement, labor and deprivation. This began at Philadelphia's Eastern State Penitentiary in the 1820s. What was actually discovered was that the conditions of sensory deprivation in isolation caused psychosis and mental deterioration. Leading writers like Charles Dickens and Charles Darwin, upon touring the penitentiary, spoke out against its conditions of mental torture. The US Supreme court ultimately ruled such solitary confinement mentally destructive and outlawed it in the 1990s. The practice, along with physical brutality, still persisted.

The brutalities of the US prison system became public knowledge in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of the activism and literature of a broad prison movement, and eloquent writings like those of George L. Jackson, Field Marshall of the Black Panther Party. Prisoners' views were being widely published and the Attica uprising exposed in shocking images the oppression and brutalities of Amerika's prisons.

The official response was to suppress prisoner literature, eliminate or restrict college and writing courses, to outlaw prisoners' profiting from their writings and eliminating prisoner-oriented media. This effectively silenced prisoners and allowed officials and the corporate media to rage a racist campaign to downsize their image, to eliminate public awareness and support. It was a struggle to win the minds and hearts of the people. Meantime measures were taken to kill the revolutionary activist spirit of prisoners. Only months after Attica, the US prison at Marion, Illinois opened up the nation's first control unit within which torture became institutionalized.

Marion's former warder Ralph Arons stated in federal court "the purpose of the Marion control unit is to control revolutionary attitudes in the prison system and in society at large." Note his emphasis on mere thoughts of fundamental change not actions, and not only inside the prisons, but also society at large. But Amerika denies political imprisonment or persecution of political dissidents and opponents. Since Marion opened in 1972, control units and supermaxes have swept the country, with torture of detainees along the lines of the CIA model as their main feature.

Indeed in a 1990's lawsuit brought by prisoners at California's Pelican Bay prison, it was found by an expert Harvard psychiatrist, Dr. Stuart Grassian, that 80% of the prisoners whom he'd studied that were contained to Pelican Bay's control unit suffered mental injury of psychosis as a result of sensory deprivation. He handed over a detailed report of his findings to federal and state officials. Their response was to lobby for and push through the 1996 Prison Litigation Reform Act, which in part bars prisoners from suing about conditions that cause mental injury unless they can show that those conditions caused a prior physical injury. Mental torture by definition produces no injury pre-existing a mental one. So the courts and legislature have, in effect, given prison officials license to torture.

All US supermaxes and control units practice sensory deprivation: isolation and solitary confinement 23.5 hours per day, minimal human interaction, limited property access, etc. Self-inflicted pain is also common practice in control units. Prisoners are routinely shackled and handcuffed or restrained to cell bunks in cramped and uncomfortable positions without meals and left to urinate and defecate on themselves and lie in it for hours to days, they're left with minimal or no clothing in cold, bare cells, subjected to destroyed or denied property, meals and privileges like exercise and showers, or forced to remain indefinitely in control units until they decide to cooperate with officials, cease a pattern of disagreeable conduct, abandon or snitch on political or gang affiliations, etc. They're also housed next to prisoners with mental disorders or who guards incite that scream, rant, bang, flood, throw body waste, etc. (sensory shock). They are made to feel that their discomfort is their own fault for failing to cooperate and will cease upon their finally giving in.

Attacks on their cultural sensitivities and personal phobias is the norm also, especially in that most of the control units are located in rural white populated areas whereas the prisoners are primarily urban people of color. This condition of itself creates cultural shock. Prisoners' senses of masculinity and heterosexuality are routinely targeted with homosexually suggestive strip searches by guards accompanied by

demeaning and provocative remarks, etc.

While seemingly benign, this combination of psychological techniques has proven revolutionary in its consistency in driving its victims to either give in or decline into acute psychosis. I have personally witnessed this result in those confined in supermax prisons with me. The rate of attempted and successful suicides is unprecedented in this environment. I've witnessed four attempts in my own 22-bed unit in less than two months—two in one night.

Most of those who've endured supermax confinement for a year or more I've observed a distinct regression into paranoia, irrationality, grandiose and persecutory delusions, childish attention-seeking behavior, reduced impulse control, hyper-sexuality, loss of ability to concentrate or maintain organized thoughts, compulsive searches for stimulation and attention, etc. Many decline to eating and smearing feces on themselves and their cells, rambling to themselves, screeching and ranting day and night, throwing feces on others (especially other prisoners under guard encouragements), etc. All are simply left untreated except for being prescribed anti-psychotic drugs that further damage the brain and have dangerous side effects, which many don't take. All are treated by guards with violence, abuse and disciplinary measures: most often being left property-less indefinitely in empty cells—further sensory deprivation.

So what's occurring in these prisons is treatments of US prisoners which have been developed for use against so-called enemy combatants whom the US government admits have no political rights in its eyes.

Not only do I witness these methods and their sobering and heart-rending results on the humyn psyche, but I have been and am a victim of them. My only advantage is in knowing and understanding the methods, being conscious to counter their effects, and having a strong constitution. Indeed only a few weeks ago, in response to my work in exposing the brutalities at this prison and refusing to back down in other political work I've been involved in with outside people, I was twice electrocuted with a 50,000 volt electric stun belt by guards.

During and since the Cold War era, US officials have learned that torture is best carried out in the dark and in ways that avoid proof and attention. The norm is therefore to deny the practice publicly, to couch it in seemingly harmless forms, but continue to plumb it of all its benefits in hidden and veiled practice. Its victims are the poor and powerless. That's me and potentially you.

There's a need for us to move collectively against this normalization of torture specifically and the slave status of US prisoners in general. The alternative is to sit in relative isolation each of us and permit the outrages to increase, which they will, until no one will be left unaffected. 95% of those imprisoned in Amerika will return to society at some point, and most of them in a more damaged state than when they came into prison. It's likely some of them will be living near or with you.

There's a movement under way to Amend the 13th Amendment, to Abolish Slavery in All its Forms! The New Afrikan Black Panther Party—Prison Chapter supports this movement. We also support Transforming the Iron Houses of Oppression Into Schools of Liberation! We ask that you join us in these efforts. A rally is being organized to take place along with a conference in Philadelphia in 2007. The conference will focus on 1) reaching out broadly to prisoner rights groups and drawing them together into a national association with abolishing the status of slaves for prisoners as its cornerstone, and 2) reaching out broadly to the Black and other oppressed people in the Philadelphia area and getting them to build for and attend this conference. The rally following the conference in the streets of Philly will raise the demands 1) Abolish Slavery—Amend the 13th Amendment, 2) Amnesty and Freedom for Political Prisoners/POWs, 3) End the Racist Death Penalty, 4) Defend the Humyn Rights of All Prisoners.

For information on this conference and rally, contact Tom or the Rising Sun Press at PO Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105, phone (610) 437-2971 or email tomwatts1@iwon.com.

If we Dare to Struggle we Dare to Win! Ending torture compels that all power be turned over to the People!

Panther Love!

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson,
Minister of Defense,
New Afrikan Black Panther Party—Prison Chapter
June 2006

IN MEMORY OF THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE: DR. HUEY NEWTON, PH.D.



by Mumia Abu-Jamal

It is somehow fitting that February, the shortest month, has been designated Black History Month. For whatever Black folks have gotten from this country, it was given grudgingly, through gritted teeth, if at all.

It was in February, 1942, when Huey P. Newton was born, in Oak Grove, Louisiana, the youngest of seven children. He was named after Louisiana Governor, Huey Long, a man regarded as a Populist.

But Huey's family would leave the state, and settle in Oakland, California, where Huey would make his own name.

He was the co-founder, with Bobby Seale, of the Black Panther Party [for Self-Defense], which rose to become of the most advanced Black revolutionary organizations of the 1960s and '70s.

It grew into a national organization, with 44 chapters and branches all across America; from West, to Midwest; from Boston, to Baton Rouge.

Huey, although poorly educated in Oakland schools, would push himself to learn about the world around him, and through the Party, would teach an entire generation about a world bubbling with revolutionary discontent.

The Party, inspired by Black freedom struggles in the Deep South, tried to put into practice the revolutionary teachings of Malcolm X, who preached self-defense. Because it was always growing and changing, party members studied his writings, as well as the works of China's Mao Tse-Tung, Cuba's 'Che' Guevara, and the writings of Franz Fanon, who helped in Algeria's revolution against France.

Huey's revolutionary influence would help the Party grow into the tens of thousands; but, his growing paranoia, fed by the FBI, would also cause the Party to down-size, as Panthers came from as far away as Philadelphia, to help the Party during its electoral phase, when Seale ran for Oakland's mayor, and other leading people ran for city council seats.

Given his revolutionary ideas, and his uncompromising opposition to the capitalist State, don't expect any U.S. Postal Service commemorative stamps anytime soon. Nor will you ever see any U.S. presidents attend any of his memorials.

Huey would be just fine with that. His life's work, the Party, was designed to give a voice to the poor and oppressed, not the well-to-do

ON A MOVE!

*We must go to the
People and
organize them.
For it is only
the People who
are properly
motivated and
organized that
can bring
change.
Build the
Movement!*



*Panther Love to our Righteous Brother
Mumia Abu-Jamal!*



THE HISTORY AND CONCEPT OF THIS PAINTING BY ALI SHAKKA 15 x 20" cloth illustration board with acrylic paint

The concept of *this* painting and passion "show" a passionate side of the artist and expression and mood of the art itself. It took many hours and days to finish this African "Art." African art is beautiful, the colors show happiness as the people of Africa are free and happy people. Songs, Dance and compassion for nature is the soul of the African man and woman.

As you can see there are many animals in the background (elephant, wildebeest, cobra snake, and the majestic Giraffe whom is very gentle but has a deadly kick). The Giraffe is the tallest mammal of living four-footed animals. The mask is an African Culture mask used in dance, celebrations of the harvest, the rain, sun thanking (God) Allah for his blessings.

The saying is in the African Amerikkka culture Honey Hush! was said back in the 40's, it came from a song by Joe Turner (he said it roll like a big wheel in King Jordan cotton field "Honey Hush," ha) bring back memory all other sayings are from the 60s, 70s, 80s and 90s, and now so what's the fuss Stevie Wonder... The seven candles stand for the seven principles of Kwanzaa; They are

- #1: UMOJA (unity),
- #2: KUJICAGUIZA (self-determination)
- #3 UJIMA (collective work and responsibility),
- #4 UJAAMA (cooperative economies),
- #5 NIA (PURPOSE)

#6 KUUMBA (creativity)

#7 IMANI (faith)

There are two reasons Kwanzaa is a seven day holiday; the week-long celebration of Kwanzaa is modeled on first fruit celebrations in ancient Africa, especially southern Africa, such as UMKHOST of Zulu land, which are seven days.

The core reason for the length of Kwanzaa is to stress the seven principles which serve to inspire and reaffirm central values and practices that unite and strengthen families, culture and communities. The candle holder is called "KINARA." The wording I have on the KINARA is "NIA" (purpose) and "KWANZAA" (celebration). Kinara holds us together as Kinara holds the candles. UMOJA (unity) come back together like we were in Africa!!

It took 3 weeks to complete this painting. African art changes with each stroke of the painter's brush. Please enjoy this gift from God to me, I share with you.

Ali Shakka
s/n Bennie Hayes #825298
Polunsky Unit
3872 F.M. 350 South
Livingston, TX
USA 77351
[reprinted from 4strugglemag]

Reprinted from Right On!, No. #6



Black Panthers outside courthouse in NYC during Panther 21 Trial

The Black Soldier Revolutionary = Black Panthers

By Comrade Ali Shakka

Before I begin to write this article, I warn you to look deep and you will find that we are still slaves according to the 13th Amendment of the Constitution of these United Snakes of Amerikkka. As an elder revolutionary, my mission is to teach my young Brothas, yes I said Brothas, and this is the correct pronunciation according to out tonque – African speaking English. I will not change because I love my people. I am a committed servant to my people, any anybody that stands with me (us) in solidarity. I have met Sarah Falconer [editor 4strugglemag] in Canada, and she is a true revolutionary and very smart.

When we have focused on the Black soldier, and I do not mean to compare this to the individuals enrolled in the various military systems of the United Snakes of Amerikkka, we Black soldiers are necessary because we, as Black people, cannot accept the definitions the political structures impose upon us, our lives, our struggles, our existence. To me, a Black soldier is any person who as part of a group is actively involved in resistance to the oppressors of Black people, here or anywhere in the world. As Black people, oppression is our lot under white world supremacy and struggle is necessary until we have won our freedom. As Frederick Douglas observed:

"Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will. Find out just what people will submit to, and you have found out the exact amount of injustice and wrong which will be imposed upon them; and these will continue until they have resisted, either with words or blows or with both. The limits of tyrants are prescribed by the endurance of those whom they oppress."

We must further recognize that one aspect of white Amerikkka's campaign to contain the Black movement is an explicitly military operation. As *Watergate* and now *Bushgate* and other exposures of reality have shown, in addition to the FBI, NSA, CIA and the intelligence branches of the armed forces, there are all sorts of police (federal, state and local), the National Guard, Reserves and mercenaries all employed to one degree or another to keep our people down.

Furthermore, over the past 30/40 years, the urban police departments have been converted into occupying armies equipped with armored vehicles, helicopters, machine guns, assault rifles, sniper rifles and all manner of lethal and "non-lethal" weaponry. There has been the creation of urban commando units, special weapons and tactics units, STRESS squads and red squads; the conversion of police officers and civilians into undercover agents and provocateurs; the recruitment of an army of snitches and informers all to subvert the Black community and the American people in general; and the conversion of police in general into *death squads* that kill unarmed wimmin, children and men in our communities with impunity.

Remember back when people were shocked by the revelation of police brutality? Remember when in a series of FBI-coordinated raids the police murdered twenty-eight Black Panthers? Did anyone get called to account for those killings? The Panthers underwent what earlier the Black Muslims suffered when they were looked upon as the most ominous threat to the white Establishment. The oppressor fears anything, any ideas or groups, that call into question his heinous oppression and blood-soaked rule.

Frederick Douglass said over 100 years ago, "He who would be free must strike the first blow." We are just getting around to raising our fists again as we did back in 60s and 70s in symbolic gesture. To be a revolutionary, to be a true servant of the people, is to be an enemy of the United Snakes of Amerikkka. Even if you break no laws, you may be arrested and become a political prisoner. The oppressor will lie, conspire and commit any crime to silence those who dare to speak the truth, who dare to stand up.

But there now exists a new movement on the Amerikkkan scene, the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter, that's rising up! That refuses to "shut up!" A new generation of young Black men and wimmin who are proud to be Black, who are aware of the power of the oppressor, and who are determined to struggle to achieve liberation.

The oppressor is murderous, but repression generates resistance whether here or in Mozambique. Those who dare to struggle must also dare to win. The Black liberation fighter is the hope of our people, and the concrete manifestation of our national spirit. I stand in solidarity with the revolutionary Black Soldiers of today!

Ali Shakka, original Black Panther Party (Minister of Information), political prisoner/POW, s/n Bennie Haze #825298, Polunsky Unit, 3872 FM 350 South, Livingston, TX 77351.□



A Young Prisoner Writes

THE DRUG EPIDEMIC: A NEW FORM OF POOR GENOCIDE?

ONE OF THE WORST FORMS OF CRIMINALITY IS DRUG DEALING, AND IT DESERVES SOME SEPARATE COMMENTS ALL ITS OWN. THERE IS A NEGATIVE DRUG SUB-CULTURE IN THE POOR COMMUNITY THAT GLORIFIES, OR AT LEAST MAKES ACCEPTABLE, DRUG USE, EVEN THOUGH IT IS KILLING US AND DESTROYING OUR COMMUNITY. IN FACT, VERY OFTEN WE HEAR OF SOME JUNKIE IN OUR COMMUNITY DYING FROM AN OVERDOSE OF DRUGS, OR OF SOME STREET CORNER DRUG DEALER DYING FROM A SHOOT-OUT OVER A DISPUTE OR RIP-OFF DURING A DRUG DEAL GONE SOUR. THE TRAGEDY OF THE LATTER IS THAT THESE DAYS INNOCENT VICTIMS - CHILDREN

OR ELDERLY PEOPLE - HAVE ALSO BEEN GUNNED DOWN IN THE CROSSFIRE. THE DRUG ADDICT IS ANOTHER TRAGIC FIGURE; HE OR SHE WAS A HUMAN BEING JUST LIKE ANYONE ELSE, BUT BECAUSE OF AN OPPRESSIVE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT, SOUGHT DRUGS TO EASE THE PAIN OR TO ESCAPE TEMPORARILY FROM THE CONCRETE JUNGLES WE ARE FORCED TO LIVE IN THE URBAN GHETTOS.

WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF CRACK, A MORE POWERFUL DERIVATIVE OF COCAINE, WHICH MADE ITS APPEARANCE IN THE 1980s IN AMERICA, EVEN MORE PROBLEMS AND TRAGEDIES OF THIS SORT DEVELOPED, MORE ADDICTS, MORE STREET GANG KILLINGS, AND MORE DETERIORATION OF OUR COMMUNITIES.

TRAPT, IN AH PLACE LIKE THIS!! CAUGHT IN THE MIXS...



IN THE MAJOR URBAN AREAS THERE HAVE ALMOST ALWAYS BEEN DRUG USERS, WHAT IS NEW IS THE DEPTH OF PENETRATION OF CRACK TO POOR COMMUNITIES IN MOST AREAS OF THE WORLD, BUT THE SPREAD OF CRACK IS JUST A FOLLOW-UP TO MASSIVE GOVERNMENT DRUG PEDDLING THAT BEGAN AT THE END OF THE DECADE OF THE 1960s IN AMERICA. THE WHITE HOUSE IS THE "ROCK HOUSE," MEANING THE U.S. POLITICAL ADMINISTRATION IS BEHIND THE WHOLE DRUG TRADE. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT HAS ACTUALLY BEEN SMUGGLING DRUGS, INTO THE U.S.A. FOR MANY YEARS ABOARD CIA AND MILITARY PLANES TO USE IN CHEMICAL WARFARE AGAINST POOR AMERICA. AT FIRST MOSTLY HEROIN WAS IMPORTED FROM THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA DURING THE VIETNAM WAR. BUT WITH THE INTRODUCTION OF CRACK COCAINE, THERE WAS NO NEED TO IMPORT DRUGS INTO THE COUNTRY AT THE SAME RATE AS BEFORE, BECAUSE IT COULD BE CHEMICALLY PREPARED IN A MAINLAND LAB, AND DISTRIBUTED IMMEDIATELY.

CRACK CREATED A WHOLE NEW GENERATION OF DRUG CLIENTS AND CUSTOMERS FOR THE DRUG DEALERS; IT WAS CHEAP AND HIGHLY ADDICTIVE. CRACK AND OTHER DRUGS ARE A HUGE SOURCE OF PROFIT FOR MANY GOVERNMENTS, AND IT KEEPS THE POOR COMMUNITY PASSIVE AND POLITICALLY INDIFFERENT. THAT IS THE MAIN REASON WHY WE CANNOT DEPEND UPON THE POLICE FORCE AND/OR THE GOVERNMENT TO STOP THE DRUG TRAFFICKING OR HELP THE VICTIMS HOOKED ON DRUGS.

THEY ARE PUSHING THE DRUGS TO BEAT US DOWN, ON THE ONE HAND, BUT THE STATE IS ALSO MADE MORE POWERFUL BECAUSE OF THE PHONEY "WAR ON DRUGS," WHICH ALLOWS POLICE STATE MEASURES IN POOR AND OPPRESSED COMMUNITIES, AND BECAUSE OF THE MILLIONS OF GRANDS IN

GOVERNMENT MONETARY APPROPRIATIONS MADE TO LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, WHO SUPPOSEDLY ARE PUTTING DOWN THE TRAFFIC IN DRUGS. BUT THEY NEVER GO AFTER THE BANKERS OR THE BIG BUSINESS PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES WHO FUND THE DRUG TRADE, JUST THE STREET-LEVEL DEALERS, WHO ARE USUALLY POOR. UNEMPLOYMENT IS ANOTHER REASON THAT DRUG TRAFFICKING IS SO PREVALENT IN OUR COMMUNITIES.

POOR PEOPLE WILL DESPERATELY LOOK FOR ANYWAY TO MAKE MONEY, EVEN THE VERY DRUGS THAT ARE DESTROYING OUR COMMUNITIES. WHEN PEOPLE HAVE NO JOBS OR INCOME, DRUGS LOOK VERY LUCRATIVE AND THE BEST WAY OUT OF THE SITUATION. IN FACT, THE DRUG ECONOMY HAS BECOME THE ONLY INCOME IN MANY POOR HOUSEHOLDS; THE ONLY THING THAT SOME PEOPLE PERCEIVE WILL LIFT THEM OUT OF LIVES OF DESPERATE POVERTY. CLEARLY, DECENT JOBS AT A UNION WAGE ARE PART OF THE ANSWER TO ENDING DRUG TRAFFICKING IN OUR COMMUNITY, RATHER THAN DEPENDING ON POLICE, COURTS AND THE STATE. THE COPS ARE NOT OUR FRIENDS OR ALLIES, AND MUST BE EXPOSED FOR THEIR PART IN PROTECTING THE TRADE, RATHER THAN SUPPRESSING IT.

ONLY THE COMMUNITY CAN STOP DRUG TRAFFICKING, AND IT IS OUR RESPONSIBILITY HOWEVER YOU LOOK AT IT. AFTER ALL, THOSE JUNKIES ARE OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS AND MOTHERS AND FATHERS, NEIGHBOURS AND FRIENDS; THEY ARE NO STRANGERS. WE MUST ORGANIZE TO SAVE THEIR LIVES AND THE LIFE IN OUR COMMUNITY. WE MUST ESTABLISH ANTI-DOPE PROGRAMS IN ALL POOR COMMUNITIES. WE MUST EXPOSE AND COUNTER THE GOVERNMENT'S ROLE AS A PUSHER OF DOPE, ALONG WITH THAT OF THE POLICE, AS PROTECTORS OF THE DRUG TRADE. BUT ALSO WE MUST BE PREPARED TO HELP THE DRUG VICTIMS WITH STREET COUNSELING, STREET CLINICS (WHERE THEY CAN CLEAN UP AND LEARN A TRADE AND THE SOCIO-POLITICAL REASONS FOR DRUG USE), PROPAGANDA AGAINST DRUG USE, AND OTHER ACTIVITIES.

JUNKIES ARE THE VICTIMS OF THE DRUG SOCIETY, WHICH THINKS IT'S COOL TO USE DRUGS. CHILDREN ARE SOME OF THE BIGGEST VICTIMS OF DRUG DEALING, WHEN THEY ARE TRICKED OR FORCED (BY ECONOMIC NECESSITY) INTO USING OR SELLING.

THE USERS AND DEALERS ARE BOTH VICTIMS, BUT THE DEALERS ARE NOT ENTIRELY INNOCENT. EVEN THOUGH THE POOR MAN ON THE CORNER SELLING DOPE BAGS IS A VICTIM OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM THAT MAKES HIM DO IT, DOPE DEALER ARE A CORRUPT, DANGEROUS BREED WHO MUST BE STOPPED.

MANY PEOPLE HAVE BEEN KILLED OR SERIOUSLY INJURED FOR NAIVELY TRYING TO OPPOSE DOPE DEALERS AND MAKE THEM LEAVE THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS. THEREFORE, THE POLICY WITH JUNKIES WOULD BE MORE BENEVOLENT AND UNDERSTANDING, WITH DOPE DEALERS WE MUST BE CAUTIOUS, AND EVEN RUTHLESS WHEN IT IS CALLED FOR. WE NEED TO TRY TO WIN THEM OVER FIRST WITH AN ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROGRAM TO DRAW THEM AWAY FROM THE DRUG TRADE, BUT MANY OF THE DEALERS ARE SO VIOLENCE PRONE, ESPECIALLY THE BIG SHOTS (WHO ARE ALSO PROTECTED BY THE COPS) THEY MUST BE OPPOSED BY BOTH MILITARY AND POLITICAL MEANS. WE ARE NOT ADVOCATING THE SUMMARY MURDER OF PEOPLE, BUT WE ARE SAYING IF IT TAKES DEATH TO BRING ABOUT A CHANGE IN THE COMMUNITY, SO BE IT!

THE ISSUE OF DEATH IS ESSENTIALLY AN ISSUE OF WHO IS DOING THE DYING. IT CAN BE DIRECT AND EXERCISED AGAINST THE DEATH MERCHANT, OR IT CAN BE INDIRECT AND EXERCISED AGAINST OUR YOUTH IF WE LET IT.

TO BE AWARE OF A DANGEROUS SITUATION AND NOT MOVE TO CHANGE IT IS TO BE AS RESPONSIBLE FOR THAT DANGEROUS SITUATION AS THOSE WHO CREATED IT IN THE FIRST PLACE. WE CANNOT JUST SIMPLIFY THIS PROBLEM BY SAYING THAT

"JUST KILL A FEW STREET-LEVEL DEALERS AND THAT WILL END IT." NO, IT WON'T, AND WE DON'T WANT TO DO THAT ANYWAY! THEY ARE JUST POOR PEOPLE TRYING TO SURVIVE THIS SYSTEM, JUST PAWNS IN THE DRUG GAME WHOSE LIVES DON'T MATTER TO THE BIG CAPITALISTS OR GOVERNMENT.

WHEN THEY SAY SO, THESE STREET-LEVEL DEALERS WILL BE KILLED OR IMPRISONED, BUT THE DRUG PEDDLING SYSTEM WILL GO ON. THIS IS A SOCIO-POLITICAL PROBLEM, WHICH CAN BEST BE ADDRESSED BY GRASSROOTS ORGANISING. BUT IT'S THE CORPORATE AND INDUSTRIAL BACKERS OF THE DRUG TRADE (NOT JUST THE CORNER DEALER) WHICH MUST NOT ONLY BE EXPOSED BUT MUST BE MOVED ON. IN ADDITION TO EDUCATIONAL, AGITATIONAL, AND OTHER ACTION, THERE MUST BE MILITARY ACTION BY REVOLUTIONARY CELLS.

THE UNDERGROUND ACTIONS WHICH WE ARE ASKING PEOPLE TO MOVE ON CAN BE CARRIED OUT BY A RELATIVELY SMALL GROUP OF DEDICATED PEOPLE, A REVOLUTIONARY CELL OF ARMED FIGHTERS WHO HAVE BEEN TRAINED IN GUERRILLA TACTICS. BUT EVEN THESE SMALL GROUPS OF PEOPLE MUST HAVE THE SUPPORT OF THE NEIGHBORHOODS IN ORDER TO FUNCTION, OTHERWISE PEOPLE WILL NOT KNOW IT FROM ANOTHER VIOLENT GANG.

ONCE THIS SOCIAL COHESIVENESS EXISTS AMONG THE COMMUNITY, THEN WE CAN BEGIN TO PUT THIS PROPOSAL INTO ACTION AGAINST THE MOST VIOLENT HIGHER LEVEL DRUG DEALERS. WE ARE ADDRESSING OURSELVES TO WHAT CAN MORE OR LESS BE CONSIDERED GUIDELINES FOR DEALING WITH THE PROBLEM ON A NEIGHBORHOOD OR COMMUNITY-WIDE LEVEL, THEN AT A HIGHER LEVEL.

WHAT WE CAN DO?

1. SET UP DRUG EDUCATION CLASSES IN THE COMMUNITY, FOR THE YOUTH ESPECIALLY, TO EXPOSE THE NATURE OF THE DRUG TRADE, WHO IT HURTS, AND HOW THE GOVERNMENT, BANKS, AND PHARMACEUTICAL COMPANIES ARE BEHIND IT ALL.
2. EXPOSE THE DEATH MERCHANTS AND THEIR POLICE PROTECTORS (PHOTOS, POSTERS, FLIERS, NEWS-LETTERS, ETC).
3. HARASSMENT OF THE DEALERS; I.E., THREATNING PHONE CALLS, KNOCKING ON THE DOOR, TEARING DOWN THE DRUG PRODUCT.

WE CAN TEAR DOWN THIS DRUG TRADE AND REBUILD A COMMUNITY OF PEOPLE THAT WILL BECOME A PEOPLE WITHIN THEMSELVES AND RECOGNIZE JUST WHO THEY ARE AND WHAT THEY CAN DO TO BECOME A PEOPLE THAT'S RESPECTED.

IT'S UP TO YOU, BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

TO EACH ONE, TEACH ONE!

BRO. TACUMA!

[Editor's Note: In applying the Mass Line, we must solicit and listen to the masses and their ideas and concerns. Bro. Tacuma has obviously given this issue a lot of thought, and from the People's perspective. Clearly, he recognizes that the communities themselves must practice self-reliance and build People's Power to free themselves from this form of oppression. We have a right to create our own security forces legally constituted and licensed to bear arms to police our communities under contract to elected neighborhood councils. In coordination with voluntary people's security patrols and the mobilization of the whole community, we can rid our neighborhoods of genocidal drug trafficking.

Winning over the low-level dealers and street tribes, and establishing our own intelligence gathering and evidence collecting capabilities, will give us the means to deal with the real criminals. Transforming the slave plantations of oppression into "schools of liberation" and the oppressed communities into "base areas of cultural, social and political revolution" is the strategy we must employ to counter the oppressor's strategy.]



TIME TA' GET THIS PARTY STARTED!

DARE TA' STRUGGLE DARE TA' WIN!

**CAPITALISM + DOPE =
GENOCIDE!**



Assata Shakur

Assata

BY AKIU CASTLIN

I think of you; and I think of
getting knocked down, never out,
getting back up, of not giving up
even when everybody and
everything around me says,
the jig is up...

I think of you; and I think of
doing what's right not cool, easy
or hip...thinking of you and I fall
in love with truth. I think of the
strength to look up from the
bottom of life's mountain and the
courage to break it down into
manageable bits, I think of the
wisdom to rebuild it with the
ladder of love...

I think of you; and I think of how
easy my road is on its' hardest
day only because you've lead the
way paving it with blood and,
tears and sacrifice and
relinquished victory as my gift. I
think of having nothing not even
shoes, for tired feet, I think of a
vision and voice and building up
a nation in a wilderness of murderous beast,
I think I know
determination and faith that will never cease...

I think of you; and I think of
god manifest in objective reality,
I think of possibility, duty and
responsibility I think in the words
of "Nikki Giovanni," "she is us."

I think of you and I think all
I am I owe, I think of you and
I think the words could never be enough
so I straighten up and
Pray you'll judge what and how I do what I
do...

A. Castlin #J099402
C-11-220 P.O. Box 7500
Crescent City CA, USA 95532

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December, 3rd

**International Day of Solidarity with
Political Prisoners/POWs**

Resurgent Maoism

"Class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment are the three great revolutionary movements for building a mighty socialist country. These movements are a sure guarantee that Communists will be free from bureaucracy and immune against revisionism and dogmatism, and will for ever remain invincible. They are a reliable guarantee that the proletariat will be able to unite with the broad working masses and realize a democratic dictatorship. If, in the absence of these movements, the landlords, rich peasants, counterrevolutionaries, bad elements and monsters were all allowed to crawl out, while our cadres were to shut their eyes to all this and in many cases fail even to differentiate between the enemy and ourselves but were to collaborate with the enemy and were corrupted, divided and demoralized by him, if our cadres were thus pulled out or the enemy were able to sneak in, and if many of our workers, peasants, and intellectuals were left defenceless against both the soft and the hard tactics of the enemy, then it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before a counterrevolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change its colour."

Quotations of Chairman Mao Tse-tung ("The Little Red Book")¹

Before his passing, Chairman Mao predicted that it would be quite easy for "capitalist-roaders" in the top ranks of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to stage a coup and rig up a state capitalist system in China. He also predicted that if they did, they would know no peace and their rule would be short-lived. Mao had correctly identified the changes instituted in the Soviet Union following the death of Stalin as a "capitalist restoration," even though Khrushchev and successive leaders of the USSR continued to mask their state capitalist regime behind a façade of phony communism. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led by Mao was an attempt to prevent the same thing happening in People's China.

When Mao died the masses of Chinese people were in the midst of yet another soul-stirring and decisive battle. With the support and guidance of Mao they were fighting to beat back the counter-revolutionary offensive of Deng Xiaoping and others in the top leadership of the Communist Party itself who were whipping up a large-scale wind to reverse the great victories and achievements, especially in the Cultural Revolution. This latest battle raging in 1976 was not an academic debate over how to evaluate the unprecedented events and results of the Cultural Revolution but a life and death struggle over which class would rule China, the proletariat or the bourgeoisie, and which road it would follow, the revolutionary road of socialism or the counterrevolutionary road of restoring the old society with all its misery for the masses.

On October 6, 1976, less than a month after Mao's death and less than three weeks after the official mourning period for Mao had ended, the revisionists, using portions of power they had seized from the working class over a period of time, especially in the military, pulled off their coup, before the mass struggle could be developed further and strike harder at their positions of power.

And with this act the revisionists rose to power, seizing control of the Communist Party and the state. This coup marked the decisive turning point and fundamental change, the beginning of the process of suppressing genuine revolutionaries and the masses, reversing the entire revolution and restoring capitalism.

The Loss in China and the Revolutionary Legacy of Mao Tsetung, Bob Avakian, Chairman, RCP-USA

It is now quite evident to most people that China is a capitalist country, though it continues to parade itself as "socialist" and the CCP claims to still be following "Mao's Legacy," though it now recruits capitalists and many of the cadre have become capitalists. It is in fact a fascist party that represses the working people with a heavy hand while openly going into partnership (and competition) with the U.S. and other world imperialists.

¹ Note on "The Seven Well-Written Documents of Chekiang Province Concerning Cadres' Participation in Physical Labour" (May 9, 1963), quoted in On Khrushchov's Phoney Communism and Its Historical Lessons for the World, pp. 71-72.

But it is a fact that China's new capitalist rulers know no peace. Every passing year has seen a growing militancy of China's down-trodden workers and peasants. The government admits that in 2005, there were 87,000 riot, demonstrations and protests.² The most significant of which was the Dongyang uprising, where tens of thousands of protesters, mostly farmers, killed several police, routed the authorities and permanently shut down a pesticide factory that was poisoning the environment.

After years of peaceful protest and petitioning the government, the people decided to take matters in hand and shut the polluting factory down by any means necessary.

In Xingchang, a suburb of Shanghai, over 15,000 demonstrators battled police and overturned cop cars on July 17, 2005, throwing stones while being tear-gassed by the police. Their objective was also to shut down a polluting factory, a pharmaceutical company that had polluted their river and killed off all the fish and shrimp. Crops were ruined and many of the local people had developed liver problems. When a delegation of the people's chosen representatives went to the factory with a petition for redress and compensation, they were severely beaten by the company's security guards.

One local woman told Reuter's Lindsay Beck, "...they are making poisonous chemicals for foreigners that the foreigners don't dare produce in their own countries." The factory was shut down.³

In January of this year huge riots broke out in Huashi in the coastal Zhejiang Province because complaints that newly built chemical plants were polluting the land and water were continually ignored. "Using China's centuries-old method of petitioning, they took complaints first to local authorities, then to city officials, and finally all the way to the central government, more than 600 miles away in Beijing"

The protests grew from a small roadblock to thousands of protestors who finally were able to shut the plant down after storming the factory and once again routing the police. Villagers in Huangniqiao similarly forced the closing of a pharmaceutical plant despite a heavy police presence, with local peasants chanting "Give back the land! I want health! Give back the land! I want descendants! Give back the land! I want food to eat! Give back the land! I want an environment!"

The militancy of Chinese workers and peasants is not just confined to environmental issues. In "Insurgent Chinese Workers and Peasants: The 'Weak Link' in Capitalist Globalization and US Imperialism," John Gulick makes the point that, "scattered outbursts of worker and peasant protests have been on the upswing in China since 1998."⁵

Most recently, in August, [2000] more than 20,000 farmers in central China staged protests against heavy taxation. This is in the mountainous territory of Jiangxi, where Mao Tsetung and the Red Army set up the first revolutionary base in the 1920s.

The revolt was centered in the town of Yuandu, which has a population of about 100,000. Here, farmers armed with sticks and clubs surrounded a government building, and over the next 10 days protests spread to other towns. According to Reuters news service, local officials reported that, "Armed paramilitary police were dispatched to the region after rampaging farmers smashed government offices and looted homes of the rich, highlighting a threat to the government from peasant discontent simmering around the country."

Chinese officials said more than 2,000 militiamen were sent in to try and put down the struggle, scores of peasants were arrested, and it took five days to bring things under control.

In China's countryside, where two-thirds of the country's people live, the income of most peasants has stayed the same or gone down—while the government has extracted more and more taxes. One news report quoted farmers saying that they made 400 yuan a year from each acre of land but had to pay 180 yuan per acre in taxes. After deducting other costs, including fertilizer, they only earned about 100 yuan per acre a year. Peasants also have to provide free labor to the state for flood prevention and irrigation work and must pay various fees, like for having a house and farming a private plot. One peasant reported that in 1995, 85% of the farmers in his township had money saved—but now, 85% are in debt.

Added to this, record grain harvests this year have driven down the price of grain. The government, which monopolizes grain purchases, decided not to buy all of the grain—and at the same time, banned farmers from selling it elsewhere. In some areas, the government has forced farmers to pay for storing their harvests in its warehouses. All this has added to the growing discontent among the peasants.

Angry Winds in China: Protests, Strikes and Revolts by Workers and Peasants, Revolutionary Worker #1071, September 24, 2000

Massive dislocations in employment have plagued the new capitalist economy and brought forth mass resistance by the laid off workers:

"The Tiger Platform coal mine in Fushun [China] laid off 24,000 of 30,000 miners two years ago.... Millions of unemployed, like those in Fushun, face a threadbare future, even as they watch on TV—and on the streets—a new generation of Chinese, sometimes old bosses and their families, flaunting flashy new cars and cell phones, and spending wads of cash on shoes that would buy groceries for two years. As industries close, a generation of the proletariat, raised under communist ideology to believe they were the masters of the country, now feel at the mercy of bankrupt companies and cash-poor municipalities.

From Christian Science Monitor, March 25, 2002

Throughout 2002 a growing tide of workers' struggles has swept through China. Protests peaked in March, April, and May as tens of thousands took part in massive street demonstrations against layoffs, benefit cutoffs, and other abuses.

These workers' struggles—and the injustices that the workers are protesting—point to the reality of today's China. This country, once a revolutionary socialist society, is now a capitalist hell for the masses of workers and peasants.

For over 25 years after liberation in 1949, China under the leadership of Mao Tsetung was a revolutionary beacon for people around the world who dreamed of getting rid of the chains of oppression and exploitation. But in 1976, after the death of Mao, counter-revolutionaries led by Deng Xiaoping seized state power. These reactionaries called themselves "communist"—but these phony communists overthrew socialism and restored capitalism in China.

China's entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO) in October 2001 has drawn the country deeper into the web of imperialist globalization. China's agriculture and industry now face more direct competition with corporations in the imperialist countries.

China's capitalist rulers are "downsizing" or shutting down many formerly state-owned factories in the name of economic "modernization," throwing millions of people out of work. In the countryside, small farmers are being thrown into competition with large mechanized farms in the U.S. and other countries. Unable to compete, peasants are being forced off the land in droves. According to some estimates, there are now more than 200 million migrant workers within China.

Workers Revolt in Capitalist China, Revolutionary Worker #1173, November 3, 2002

² China Erupts: The Rising Tide of Discontent, by Bronwyn, the defenestrator, No.#33, March 2006

³ ibid.

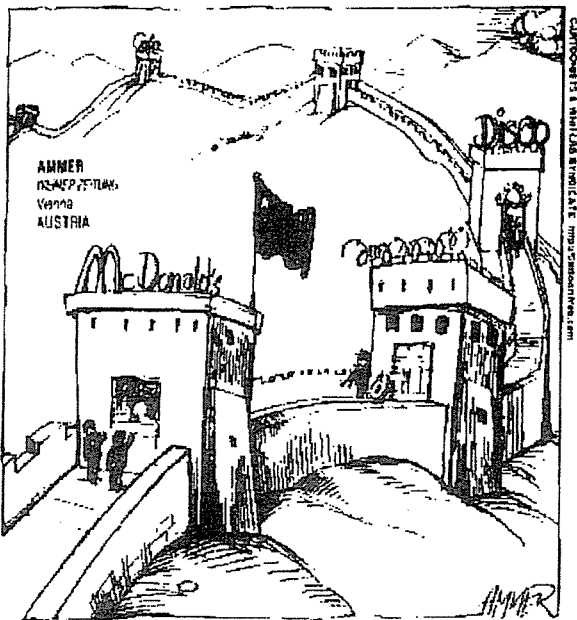
⁴ ibid.

⁵ ibid.

Cannibalization of the Socialist Economy

Capitalism is being built out of the massive privatization of state enterprises. This process is described in an open letter by veteran CCP members:

"The wealth accumulated over the decades by the nation's labouring masses, who started off with nothing and built them up painstakingly with their blood and sweat, is now plundered via the collusion of the officials and capitalists, channelled into their private coffers. State enterprises have fattened a whole swag of private enterprises. Through sucking the blood of state enterprises, numerous private enterprises become super-rich overnight, while these same state enterprises, from losing so much blood, are getting thinner by the day. Under the grandiose cover of 'state enterprise ownership reform,' a feast to loot and divide up the people's wealth is taking place. The result: a whole layer of corrupt officials, opportunists and heads of enterprises are being fattened, a whole bunch of billionaires is created, state enterprises are dealt a blow and seriously weakened. In addition, the repeated proclamations of the dominance of public ownership have long failed to match the reality, the whole country and the people are in ruin, and the workers and peasants have once again slid into being slaves of capital."



Workers frequently demonstrate to protest low wages and work conditions, in addition to expensive company store, dormitory and other expense charges, which were free or cheap in the past. On some occasions, workers even take the law into their own hands to protest layoffs and unpaid wages. For example, in November 2004, workers at a factory in southern China took their bosses hostage over unpaid back wages, and in the same month workers in another factory in the same town fought with security guards to protest layoffs. (The economic basis for social unrest in China, A. Keidel, May 2005.) Under the surface of society, anger has accumulated so strongly in the last period that any small incident can trigger an outburst. For example, also in November 2004, a woman's anger at bridge tolls led 30,000 people to riot, confronting hundreds of police and paramilitary units, leaving one person dead.

But recently the unrest has arisen most frequently in response to land seizures by local governments to make way for industrial development on the edges of growing cities. Forty million farmers have lost their land as ever larger areas are appropriated for industrial and residential uses, and many are enraged over inadequate compensation. "A lot of the older peasants, how can they find other employment? They have lost their land, they have no

money, they have no social security, they cannot find jobs. There are bound to be serious, serious social problems," says Joseph Cheng of the City University of Hong Kong (AFP, 25/02/06). Especially since 2004, the peasant struggle has taken on an immense scale. For example, in October 2004 in Sichuan Province, 90,000 peasants fought with police over losing their homes for little compensation to make way for a hydroelectric dam. Only martial law restored order.

"Each week brings news of at least one or two incidents, with thousands of villagers in a pitched battle with the police, or bloody crackdowns in which hundreds of protesters are tear-gassed and clubbed during roundups by the police. And by the government's own official tally, hundreds of these events each week escape wider public attention altogether. (...) The response by the Chinese authorities, a mixture of alarm and seeming disarray, is a clear indication that whatever is brewing here is being taken with utmost seriousness at the summit of power." (The New York Times, 24/08/05)

A recent incident in Dongzhou, a village near the town Shanwei in Guangdong province, has acquired an exemplary significance. The protests in Shanwei had gone on for quite a while before coming to a head last December. Land was confiscated a few years ago for a wind-power project. The farmers who worked the land were never compensated for their dislocation. Public demonstrations began in August 2005, continuing intermittently. With no compensation forthcoming, the protests escalated in December. According to official reports, they were led by three men and were armed with knives, steel spears, sticks, dynamite and Molotov cocktails. Members of the local People's Armed Police (paramilitary police) fired tear gas at the crowd, but the three leaders rallied the crowd to continue. According to the description of events given by the Chinese government, the demonstrators started to throw explosives at the police as night fell. The police opened fire. The government said that three people were killed, eight wounded. However, an on-site investigation by a civil rights campaigner showed that more than 30 villagers were still missing and that their families were worried their bodies may have been cremated. According to international media, the incident marked the first reported large-scale shootings of demonstrators in China by official security forces since Tiananmen Square in 1989.

But the use of violence, instead of calming down the situation, has the opposite effect. In January, The New York Times (18/01/06) reported on a clash in the village of Panlong, also in the province of Guangdong. "Just as the protests are becoming more and more common, so is the use of overwhelming force to put them down. A major threshold was crossed early last month in the village Dongzhou, about two hours from here by car, where residents estimate that as many as 30 people were killed by paramilitary security forces that opened fire on a crowd of demonstrators. (...) In a series of interviews Tuesday, people here made it clear that there was a broad awareness of the events in Dongzhou and of the fact that much of rural China is simmering with discontent. (...) 'People here have tried everything you can think of to get the problem solved before this happened,' said a resident who gave his name as Chen. 'They talked to the village committee, the township and municipal governments. One of them even went to Beijing. But nothing is done - the village officials just simply ignore them.' Chen described the peak of the demonstrations, Saturday night, when the deaths are said to have occurred. 'It was like a war, so real and so brutal,' he said. 'I did not see who started it, but I saw policemen were beating the villagers and the villagers were fighting back with stones and firecrackers'."

Class struggle in China: "A rise like a violent wind" - Part One, By Bruce Boon. In Defence of Marxism. Thursday, 06, April 2006

"Guest Workers" Particularly Victimized

Massive dislocations of the peasantry since the break-up of the rural communes have forced millions to emigrate to other provinces in search of work. Often they are forced to take jobs with unsafe working conditions:

An article in the New York Times earlier in the year focused attention on the complete disregard for the health of workers in the shoe-manufacturing industry in Bishan County, near the major city of Chongqing in the south-western province of Sichuan.

It documented the uncontrolled use of carcinogenic benzene-based glues, the lack of masks and gloves and poor ventilation in hundreds of small, predominantly privately-owned workshops. As a result, large numbers of the 20,000 workers in the Bishan area have contracted blood disorders including severe anaemia and leukaemia. While benzene-free glue is available on the market, it is not used in the Bishan shoe plants because it is 30 percent dearer.

Doctor Chen Wanhui, a specialist at Bishan Hospital, said: "I see two or three new cases involving shoemakers every day. They come in complaining of dizziness, lethargy and poor appetite and say they find it difficult to work. Some need blood transfusions, while some only need medicines and they gradually get better. Some have no money and they just go away."

Many workers can no longer afford medical treatment after being forced into private enterprises and cut off the free health care system once provided by state-owned enterprises.

Chen Yiwen, the operator of a local health clinic, said: "Lots of people here work in the shoe factories, get sick, rest, go back to work, then get sick again. That's all you can do around here to make a living." A 46-year-old worker, who has suffered periods of severe anaemia, explained: "I need to eat, I need to survive." He described his job as "slow suicide."

The exposure to dangerous and toxic chemicals is not confined to the shoemaking industry in Bishan but is widespread throughout China. Statistics on workplace chemical poisoning released by the Chinese Ministry of Health at the end of June showed that in just two months - April and May - there were 21 reports of acute chemical poisoning in work situations, involving 95 people, of whom 49 died. The figures for May showed a rise of 166.7 percent for cases of acute poisoning and an increase of 192.9 percent in deaths over the same period last year.

A previous government survey in the early 1990s revealed that 34 percent of workers employed by township enterprises - factories located outside of the major cities and owned either by private entrepreneurs or local authorities - had been exposed to toxic materials or chemicals at some point in their working life.

Safety and working conditions are so bad that companies now employ agents on a permanent basis to recruit a steady stream of people from outside the provinces in which the factories are located. Immigrant workers often from poorer areas have little choice but to accept whatever jobs are on offer.

Employers use the government's permit regulations and household registration system to intimidate and control the "guest workers." Each worker has to apply for a permit from their local government to work in the townships. If workers do not have the money to pay for the permit, the factory will advance a loan effectively tying them to the factory and the job. In addition, employers often charge a "deposit" of between two weeks to one month's pay. If a worker's employment is terminated or they leave without managerial permission, the deposit is not returned.

In some factories, management keeps a portion of the workers' wages each month and in other cases retains the permits and identity papers; practices that are illegal but that authorities turn a blind eye to. It is a system of bonded labour. Without documentation workers cannot go back to their village, change employment or even go into the street for fear of a police identity check. Police periodically raid factories. Guest workers without permits are thrown into detention centres, and subsequently deported.

"A glimpse of the working conditions being created by capitalism in China," By Beryl Maurice, www.org, 11 October 2000

The Big Lie

We are constantly bombarded with the lie that communism and socialism just don't work and that socialism was a failed experiment. But the facts speak otherwise:

China's socialist revolution of 1949-76 resulted in a vast improvement in life for the Chinese people. Between 1949 and 1975, life expectancy in socialist China more than doubled, from about 32 to 65 years. By the early 1970s, infant mortality rates in Shanghai were lower than in New York City! All this reveals a profound reduction in the violence of everyday life. The extent of literacy swelled in the span of one generation—from about 15 percent in 1949 to some 80 to 90 percent in the mid-1970s.

Let's go a bit more deeply into the profound difference socialism made to most people. Before the revolution came to power in 1949, China had been dominated by foreign imperialist powers. By practically all available measures, the economy was near the bottom of the world development scale. It had little industry. Agriculture was brutal serfdom. China had the most ruinous inflation in modern world history. It had a vast criminal underworld of gangsters and secret societies, and almost 90 million opium addicts. For women, it was a living hell: foot binding, arranged marriages, and child brides were widespread social practices. Prostitution was rampant in the cities.

These kinds of social evils and the extreme polarization of wealth that existed before 1949 were eradicated by the revolution: through the establishment of proletarian state power and the creation of a just social and economic order that unleashed the masses of people and served their interests.

Only a revolution could, and did, uproot the feudal economic system in the countryside. The land reform and repudiation of peasant debt carried out under the leadership of the Communist Party in the late 1940s and early 1950s represented the most massive expropriation and redistribution of wealth from rich to poor in world history.

...China's industrial economy under Mao grew impressively — at an average rate of 10 percent per year, even during the Cultural Revolution. China, the former "sick man of Asia," transformed itself into a major industrial power in the quarter century between 1949 and 1976 — a rate of development comparable only to the greatest surges of growth in history. And it achieved this without relying on exploitation or foreign assistance, and in the face of a hostile international environment.

Agriculture grew by some 3 percent a year, slightly exceeding population growth. By 1970, the problem of adequately feeding China's population had been solved. This was accomplished through integrated economic planning, a system of collective agriculture that promoted grass-roots mobilization, flood control, steady investment in rural infrastructure, and the equitable distribution of food to peasants and rationing of essential foods so that all people were guaranteed their minimal requirements. This was a radical break with China's past in which floods, droughts, and feudal oppression caused routine mass starvation — a condition common today in many Third World countries. And keep in mind that the amount of arable (farmable) land in China is only 70 percent of that in the U.S. — but had to provide for four times as many people.

Social and Economic Achievements Under Mao, Revolutionary Worker #1248

Estimates from various sources, including the World Bank and the Chinese government, suggest that income inequality has increased at least 50 percent since the late 1970s, making China one of the most unequal societies in Asia. According to a government study quoted by the official Xinhua News Agency, the most affluent one-fifth of China's population earn 50 percent of total income, with the bottom one-fifth taking home only 4.7 percent. "The income gap, which has exceeded reasonable limits, exhibits a further widening trend. If it continues this way for a long time, the phenomenon may give rise to various sorts of social instability," it says.

Peasants have been hit the hardest. The net per capita income of farmers in 2005 was \$402.80, while the per capita income of city dwellers was \$1,292, according to government statistics. "What's more,

the gap is widening," says Chen Xiwen, a high-level Communist Party functionary for rural finances. However, per capita income does not tell anything about the income of city dwellers (workers) as compared to the new bourgeois and middle class in the cities. An aperitif in a slick Beijing bar costs a month's wages of a farm worker. On the other hand, China's urban poverty has worsened despite the country's booming economy, according to the China Youth Daily, which quotes dozens of economists. The economists told the paper that the proportion of urban residents living in poverty is now higher than that of rural residents.

Class struggle in China: "A rise like a violent wind" - Part One, By Bruce Boon. In Defence of Marxism. Thursday, 06, April 2006

Many people are questioning the pro-capitalist road of the leadership. At the grassroots level, this is expressed by a return to Mao. Ordinary people compare their current condition with the social conquests they (or their parents) had some decades ago. The capitalist 'miracle' of China has been built on the destruction of those social conquests. Therefore it is quite normal that people long for "the good old days". This expresses itself in all sorts of ways. As Robert Weil states: "In a park in a working class neighborhood in Zhengzhou, hundreds – and up to a thousand or so on weekends – gather each evening to sing the old revolutionary songs and to uphold the legacy of the Mao era. In a similar, if less developed vein, workers and peasants often express the same kinds of views: life was different and better in the period under Mao, before China took the "capitalist road" that he warned against." (Robert Weil, 'To be attacked by the enemy is a good thing,' www.chinastudygroup)

Pao-yu Ching makes a similar observation: "Recently, more and more people, including some lower level government officials, are wearing Mao's button to show their allegiance to Mao." ('Mao's legacy in China's current development', China Study Group)

And it is not just about formal appearances. The legacy of the Mao era and its traditions translate themselves in the current class struggle. People go back to their previous experiences of struggle, like the Cultural Revolution. As the New York Times reported: "In one protest, middle-aged residents invoked rebellious slogans from their youth during the Cultural Revolution, reportedly saying things like 'to rebel is just' as they denounced summary evictions to make way for high-rise developers and demanded fair compensation." (24/08/05)

Not only the workers are looking back to the Mao era as a source of inspiration. Also student groups are studying Maoism, and with it the classical works of Marxism, to understand the current condition. As Robert Weil notes: "Beginning around five years ago, small Marxist study groups began to emerge on a few of the more elite university campuses. Originally quite isolated and devoted to reading the classical texts of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and especially Mao, these early efforts have blossomed into a much more widespread network of leftist campus organizations today. From a growing number of universities, students are now travelling to cities like Zhengzhou to meet with workers, study and report on their conditions, and offer both legal and material support to their struggles. A similar student organization, the Sons [sic] of the Peasants, is sending student delegations to the rural areas. Though still small, and barely a blip on the general university scene, where most students are devoted only to their studies and careers, these leftist campus groups are nevertheless a dramatic new development in China. Through this movement, hundreds of college students on the left, and those with broad progressive politics, are beginning to gain practical experience of the conditions and struggles of the working classes, and even joining them in opposing the current policies of the state and party authorities – a linkage that has not occurred since the Cultural Revolution." (ibid.)

In recent years, the city Zhengzhou has experienced some of the most militant labour protests and repeated clashes with police at the anniversary of Mao. It has acquired a reputation as a hotbed of radical Maoism. The China Study Group published a leaflet that was handed out in Zhengzhou on the occasion of the 28th anniversary of the death of Chairman Mao Zedong. Four people were afterwards arrested and put on trial. The reason is clear after reading the leaflet. Among other things it says:

"In this society of 'Socialism with Chinese characteristics', money means power and social status. The wealth polarization has driven working people into abject poverty; as a result, they have lost their social status and all the rights they had enjoyed previously. They are no longer dignified socialist laborers; instead, they are forced to sell their labor power as commodities for survival: they have become tools that can be bought freely by the capitalists (...)"

"Just take a look at what has transpired in a relatively short period of twenty plus years: the large and small capitalist-roaders in the Party and their family members have all become millionaires and even billionaires; who can deny that all their talks about socialism, and the 'Three Represents' [the pro-capitalist theory of former leader Jiang Zemin], are outright lies. What they really want is capitalism, because only capitalism will bring them the greatest benefit. They are the enemies of socialism and the people."

"We, however, must not forget that the CCP after all is a Party that had been founded and led by Mao Zedong, and one with a long revolutionary tradition. It is a Party that had carried resolute struggle against Khrushchev's revisionism, and had been tempered by the Cultural Revolution. And consequently, just as there are capitalist-roaders in the Party, there are certainly socialist-roaders in the Party as well, particularly at the grassroots level. Among the rank and file Party members and low-level cadres, the overwhelming majority are resentful of revisionist leaders within the party. They wish to see the Party change its current line and to revert to the socialist road. Some of them cannot tolerate it any more. They have stepped out to openly challenge the current leadership, but more people still find it safe for themselves or for their families not to speak their minds. We are convinced, along with the deepening of the revisionist clique's push for privatization, the class contradictions in China are bound to become more acute; and the masses will certainly intensify their struggle on ever wider scales. When development of contradictions and mass struggles nationwide reach a climax, the people within the Party, the government and the army who have understood the true nature of revisionism will wage a resolute struggle against it, and will rejoin the proletarian class ranks to hold high the banner of Mao Zedong and to resume the fight for socialism in China."

Class struggle in China: "A rise like a violent wind" - Part Two, By Bruce Boon. In Defence of Marxism. Monday, 10 April 2006

Resurgent Maoism Internationally

While the new capitalist rulers of China still cling to the image of Mao and try to hide behind the trappings of socialism, they are more than a little concerned about the resurgence of Maoism internationally, particularly in Nepal, which borders the Chinese-occupied province of Tibet. They are concerned enough to front military aid to prop up the despotic King, whose days in power are numbered as Maoist-led rebels now control most of the countryside.

The year 2005 was a good one for the Maoist movement, the most vigorous trend within what remains of the communist movement that transformed the globe in the 20th century... Marxism-Leninism in its Maoist form not only remains a factor in global affairs, but also is rapidly gaining in strength and significance.

In Nepal, in a single 11-hour battle on August 7 against the Royal Nepali Army (RNA), guerrillas of the People's Liberation Army, the military wing of the Communist Party of Nepal (Maoist), killed 159 soldiers at a road construction site at Kalikot, capturing about 50 prisoners. This stunning feat followed battles with security forces resulting in 12 security forces killed on Jan. 1, 23 on Jan. 19, 14 on June 7, and 19 on June 25. Increasingly the PLA deploys hundreds of troops in confronting the police or even the RNA. Attacks on police stations, often the only bastions of state authority in the criminally neglected countryside, on banks and land offices, produce a power vacuum readily filled by the Maoists and newly recruited local cadre attracted to the party's concrete measures to end arranged marriages, wife-beating, class and gender inequities in education, debt slavery and other "feudal" practices, caste discrimination and unchecked crime.

The CPN (Maoist) controls about 80% of the country, and makes inroads into the Katmandu Valley where one-tenth of the Nepali population lives. The Feb. 1 assumption of absolute power by the

unpopular king alienated the residents of the capital, who have relentlessly defied the law to demonstrate support for democracy and increasingly, for the republic long demanded by the Maoists. Soon after their Kalikot triumph, the Maoists announced a unilateral cease-fire, which the regime did not match and indeed dismissed as a ploy. But it was popular with the mainstream opposition, and in November the "seven agitating parties" (the legal, parliamentary parties represented in the last legislature) signed a pact with the Maoists to coordinate actions against the absolutist monarchy.

CPN (Maoist) leader Prachanda declared over a year ago that the People's War in Nepal had reached the stage of "strategic offensive" and implied that from now on, the guerrilla struggle surrounding the cities will work in tandem with an urban insurrection to bring about first a "new democracy" and later a socialist state. This is not at all a fanciful scenario, however horrifying it may seem to the rulers of India, facing their own Naxalite challenge; the rulers of China, facing social turmoil and uncomfortable with the revolutionary egalitarian legacy of the Mao they have long since repudiated; and to the rulers of the U.S. who fervently wish to believe that "communism is dead."

It was a good year for the Maoists of India too. Their most sensational achievement of 2005 was the attack by the Communist Party of India (Maoist) on the prison in Jehanabad in Bihar, 50 kilometers from the state capital of Patna, on the evening of November 12. Biking around the town around 8:30, the Maoists announced "a militant action of revolutionary character" and warned people to remain indoors. Immediately cutting power lines, they continued to make announcements through a public address system for the next two and a half hours, as they attacked police lines, the offices of the district administration, and the jail simultaneously. Using conventional rather than guerrilla military tactics, they overwhelmed the police, who simply surrendered. While freeing 341 inmates from the prison, including senior local Maoist leader Ajay Kanu, they took the opportunity to assassinate at least two leaders of an upper-caste militia. The CPI (Maoist) lost only two fighters. "It was perhaps the most audacious operation ever launched by Maoists in India," observed one horrified journalist.

In September 2004 two large Maoist parties merged to form the CPI (Maoist) and to coordinate actions throughout West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Chhattisgarh, Andhra Pradesh, Jharkhand, Madhya Pradesh and Maharashtra states. Meanwhile, as a member of the Coordinating Committee of Maoist Parties and Organizations of South Asia (CCMPOSA) the CPI (Maoist) has developed ties with other like-minded parties, including the CPN (Maoist). On September 2, the Nepali party chairman, Prachanda and the General Secretary of the Indian party, Ganapathy, issued a joint statement confirming the long Red Corridor of armed struggle stretching from the Base Areas in Nepal up to the guerrilla zones of Andhra Pradesh. This is sometimes called the "Compact Revolutionary Zone" and its establishment terrifies the Indian status quo.

As of October 2005, the Indian Home Ministry estimated that the Maoists had "9,300 hardcore underground cadre and they hold around 6,500 regular weapons besides a large number of unlicensed country-made arms." It declared that the sphere of influence of the "Naxalites" (Maoists) had rapidly spread during the previous 18 months from 76 districts across nine states to 118 districts in 12 states. "[T]he battle between naxalites and the state apparatus," predicted a Frontline journalist, "will acquire more intense proportions in the days to come."

2005: A Year of Maoist Resurgence, by Gary Leupp,
www.dissidentvoice.org, January 24, 2006

Besides Nepal and India, resurgent Maoist-led people's wars in the Philippines and Peru have demonstrated the resilience of the people's war strategy to allow the insurgents to spring back after even major set-backs. The U.S. Army refers to this as the "Mass Strategy" in its *Field Manual #100-20*:

People's war is the invention of Mao Tse-Tung and the Chinese Communist Party. Although the era of Communist-sponsored wars of national liberation has apparently ended, any serious insurgent would be advised to consider carefully the effectiveness of people's war, the most political of all insurgent strategies. The Maoist or mass strategy attempts to mobilize a whole people against their government. The

most sophisticated of insurgent strategies, it emphasizes organization and its relationship with the entire population. It is also the most military in its latter stages as it attempts to raise an army within the affected country and to challenge the government on the field of battle. The Maoist mass strategy has many imitators. The Vietnamese Communists used it to great effect, and it has been emulated in Peru, the Philippines, and elsewhere. Thus, the mass strategy deserves special attention.

The manual notes that in people's war the military aspect is secondary to the political aspect and no one except the ruling elite are considered permanent enemies, thus even the repressive forces are considered potential recruits. Being based upon self-reliance, outside aid is not necessary to build and maintain the people's forces and advance step by step and stage by stage to victory. Set-backs are expected and considered temporary. The Party, People's Liberation Army and mass organizations regenerate themselves and continue the struggle.

Notably, 2005 saw this strategy at work in Bangladesh, (where as recently as January 2003, Maoists captured 20 weapons from government forces in Daulatpur of Khulna), in Turkey, Iran, the Kurdish region of Iraq, Afghanistan and elsewhere. In Iraq itself, a RIM-aligned organizations called Marxist-Leninist Revolutionaries of Iraq was formed last year. The Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) is the principle international formation of Maoist parties and organizations. Since April 2002, there has been a Bhutan Communist Party (Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) rooted among the 100,000 ethnic Nepali refugees from Bhutan who reside in camps in Nepal. It has circulated leaflets throughout Bhutan demanding a republic.

2006 has seen even more resurgence:

The Maoists of Asia look upon the year 2006 as an important landmark in their joint struggle against what they project as American imperialism, Chinese revisionism and Indian comprador capitalism. This is because the 50th anniversary of what they describe as the joint struggle of the peasants, workers and other exploited sections of the world against modern revisionism falls this year.

2. According to them, Mao Zedong launched this struggle after the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party in 1956 in which Nikita Khrushchev, the then General Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, criticised the policies pursued by Stalin. They say that this struggle against revisionism reached a new and higher level when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was launched by Mao in May 1966, but since the death of Mao in September 1976, the struggling masses of the world "have been confronted with the betrayal of socialism and the restoration of capitalism in China."

3. In a joint statement disseminated through the Internet to mark the 50th anniversary, the Communist Party of India (Maoist), the Communist Party of the Philippines, the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist) and the Communist League of Indonesia have strongly criticised the post-Mao Chinese leadership for betraying the ideology of Mao and for taking China on the road to capitalism.

4. The statement says: "For as long as Comrade Mao was alive, he was able to lead the Chinese proletariat and people from victory to victory in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution against tremendous odds and against powerful adversaries. But soon after his death, the enemies of the Chinese proletariat and people made a coup and reversed his proletarian revolutionary line in carrying out socialist revolution and construction. Since then, China has increasingly taken the road of capitalist restoration. The full restoration of capitalism in China vindicates the teaching of Comrade Mao that socialism is lost when the revisionist line prevails within the ruling communist or workers' party and that eventually the bourgeoisie within the party and state succeeds in unleashing a coup and overthrowing the proletariat. Comrade Mao has bequeathed to us a legacy by which we can combat and defeat modern revisionism and by which we can revive and further develop the forces of socialism."

5. The statement adds: "For the entire year of 2006, we must undertake general campaigns and specific activities of theoretical and political education. We must confront the problem of modern revisionism as the most venomous enemy of the revolutionary

cause of socialism. We must condemn the betrayal of socialism and of Comrade Mao's proletarian revolutionary line by the Chinese capitalist-readers. We must renew our determination and efforts to carry out the historic mission of the proletariat, which is to carry out socialist revolution and construction. Upon the temporary success of modern revisionism against Marxism-Leninism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, monopoly capitalism headed by US imperialism has been able to launch the worst attacks against the proletariat and the oppressed peoples, such as "freemarket" globalization, racism, repression and wars of aggression. In response to the escalation of oppression and exploitation, the proletariat and people are intensifying their resistance through armed struggle and other forms of resistance. It is the internationalist duty of Marxist-Leninist-Maoist parties to unite and to arouse, organize and mobilize the proletariat and people in their respective countries and in the world at large in the struggle for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism, revisionism and reaction. By celebrating the 50 years of struggle against modern revisionism, we renew our commitment to persevere in the revolutionary struggle and strive to win ever greater victories under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism."

South Asia Analysis Group, 6/4/2006



**It Is Right To Rebel! Dare To
Struggle - Dare To Win!**

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The Angola Infirmary

By Mike Burge

This is my story of my one night stay at the Angola Infirmary. I was imprisoned by the guards in a small room on the ward. Prison officials always keep me shackled and isolated. I soon became bored with no way to pass the time. That drew me to gaze out the small window pane in the door. The view gave me a survey of the open ward.

There were around 25 mostly occupied beds. Most of the occupants were elderly prisoners, who appeared ailing and weak. Old wheelchairs and oxygen tanks were near many of the beds. An aged TV set and plastic chairs sat off in a corner.

That night, I could hear the labored breathing of the old prisoners. Most of them seemed to be sucking air in through a straw, tugging the air in, clinging to it for a moment, then letting it out. All night long they repeated the tedious task as they slept. Within a glass enclosed nurses' station, two ladies dressed in white sat fixing medication packs.

Detained with the elderly I saw a younger man of about 30. He looked aged before his time, fragile and sickly. His skin was tautly drawn across his face and cheeks, giving the impression that his face was collapsing inward. The skin appeared to have plunged inward around his nose, protruding his slender nose noticeably outward. His hollow eyes descended backwards into their sockets. His appearance betrayed to me that he was nearing death. The young man possessed the smell of death.

I began feeling nauseated. Even behind the bolted door, the odor penetrated. It was a stench that the smell of cleaning chemicals combined with air freshener sprayed by trustee inmates failed to mask.

In the dying man's blue vein stick of an arm, a needle was stuck, that was fastened to a tube leading to a glass bottle suspended from a tall metal pole. My eyes followed the slow steady dripping of the clear fluid flowing down the tube into the dying flesh on the other end. A small, clear, plastic mask covered his nose and mouth. Connected to it was a tube leading to an oxygen tank. Every so often, from within his agony, he emitted a barely audible moan.

As I studied his torment, compassion spread through me. My inquiries divulged that he was afflicted with lung cancer, and he would be "lucky" if he lived two more weeks. He was all alone, vulnerable and helpless. Death surely awaited him after ghastly, solitary suffering. I learned that, like me, he had no family or friends from outside to comfort his pain. It struck me that we have so brief a time to cherish life.

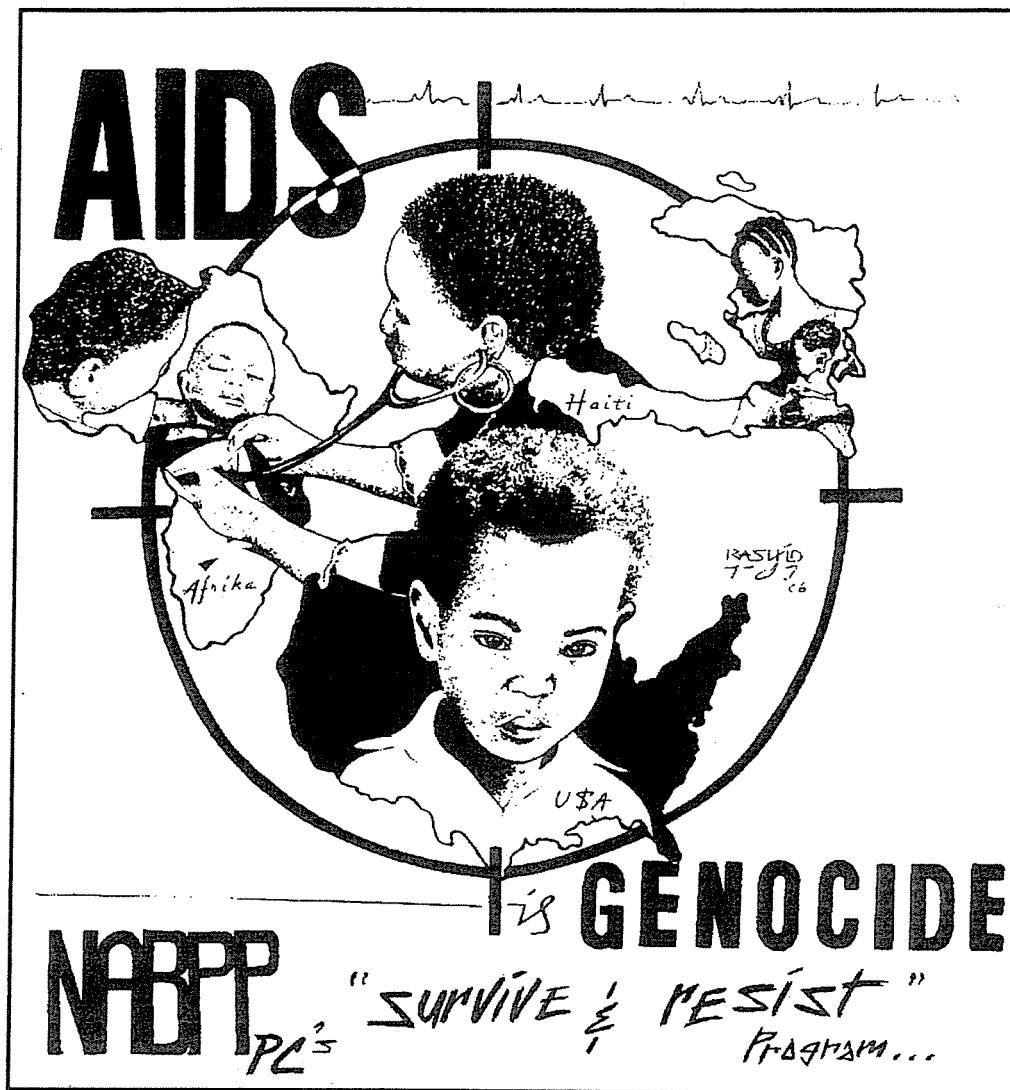
Watching this poor soul, reality rang through me. His approaching demise made me meditate on my homeland, my Baton Rouge, merely 60 miles due south. So near but yet so removed from me. In a man-locked cage, my beautiful city and my liberty are lost to me.

Baton Rouge is a city of beauty, grace and passion. In comparison, Angola is a man-made hell of vindictive punishment – two conflicting worlds – one open to all, the other one cut off.

One day soon, the dying man's destiny awaits me. I am serving "life without parole" in the Louisiana State Penitentiary. My final days in this life will be at the Angola Infirmary.□

Mike Burge #84576
Camp J – Shark – 2/L-14
LA State Penitentiary
Angola, LA 70712

[Bro. Burge was convicted of killing three other inmates in 1983 in what he claims was an act of self-defense. By a vote of 10 to 2, a jury of Angola locals sentenced him to spend the rest of his life in prison, where he is kept in a solitary confinement cell. Diagnosed to have contracted Hepatitis C in 2000, Bro. Burge is nonetheless denied treatment for this deadly viral infection by the prison authorities. Hepatitis C is a blood-bourn virus that can be contracted from dirty shackles or handcuffs breaking the skin.]□



1. Free Condom Distribution
2. It is a Revolutionary Duty to wear Condoms during Sex except when you are intentionally trying to make a baby and both parents have been checked out and are ready for the Responsibility of parenting
3. Promote financial sponsorship and Adoption of AIDS Orphans
4. Demand FREE distribution of AIDS medicine through the World Health Organization
5. Promote FREE needle exchanges along with campaigns against I.V. drug use
6. Street Nations should make dealing of I.V. drugs a serious offense by members – Dealing I.V. drugs is Genocide!

Building the People's HIV/AIDS 'Survive and Resist' Programs

By Minister of Defense Kevin 'Rashid' Johnson

No people can wage a struggle for self-determination and independence if they are wiped out of existence. The imperialists realize this and so should we: This in the concrete reality that makes survival

programs key organizing work for New Afrikan and Afrikan people everywhere. In addressing our survival needs, in Afrika, Amerika and elsewhere, we must have correct leadership and draw upon the

broadest international support as well as practice self-reliance.

Our unmet needs growing out of imperialist and neo-colonial domination and oppression are many; lack of adequate basic nutrition and health care, support of prisoners and their families, providing relief to the multitudes of refugees and orphans produced by imperialist-instigated, armed tribal conflicts and people being forced off their ancestral lands for economic reasons in various parts of Afrika, the ravages of West Nile Virus, Malaria and other diseases – but the greatest single crisis facing Afrikan people worldwide is HIV/AIDS.

Many of us prefer to ignore this issue and rely on the governments and World Health Organization to properly address it. But that's not happening. What is happening is genocide! In 2002, of the 3 million people who lost their lives to AIDS in that year, 2.2 million were Anikans, and that's not counting the New Afrikans in the Diaspora. In the interest of survival, we had better pay attention to this issue.

Five million people contract AIDS each year. Three million or more die from it each year. Nearly 90% of these are people in the 3rd World. Every day, 1,600 children die from AIDS. Two thirds of those infected with HIV/AIDS live in Afrika, where some six to eight thousand people die from it every day. That's like two 9-11's every day! If this were happening to white people, you would hear about it every day! In some Afrikan countries, like L:estho, a full one third of the adult population is testing positive for HIV. Between 1992 and 2000, the HIV-positive rate rose from 7 million to 22 million. In 2005, one million Afrikan school children lost their teachers to AIDS. In Sub-Saharan Afrika alone, there are now 12 million AIDS orphans.

The disease is spreading in the New Afrikan Nation within Amerika too. It's now estimated that 1 in 50 Black men in Amerika are AIDS infected, while 50% of all newly detected HIV/Aids cases are Black wimyn. In 1998, Blacks accounted for 49% of AIDS deaths in the U.S. Although we are but 13% of the U.S. population, we account for 51% of the newly diagnosed HIV cases. Black men are 7 times more likely to contract the HIV virus than white men. And Black wimyn are 20 times more likely to contract it than white wimyn. Clearly this disease that is devastating Afrika is beginning to impact New Afrikans as well. HIV/AIDS statistics for Haiti now mirror those of the most hard-hit areas of Mother Afrika.

According to the United Nations, some 25 million have died so far from AIDS. This number will rise dramatically as those who are infected succumb to this killer disease. An estimated 40 million people are HIV infected worldwide, and only 20% of them are receiving any treatment to slow the infection, while less than 1.3 million people with AIDS are receiving necessary medications. Moreover, testing is limited, and

probably 90% who are HIV positive don't know it. No one knows how bad the situation really is.

Because the first AIDS cases detected in Amerika were male homosexuals, the media and religious right quickly hyped it as a "gay disease," and even as "God's punishment." This stigma has left a continuing impression on public opinion in this country that runs contrary to facts. At least 75% of wimyn who are infected contracted the disease through heterosexual sexual intercourse. IV drug use is another cause, but the "moral majority" continue to frustrate free needle exchanges for drug addicts, as if their spreading the virus did not spill over into the general population.

Some will look at these statistics and say, "good! Let it kill off the niggers, queers and junkies!" There can be no doubt that racism, bigotry and homophobia have retarded social and governmental response to this crisis. But even more significant is the fact that from the monopoly capitalists' perspective there is a surplus of labor that can't be profitably exploited and too many poor people who can't afford to consume the products they're selling. This is genocide – for real – and it is up to us to put a stop to it!

None of the existing policies on HIV/AIDS awareness, prevention and treatment reflect or address the real world needs and crisis of this global epidemic, which for Afrikan and New Afrikan people is becoming a pandemic with genocidal overtones. Activism around this issue must be built beyond the ranks of those who have already fallen victim and are dedicating what remains of their strength to serving the people. These sisters and brothers deserve our respect and support, but a much bigger effort must be mounted and one that is not afraid to point out the political realities from a revolutionary New Afrikan perspective.

The building of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party (NABPP) must take place in the thick of struggle around the most important issues affecting our people. Survival issues are of highest priority. We must survive in order to resist – in order to overcome – and in order create a brighter future for future generations.

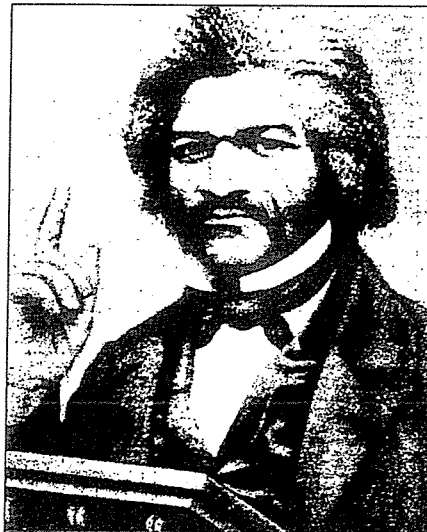
Tens of millions have died already, and many more are dying and will die, and literally billions are in danger. While the big name imperialist foundations and governments drag their feet and procrastinate, the infection is spreading. Action is needed! It is time to build the survival programs our people need with our own hands and resources, mobilizing and unleashing the power of the people to act in their own interest.

A vanguard party and mass organizations are needed to lead and organize the people's struggle. These won't fall from the sky. We have to build them in the course of struggle!

Capitalism + AIDS = Genocide! Power to the People!

Quotations From Frederick Douglass

Reprinted from Right On!, No. # 5



"If there is no struggle there is no progress. Those who profess to favor freedom, and yet deprecate agitation, are men who want crops without plowing up the ground. They want rain without thunder and lightning. They want the ocean without the awful roar of its many waters. This struggle may be a moral one; or it may be a physical one; or it may be both moral and physical; but it must be a struggle. Power concedes nothing without a demand. It never did and it never will."

"I expose slavery in this country, because to expose it is to kill it. Slavery is one of those monsters of darkness to whom the light of truth is death."

"I know no class of my fellowmen, however just, enlightened, and humane, which can be wisely and safely trusted absolutely with the liberties of any other class."

"There is no Negro problem. The problem is whether the American people have loyalty enough, honor enough, patriotism enough, to live up to their own constitution."

"When I ran away from slavery, it was for myself; when I advocated emancipation, it was for my people; but when I stood up for the rights of women, self was out of the question, and I found a little nobility in the act."

"To suppress free speech is a double wrong. It violates the rights of the hearer as well as those of the speaker. It is just as criminal to rob a man of his right to speak and hear as it would be to rob him of his money."

"Liberty is meaningless where the right to utter one's thoughts and opinions has ceased to exist. That, of all rights, is the dread of tyrants. It is the right which they first of all strike down. They know its power. Thrones, dominions, principalities, and powers, founded in injustice and wrong, are sure to tremble, if men are allowed to reason..."

"Let us render the tyrant no aid; let us not hold the light by which he can trace the footprints of our flying brother."

"To make a contented slave you must make a thoughtless one."

"I have no patriotism. I have no country. What country have I? The institutions of this country do not recognize me as a man. I am not thought of, spoken of, in any direction, out of the anti-slavery ranks, as a man. I am not thought of, spoken of, except as a piece of property belonging to some Christian slaveholder, and all the religious and political institutions of this country alike pronounce me a slave and a chattel."

"What to the Slave is the 4th of July."

"Slaves were expected to sing as well as to work. A silent slave was not liked, either by masters or overseers."

"In thinking of America, I sometimes find myself admiring her bright blue sky-her grand old woods-her fertile fields-her beautiful rivers-her mighty lakes and star-crowned mountains. But my rapture is soon checked when I remember that all is cursed with the infernal spirit of slave-holding and wrong; When I remember that with the waters of her noblest rivers, the tears of my brethren are borne to the ocean, disregarded and forgotten; That her most fertile fields drink daily of the warm blood of my outraged sisters, I am filled with unutterable loathing."

"We have to do with the past only as we can make it useful to the present and the future."□



TWENTY FIRST CENTURY SLAVE

By Bro. Panther Edgar Pitts

I am a slave in the twenty-first century.
As technology advances, the shackle's grip
Becomes tighter, the vision for freedom
Becomes dimmer, the pace towards liberation
Becomes slower, as we continue to fall deeper
And deeper into the abyss of dependency.
Slaves in the Twenty-First Century
Delusionary freedom, more of a slave than before.
Working harder, Slave Driver getting richer,
Wages getting higher, while the slaves are becoming Calmer.
Rich slaves, a new occupation that the slave driver can
Now afford
Gave the House Negro a home of his own.
Applying Satellite Principles, now tell me who needs
Eyes to
See or ears to hear or a mouth to speak.

Slaves in the Twenty-First Century
The Slave Trade now Updated
From Slave ships to Police cars
From Visible scars to Mental wars
From Plantations to Penal Institutions.
From Whips to Billy Clubs.
From Wanted Posters to American's Most Wanted.
From Field Negroes to Gangbangers.
From House Negroes to Sell Out Niggaz.
From the Slave Auction Block to the NBA Draft.
Slaves in the Twenty-First Century.□

Institutionalized

Vivian Flores

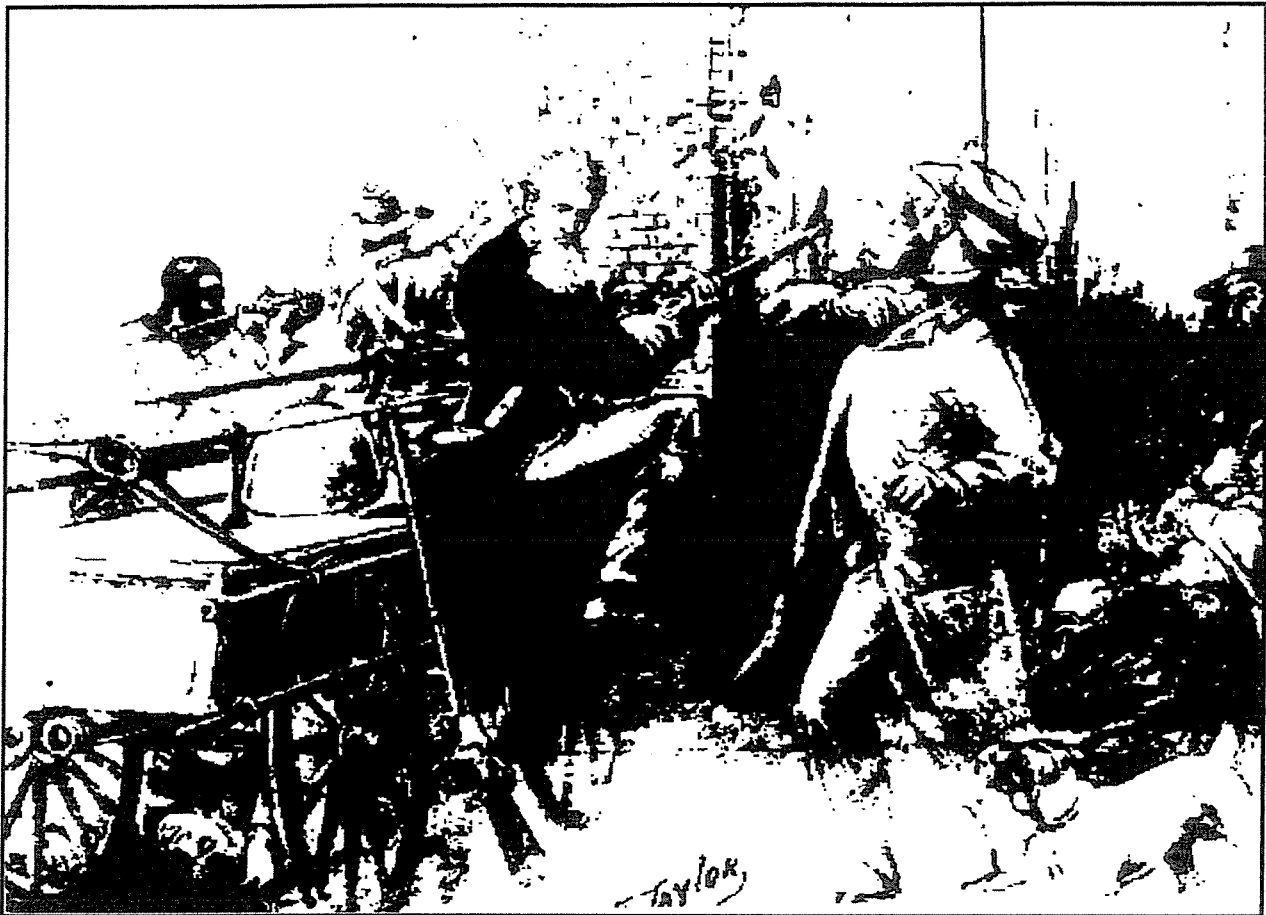
Programmed to the point,
Where you benefit supremacy,
Help keep it legacy,
For life, forever be.

Established colonialism,
For nothing but control,
From the Master (Cristobal) Colon,
Or for life, forever more.
The Salvation, Physical Revolution!

Comrade Ronnie Cole-Bey

GASPING FOR AIR

Being in jail is like gasping for air.
Like when you jump in a pool and go all
the way to the bottom and you're trying
to get to the top cause you're running
outta breath.
Being locked up behind these walls feels
Like I'm running outta breath.
I miss breathing freely.□



John Brown holds hostage at bay at Harper's Ferry

Book Review: A Voice From Harpers Ferry (1859)

by Osborne P. Anderson

Reprinted from Right On!, No. # 5

"The name of Osborne P. Anderson is virtually unknown, and as a participant in one of the most remarkable anti-slavery actions of its era, his account should be seen as an historical gold mine. Not only is his work virtually unknown, it remains virtually ignored. It is a measure of our historical myopia that his name is unknown and, perhaps more importantly, that his account, that of a Black revolutionary who fought for his people's freedom, is not known. His easy-to-read account opens the door to a history seldom seen." – Mumia Abu Jamal

On the evening of October 16, John Brown gathered his men together and set out for Harpers Ferry. "At first the raid went like clockwork. They cut telegraph wires, then easily captured the federal armory and arsenal, which was being defended by a lone watchman. They rounded up hostages, including Col. Lewis Washington, great-grand-nephew of George

Washington..."⁶

Their problems began when a train approached town. The baggage master ran to warn the passengers. Brown's men shouted at him to halt, then fired. The first victim of John Brown's war against slavery was Hayward Shepherd, a free black man. Then, inexplicably, Brown allowed the train to continue on its way. News of his raid made its way to Washington by late morning...

Whatever his intention, John Brown's revolution was coming apart. At noon, a company of militiamen stormed into town. They charged over the bridge, and the only true escape route was gone.

Eight raiders were dead or dying; five others were cut off. Two had escaped across the river. Brown gathered those who were left in a small brick building, the engine

⁶ The Raid on Harper's Ferry, 1999, [PBS Online](#) / [WGBH](#)

house.

The next morning, the raiders gazed out on a chilling sight: the armory yard was lined with a company of U.S. Marines, under the command of Lt. Col. Robert E. Lee. They were completely surrounded.

A young lieutenant, J.E.B. Stuart, approached under a white flag. Stuart handed over a note: if the raiders surrendered, their lives would be spared. Brown refused. Marines stormed the building; the door was breached. One Marine tried to run Brown through, but the blade struck the old man's belt buckle. Brown was then beaten unconscious.

"If Brown had died on that brick floor in that engine house," says Dennis Frye, "I believe he would've been noted in history, but only with a few sentences. Maybe even only a footnote. Brown's real effect came in his failure at Harpers Ferry. His real meaning is in what happens after his capture."

John Brown was taken to Charlestown, Virginia along with four other captives. His statements during his trial reached the nation, inspiring many with his righteous indignation toward slavery. The hanging would make Brown an abolitionist martyr.

John Brown's dedication to the abolition of slavery prompted Frederick Douglass to write the following: "Did John Brown fail? John Brown began the war that ended American slavery and made this a free Republic. His zeal in the cause of my race was far greater than mine. I could live for the slave, but he could die for him.." -- Frederick Douglas⁷



"As the only Black survivor of the seizure of Harper's Ferry, as one who escaped the slave-holder's hanging

for armed revolt, and as one who bore arms in defense of freedom and in furtherance of the establishment of a free Black republic in the mountains of the Appalachians, Anderson was in a perfect position to speak to the issue of slave betrayal. Instead, he sees none. He found the slaves supportive and overjoyed by the revolt, and counts them among the first to fall from the armed conflict. He was among the contingent that visited the plantations, where he found "the greatest enthusiasm:"

[J]oy and hilarity beamed from every countenance. One old mother, white-haired from age, and borne down with the labors of many years in bonds, when told of the work in hand, replied: "God bless you! God bless you!"

"Anderson found volunteers, who stepped forward "manfully" to assist the cause. Indeed, the only hesitation he found was among so-called "free" Blacks: "A dark-complexioned free-born man refused to take up arms. He showed the only want of confidence in the movement, and far less courage than any slave consulted about the plan."

"The truth of the Harper's Ferry "raid," as it has been called, in regard to the part taken by the slaves, and the aid given by colored men generally, demonstrates clearly: First, that the conduct of the slaves is a strong guarantee of the weakness of the institution, should a favorable opportunity occur; and, secondly, that the colored people, as a body, were well represented by numbers, both in the fight, and in the number who suffered martyrdom afterward.

"Of the seventeen revolutionaries who died at Harper's Ferry, nine were Black men! Moreover, five Black men were among the twenty-three revolutionaries who waged the action, and only one (Anderson) successfully escaped the battle. This means that the majority of men who died at the Ferry were Black men; the majority of Black men who fought and died (five of nine) were slaves fighting for their freedom!"⁸

A Voice From Harper's Ferry
By Osborne P. Anderson
World View Forum
55 West 17th St., 5th Floor
New York, NY 10011
www.workers.org

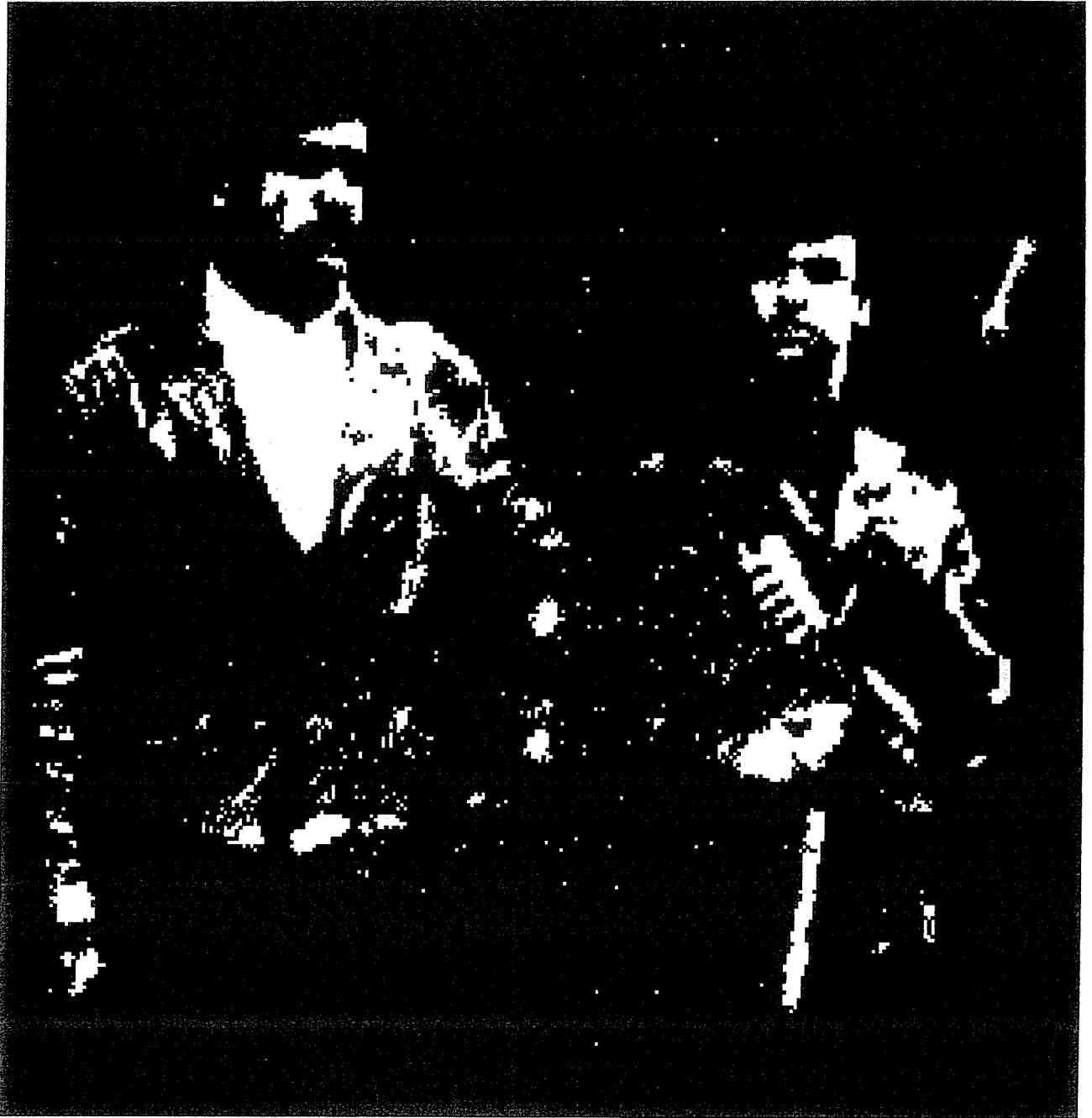
⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Mumia Abu Jamal, foreward



"Prisons were not institutionalized on such a massive scale by the people. Most people realize that crime is simply the result of a grossly disproportionate distribution of wealth and privilege, a reflection of the present state of property relations. There are no wealthy men on death row, and so few in the general prison population that we can discount them altogether. Imprisonment is an aspect of class struggle from the outset. It is the creation of a closed society which attempts to isolate those individuals who disregard the structures of a hypocritical establishment as well as those who attempt to challenge it on a mass basis. Throughout its history, the United States has used its prisons to suppress any organized efforts to challenge its legitimacy - from its attempts to break up the early Working Men's Benevolent Association to the banning of the Communist Party during what I regard as the fascist takeover of this country, to the attempts to destroy the Black Panther Party."

- George Jackson, "Blood In My Eye"



Spring is a time of renewal. It is also the time of the two principle holidays of the international working class that are celebrated all over the world; Mayday (May 1st, International Workers Day) and IWD (March 8, International Women's Day). Both of these holidays originated with the struggle of workers in Amerika. Mayday grew out of the fight for the 8-hour day, and IWD was first observed on 28 February 1909 following a declaration by the Socialist Party of America. Women from clothing and textile factories had staged a mass protest on 8 March 1857 in New York City. The garment workers were protesting what they saw as very poor working conditions and low wages. The protesters were attacked and dispersed by police. These women established their first labor union in the same month two years later.

Sometimes these holidays have been celebrated with picnics or dinners, other times with mass demonstrations and even pitched battles with police. Always they have been occasions to fly the red flag and speak boldly about the historic destiny of the working class to abolish the system of wage slavery and all oppression and recreate the world in its own image, free from exploitation. It is a time to honor the heroes

and heroines of our class, the martyrs and the masses who have struggled and bled to create a better world for future generations.

It is fashionable today to discount the revolutionary potential of the workers of this country. Even many who profess to be revolutionaries and Communists write off the American workers as too comfortable, too bribed and brainwashed to ever again play a role in advancing the struggle of the international proletariat. By the same token, many say that Black people today are incapable of standing and rising together as past generations have to fight against racist national oppression and for social justice.

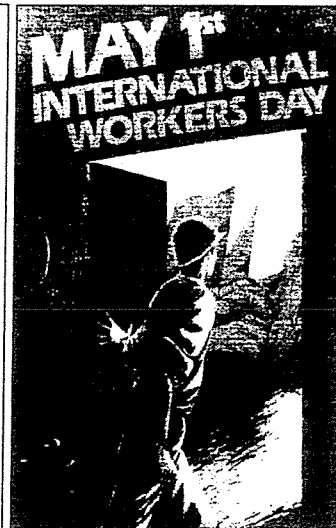
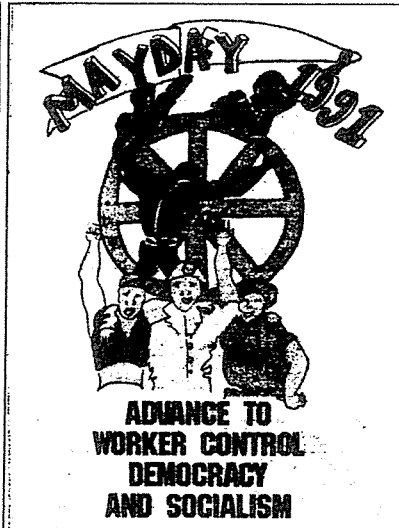
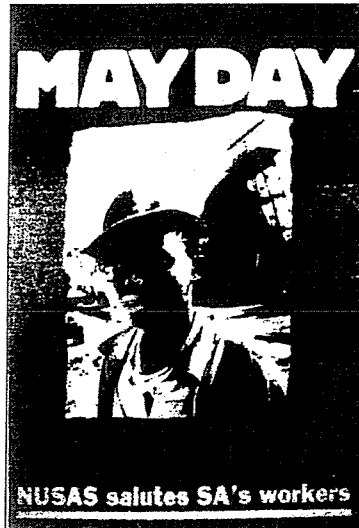
These views are not shared by the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter nor our allies. Revolution advances in waves, and for many reasons there are ebbs and flows in the struggle, but revolution remains the main trend in the world. There have been three great waves of proletarian revolution. The first culminated in the Paris Commune and received its ideological and political leadership from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. The second was the Russian Revolution

led by V.I. Lenin. The third involved the Chinese Revolution and Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution led by Mao Tse-tung. We believe that a fourth great wave is on the rise and will be centered right here in the headquarters of global imperialism. It has the potential to go all the way and sweep monopoly capitalism and the epoch of exploitation off the stage of history.

The NABPP-PC is a new formation centered in Amerika's razor wire

plantations. Some would say we are insignificant, but we believe we represent the wave of the future and the continuation of centuries of struggle that has gone before. Specifically, we are a continuation of the original Black Panther Party (BPP) established in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. We see the future as coming up for grabs, and we are dedicated to building the vanguard party and revolutionary mass movements to see that we seize the time and make all the way revolution this time.

Power To The People! Long Live The First Of May And International Women's Day!



MAY DAY



Chairman Bobby Seale speaking at BPP rally, Mayday, San Francisco, 1969

May 1st, Mayday, was proclaimed a national holiday in 1777 by the Continental Congress in honor of the Lenape Indian chief, Tamanend, whom they proclaimed to be the "Patron Saint of America." Tamanend had signed the "Great Treaty" with William Penn at the founding of the Pennsylvania Colony. He was a hero to the common people of Philadelphia who celebrated on the 1st by dressing up in Indian regalia and marching through the streets. They took a holiday from work and held a pow-wow on the edge of town where they smoked a "peace pipe" and made speeches about liberty and the rights of man. The Sons of St. Tammany were an influential factor in events leading up to the revolution, and the Pennsylvania troops marched off to fight the British under his banner.

Mayday had been a pagan holiday in Europe, as in the Celtic celebration of Beltane, and the Walpurgis Night of the Germanic countries, which the Christian church attempted to suppress, but carried on among the rural people in a muted form. Proclaiming Tamanend their "Patron Saint" was an affront to the Church Establishment and a declaration of independence from the class system it reflected.

After the Revolutionary War, when the former officers of the Continental Army organized as the hereditary Society of Cincinnati, the rank and file veterans organized as the Tamanend Society, which under Thomas Jefferson's influence became the core of the opposition Republican Democratic Party.

The Tammanies supported the revolution in France, Universal Manhood Suffrage, (including for Free Blacks), the passage of the Bill of Rights, and opposed slavery and the encroachment on Indian lands. Increasingly, the Mayday commemorations became focused on obtaining first the 10-hour day and then the 8-hour day. In 1791, the carpenters in Philadelphia went on strike for the 10-hour day. In 1835, Mayday launched a general strike for the 10-hour day in Philadelphia.

By 1860, the average workday in the U.S. had dropped to 11 hours. Since 1836, workers in Philadelphia, who had already won the 10-hour day, began campaigning for the 8-hour day. The Civil War strengthened the movement. As Karl Marx observed; "out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose. The first real fruit of the Civil War was the eight-hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."⁹

As evidence, Marx quotes a declaration from the 1866 General Congress of Labor in Baltimore: "The first and great necessity of the present, to free this country from capitalist slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all States of the American Union."

Six years later, in 1872, a hundred thousand workers in New York City struck and won the eight-hour day, mostly for building trades workers. It was in this rising ferment for the eight-hour day that May Day was born.

The movement for the eight-hour day was wedded to the date of May 1 at an 1884 convention of the three-year-old Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada [the forerunner of the American Federation of Labor]. George Edmonston, founder of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, introduced a resolution designed to crystallize labor's support for the eight-hour day:

"Resolved ... that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's labor from and after May 1, 1886, and that we recommend to labor organizations throughout this district that they so direct their laws so as to conform to this resolution by the time named."¹⁰

The focus of the struggle now shifted to Chicago and the call for a nationwide general strike for the 8-hour day on May 1st, 1886. At the

time, the labor movement in the U.S. was divided into three main trends.

The largest was the Knights of Labor headed by Terence Powderly. Founded in 1878, the Knights included the demand for the 8-hour day in their founding constitution, they were also very progressive about organizing Black and women workers, but Powderly was dead set against the tactic of striking and forbade the Knights from striking on May 1st. He also put forward an alternative to Mayday of the 1st Monday of September as "Labor Day," which the government adopted. Nevertheless, many local branches of the Knights ignored Powderly and took part in the general strike, particularly in Chicago, Cincinnati and Milwaukee.

The FOTLU [AFL] led by Samuel Gompers included a strong Marxist component and were the main organizers of the strike. Inspired by the Paris Commune, the first revolutionary uprising of the working class, in 1871, the Marxists saw the 8-hour day movement as a step towards revolution in the U.S., a sentiment shared by the newspapers who warned of "communist infiltrators" of the movement.

The third main trend was that of the Anarchists, loosely organized under the banner of the International Working People's Association. The several wings of the IWPA rejected political action in favor of militant and often individualistic acts of violence and at first denounced the 8-hour day movement. As recounted by Eric Chase of the IWW:

At first, most radicals and anarchists regarded this demand as too reformist, failing to strike "at the root of the evil." A year before the Haymarket Massacre, Samuel Fielden pointed out in the anarchist newspaper, The Alarm, that "whether a man works eight hours a day or ten hours a day, he is still a slave."



Despite the misgivings of many of the anarchists, an estimated quarter million workers in the Chicago area became directly involved in the crusade to implement the eight hour work day, including the Trades and Labor Assembly, the Socialistic Labor Party and local Knights of Labor. As more and more of the workforce mobilized against the employers, these radicals conceded to fight for the 8-hour day, realizing that "the tide of opinion and determination of most wage-workers was set in this direction." With the involvement of the anarchists, there seemed to be an infusion of greater issues than the 8-hour day. There grew a sense of a greater social revolution beyond the more

⁹ "May Day, The Workers' Day, born in the struggle for the eight-hour day," by Andy McNerney, in *Liberation & Marxism*, issue no. 27, Spring 1996

¹⁰ Ibid.

immediate gains of shortened hours, but a drastic change in the economic structure of capitalism.

In a proclamation printed just before May 1, 1886, one publisher appealed to working people with this plea:

- *Workingmen to Arms!*
- *War to the Palace, Peace to the Cottage, and Death to LUXURIOUS IDLENESS.*
- *The wage system is the only cause of the World's misery. It is supported by the rich classes, and to destroy it, they must be either made to work or DIE.*
- *One pound of DYNAMITE is better than a bushel of BALLOTS!*
- *MAKE YOUR DEMAND FOR EIGHT HOURS with weapons in your hands to meet the capitalistic bloodhounds, police, and militia in proper manner.*

Not surprisingly the entire city was prepared for mass bloodshed, reminiscent of the railroad strike a decade earlier when police and soldiers gunned down hundreds of striking workers. On May 1, 1886, more than 300,000 workers in 13,000 businesses across the United States walked off their jobs in the first May Day celebration in history. In Chicago, the epicenter for the 8-hour day agitators, 40,000 went out on strike with the anarchists in the forefront of the public's eye. With their fiery speeches and revolutionary ideology of direct action, anarchists and anarchism became respected and embraced by the working people and despised by the capitalists.

The names of many - Albert Parsons, Johann Most, August Spies and Louis Lingg - became household words in Chicago and throughout the country. Parades, bands and tens of thousands of demonstrators in the streets exemplified the workers' strength and unity, yet didn't become violent as the newspapers and authorities predicted.

More and more workers continued to walk off their jobs until the numbers swelled to nearly 100,000, yet peace prevailed. It was not until two days later, May 3, 1886, that violence broke out at the McCormick Reaper Works between police and strikers.¹¹

Attention Workingmen!

MASS-MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7:30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St., Bet. Desplaines and Halsted

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

Workingmen Arm Yourselves and Appear in Full Force!

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Achtung, Arbeiter!

Grösste

Massen-Versammlung

Heute Abend, 7½ Uhr, auf dem

Hauptmarkt, Randolph-Strasse, zwischen

Desplaines- u. Halsted-Str.

Gute Redner werden den neuesten Schandthaten der Polizei, indem sie gestern Nachmittags unsere Arbeiter erschossen, gegehen.

Alle Arbeiter, bewaffnet und zahlreich erschienen!

Das Organ der Arbeiter.

The general strike had been a great success. All told as many as half a million workers took part in the Mayday demonstrations. Samuel Gompers, speaking to 10,000 marchers in Union Square in NYC, told the crowd, "May 1st would be forever remembered as a second declaration of independence."¹²

Black-white unity and unity between various ethnic groups characterized the demonstrations, even in the South. Some 30,000 workers were granted the 8-hour day in April by frightened employers. But nowhere was the strike's impact greater than in Chicago. 90,000 marched and 35,000 meatpackers won the 8-hour day with no cut in pay.

The strike wave continued to gain momentum after the 1st, and the number of strikers in the city swelled from 40,000 to over 100,000. On May 3rd, August Spies, a leader of the syndicalist wing of the IWPA, was addressing striking lumber workers, preparing to negotiate with the owners over the eight-hour day, in Chicago's Haymarket Square.

During the rally, several hundred lumber workers left to join the locked-out workers at the McCormick Harvester Works, about a quarter-mile away. The McCormick workers had been locked out for three months; the plant was being run with scabs, and the lumber workers were joining the locked-out workers to confront the scabs at shift change.

Within 15 minutes, hundreds of cops were on the scene. Spies and the remaining lumber workers, hearing gunshots, headed for McCormick to reinforce their comrades. But a force of police intercepted them, attacking them with clubs and firing into the crowd. At least four workers were killed outright, with many other injured.

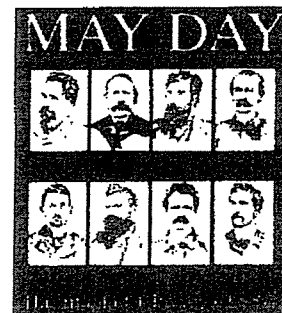
Spies immediately issued two leaflets in both English and German. One had the headline, "Revenge! Workingmen, to Arms!" and put responsibility for the atrocity at the hands of the bosses. The other called for a mass rally at Haymarket Square to denounce the police murders.

On the day of the rally, May 4, the police carried out a wave of attacks against striking workers. Despite the attacks, 3,000 gathered for the evening rally - including the mayor, who wanted to insure that the rally remained peaceful.

Spies spoke first, taking up the cop murders the day before. Parsons also spoke, addressing the eight-hour day. After these two leaders left, Samuel Fielden addressed the remaining crowd.

Minutes after the mayor left the rally, while Fielden was speaking, 180 cops closed in on the speakers stand and demanded that the rally disperse. Fielden protested that the rally was peaceful.

Just as the police captain was giving orders to the cops, a bomb was thrown from the crowd into the ranks of the police. Sixty-six cops were wounded; seven later died. The cops turned their guns on the workers, wounding 200 and killing several.¹³



¹¹ The Brief Origins of May Day, by Eric Chase, The Industrial Worker, online edition www.iww.org

¹² "May Day, The Workers' Day, born in the struggle for the eight-hour day," by Andy McNerney, in *Liberation & Marxism*, issue no. 27, Spring 1996

¹³ Ibid

The newspapers howled for a round-up of the Anarchists, and the police complied. Seven leaders were arrested within days; August Spies, Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, Adolph Fischer, George Engel, Louis Lingg, and Oscar Neebe. Albert Parsons evaded a police search until he turned himself in on the day of the trial.

Only three had been present at the rally, and the prosecutors produced no evidence that any of the eight men threw the bomb, nor that any of them had conspired to have the bomb thrown. As prosecuting Attorney Julius Grinnel said in his closing remarks, "Law is upon trial. Anarchy is on trial. These men have been selected, picked out by the grand jury and indicted because they were leaders. They are no more guilty than the thousands that follow them. ... Convict these men, make examples of them, hang them and save our institutions, our society."¹⁴

In the year between their arrests and the executions of Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fisher, (Lingg committed suicide and Neebe, Fielden and Schwab had their sentences commuted to life imprisonment), international support was raised for the condemned. Meanwhile, the entire labor movement came under attack, and a third of the workers who had won the 8-hour day lost it within a month after the Haymarket incident. The next governor pardoned the three in prison and posthumously pardoned those who had been executed.



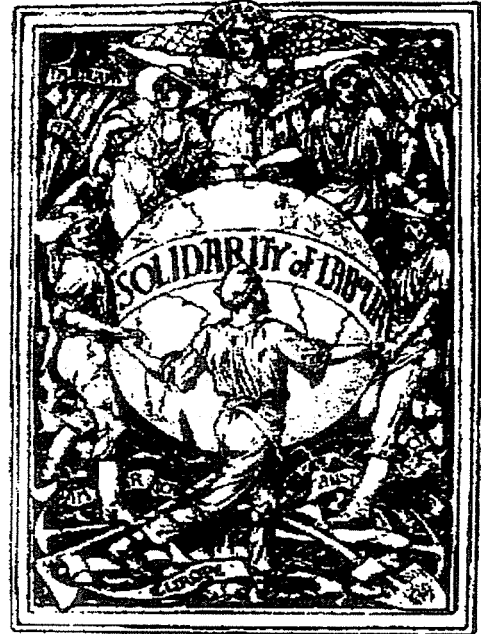
Lucy Parsons, widowed by Chicago's "just-us," who was born in Texas, was partly Afro-American, partly Native American, and partly Hispanic. She set out to tell the world the true story "of one whose only crime was that he lived in advance of his time." She went to England and encouraged English workers to make Mayday an international holiday for shortening the hours of work.



A GARLAND FOR MAY-DAY 1895
DEDICATED TO THE WORKERS BY WALTER GAYNE

Chicago was draped in black crepe, and 250 thousand lined the streets or marched in the funeral parade for the Haymarket Martyrs. The monument over their grave is inscribed with the last words of August Spies:

THE DAY WILL COME WHEN OUR SILENCE WILL BE MORE
POWERFUL THAN THE VOICES YOU ARE THROTTLING TODAY.



LABOUR'S MAY DAY
DEDICATED TO THE WORKERS OF THE WORLD

MAY DAY SPREADS WORLDWIDE

In 1889, over 400 delegates met in Paris on the 100th anniversary of the French revolution at the Marxist International Socialist Congress - the founding meeting of the Second International. Gompers sent a delegate with word of their call for action on May 1, 1890.

The Congress passed a resolution, introduced by the French delegate Lavigne, calling for a "great international demonstration" to take place for the eight-hour day. The demonstration was to take place on May 1, 1890, "in view of the fact that such a demonstration has already been resolved upon by the American Federation of Labor."

The call was a resounding success. On May 1, 1890, May Day demonstrations took place in the United States and most countries in Europe. Demonstrations were also held in Chile and Peru. In Havana, Cuba, workers marched in the world's first May Day demanding the eight-hour day, equal rights for Blacks and whites, and working-class unity.

Frederick Engels, who joined the half-million workers in Hyde Park in London on May 3, reported:

"As I write these lines, the proletariat of Europe and America is holding a review of its forces; it is mobilized for the first time as one army, under one flag, and fighting for one immediate aim: an eight-hour working day."

While the 1889 resolution called for a one-time demonstration on May 1, the day quickly became an annual event. Around the world, workers in more and more countries marked labor's day on May Day.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibid

¹⁵ Ibid



A great international demonstration shall be organized for a fixed date in such a manner that the workers in all countries and in all cities shall on a specified day simultaneously address to the public authorities a demand to fix the workday at eight hours and to put into effect the other resolutions of the International Congress of Paris.

In view of the fact that such a demonstration has already been resolved upon by the American Federation of Labor at its convention of December 1888 in St. Louis for May 1, 1890, that day is accepted as the day for the international demonstration.

The workers of the various nations shall organize the demonstration in a manner suited to conditions in their country.

—Resolution introduced by Raymond Lavigne, International Socialist Congress, Paris, July 20, 1889

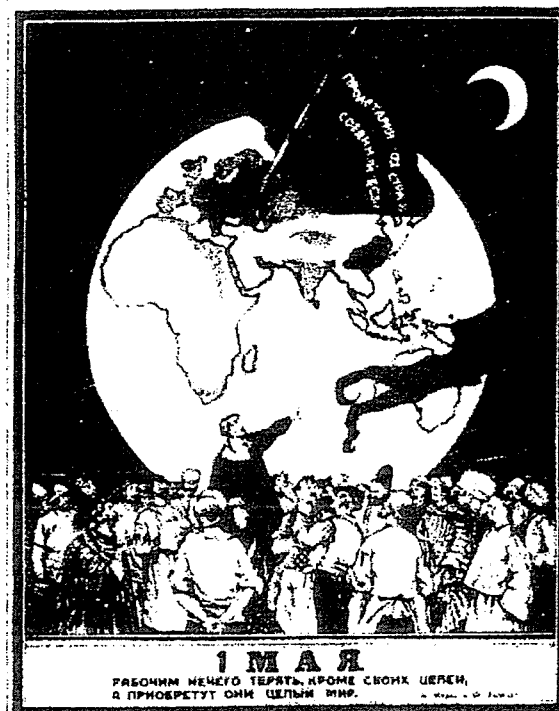
In 1891, Mayday was celebrated for the first time in Russia, Ireland, Australia and Brazil. That same year, the French Army tested its new Lebel machine gun by firing on a peaceful Mayday demonstration at Fourmies killing 14 and wounding 40. On Mayday 1894, huge numbers of unemployed under the generalship of Jacob Coey descended on Washington D.C. In 1899, Tzarist police arrested 3,000 out of 20,000 Mayday demonstrators in Warsaw.

By 1904, the Second International called on all socialists and trade unionists in every country to "demonstrate energetically" each May 1 "for the legal establishment of the eight-hour day, for the class demands of the proletariat, and for universal peace."¹⁶ The Russian Revolution of 1905 began on May Day. "The Day of the Chicago Martyrs belongs to the working class and is dedicated to the revolution," as Eugene Debs put it in his May Day editorial of 1907.¹⁷ In 1910, 60,000 marched in the streets of New York on May 1st. Half a million U.S. workers took part in 1911.

¹⁶ Ibid

¹⁷ *The Incomplete, True, Authentic and Wonderful History of MAY DAY*, Midnight Notes collective: midnotes@aol.com

СОВЕТСКОЕ СОЮЗНОЕ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВО



With the success of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, the international working class was emboldened and the employing class was threatened by the "spectre of communism." In 1919, riots marked the celebration of Mayday in Boston, Cleveland and other cities as right-wing goons backed by police tried to crush the workers' demonstrations. The red flag was outlawed and so was Mayday as thousands were arrested and many were deported during the "Second Red Scare," orchestrated by Attorney General Palmer and his assistant J. Edgar Hoover.

Chinese workers celebrated their first Mayday in 1920. May 1st saw work stoppages, demonstrations, general strikes, and insurrections all over the world, from Mexico to Kenya, from China to France. In 1927, workers in India observed Mayday with demonstrations in Calcutta, Madras and Bombay. Mayday would be celebrated as International Workers Day in every country of the world.

Bloody Mayday in Berlin 1929

Even before the 1929 crash, 450,000 German people were unemployed. Between February 1925 and the end of the following year, the number of registered unemployed in Berlin doubled three times. Of the more than 112,000 working men in the city who were registered as out of work in the summer of 1926, nearly 15,000 were under 21, a figure which represented something over 15 per cent of working-class males aged 14 to 21.

In January 1919, the only one-year-old German Communist Party (*Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands*, KPD) tried to seize power in the Spartacist Revolt. The coup failed and at the end of the month right-wing forces killed the communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The Social Democratic Party (SPD), which still pretended to be Marxist, was brought to power.

The SPD had control over the unions, and the KPD was forced to center its efforts on recruiting manual and unskilled workers, street youth, and the unemployed.

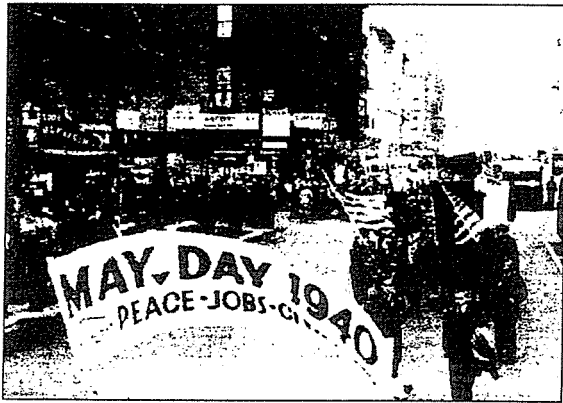
The KPD was an avowedly insurrectionary party, whose raison d'etre consisted in providing a revolutionary alternative to Social Democracy. As such, it adopted a policy of opposition to the Weimar state, not excepting those welfare measures for which the Social Democrats took responsibility and which, in

Prussia and Berlin, Social Democratic officials often administered. An important aspect of Communist activity was neighborhood-based agitation around such institutions as the police, the welfare bureaus and labour exchanges and the schools, involving both direct action - demonstrations or, in the case of the police, the advocacy of physical resistance - and repeated demands for such radical reforms of the system as workers' control.¹⁸

The Communist Party was concentrated in the working-class slums of Wedding, Neukölln, Friedrichshain, Mitte and parts of Kreuzberg. The Party and its youth organization organized the Red Front and Red Front Youth as street fighting arms to defend these districts from the right-wing Bismarck and Nazis gangs and the police. They also united with local street gangs.

In 1929, the SPD-controlled government put a ban on Mayday demonstrations. The Communists decided to demonstrate anyway, and many rank and file Social Democrats joined them. For the next three days mobs of workers would form ranks and attempt to march out of the barricaded workers' districts to the city center only to be beaten back by the police in pitched street battles that left 27 workers killed and more than 100 injured. Only one policeman was killed, by his own gun accidentally going off.

"It is exceedingly regrettable," said Politzerpräsident Carl Zoergiebel in defense of his super-efficient policemen, "that bystanders were injured, but we must consider the viewpoint of the decent laborers who were not in the least connected with the uprising, and had the right to demand that the fire of insurrection be quenched as soon as possible."¹⁹ After taking over, and packing both Communists and Social Democrats off to concentration camps, Hitler reinstated Mayday to promote his own phony fascist trade unions.



Resurgence of Mayday

Having been abandoned by the increasingly conservative AFL in 1905, Mayday went through a resurgence in the 1930's during the Great Depression with the rise of the Communist Party USA and the mass organizations it promoted, including the Congress of Industrial Unions (CIO). A split from the AFL, the CIO organized workers along industrial rather than craft lines.

Mass industrial unions were created in the USA during the mid-1930s as a result of a series of bitter and extremely violent battles between workers on one side and capitalists and their police. National guards and hired thugs were used and spies employed by detective agencies were sent to infiltrate the

labour movement. Labour legislation, most of it during FD Roosevelt's "New Deal" Federal government encouraged the organising drive of the unions. In 1934 the US adhered to the International Labour Organisation that had been set up under the League of Nations in 1919. The Wagner Act (National Labour Relations Act) protected the right of workers to organise and elect representatives to engage in collective harmony. (Without vigorous working class action the Federal "pro-labour" legislation would have counted for nothing.)



In 1936 the United Rubber Workers organised the first large sit-down strikes. Workers continued to occupy their plants, but did no work, and prevented scabs being put in their jobs (the traditional method of breaking strikes). They won recognition at Goodyear Tyre and Rubber Company. In Flint Michigan, the United Autoworkers occupied the General Motors Plant. In the same year the anti-strike breaking act (Byrnes Act) made it unlawful to transport strike breakers in inter-state or foreign trade.

The 1937 Walsh-Healy Act established a minimum wage, overtime pay and safety standards on all Federal contracts. General Motors recognised the UAW (CIO) agreeing not to victimise trade unionists in future.

Violence did not cease to be a feature of labour-capitalist relations: ten people were killed and 80 wounded in Chicago in the so-called "Memorial Day Massacre" during a strike by steelworkers, when police attacked a crowd of men and women who were backing the workers in their dispute with "Republic Steel". The strike was broken after five weeks. The US Steel Corporation recognised the steelworkers organising committee and agreed to an 8-hour day and a 40 hour week.²⁰

Two factors that had a dramatic effect on the Mayday demonstrations and their demands in this period were the Party's work in forming unemployed councils and its work among the Black masses in the South as well as in the North. Demands for Jobs or Income, Freedom for the Scotsboro Boys, (Black youth wrongfully accused of raping a white woman), and for an end to "Jim Crow" segregation were raised.

¹⁸ ORGANISING THE LUMPENPROLETARIAT: CLIQUES AND COMMUNISTS IN BERLIN DURING THE WEIMAR REPUBLIC, Eve Rosenhaft, From "The German Working Class," edited by Richard J. Evans, 1982

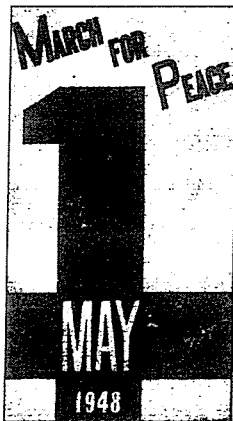
¹⁹ Zoergiebel Regrets, *New York Times*, Monday, May 20, 1929

²⁰ *Workers' Liberty magazine*

Another issue that had a dramatic effect was the civil war in Spain. Anti-fascism slogans were raised, and volunteers and veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, the U.S. contingent of the International Brigades that fought on the republican side in Spain, generally had the honor of leading the Mayday marches.



Paul Robeson sings at Mayday rally in Scotland



The Cold War Era

After being allied with the Soviet Union and Communist and Socialist parties around the world in the fight against fascism during World War II, the U.S. government did an about face by launching the "Cold War" in its aftermath. Former Nazis officials who were being tried as war criminals were "rehabilitated" and put back in positions of power in the U.S. and British-occupied sections of West Berlin and West Germany, and the CIA was created with former Nazis agents and supporters in key positions.

A third "Red Scare" swept over Amerika orchestrated by fascists like J. Edgar Hoover and Senator Joe McCarthy. Purges of Communists and sympathizers decimated the ranks of Union leadership, writers and

actors were "blacklisted," and President Eisenhower officially proclaimed May 1st to be "Loyalty Day."

Why do they scream that May Day is subversive, a foreign importation, an "un-American" plot? What are they afraid of? They have many sweet words about organized labor, but on that one day when organized labor marches through the streets of New York City, the corrupt press, the bosses and the sellout artists scream with rage and fear. Why?...More than any other group, the working class suffers from war; and only the working class, in all its strength, can lead and win the fight for peace. That's what we march for this May Day, for peace, for a decent world where our kids can look to a future other than death. The whole of the human race looks to the American working class to win its fight for peace. For a peaceful co-existence with the Soviet Union! For an end to the Korean war! For peace, friendship and trade with China!²¹



Having completely subordinated the class struggle to the war effort and having bought into the illusion of post war cooperation and peaceful co-existence, the CP-USA was ill-prepared to deal with the "Cold War." It passively reacted to McCarthyism and its members and supporters being purged from the unions and other positions. It suspended its work in the South and told half its cadre to go underground and await the onset of fascism.

WE MARCH FOR EQUALITY

on this May Day, and in defense of our Negro brothers. "Labor in white skin can never be free, while his brother in black skin is branded!"

It is almost a hundred years since those words were written, but they were never more true than today. The same Truman government that is smashing organized labor has instituted a veritable blood bath among the Negro people.

Because the Negro people are overwhelmingly workers, and because the Negro people understand and oppose the injustice and horror of the Korean war.

The Hitler-like murders of the Negro people must stop! John Derrick and the seven Martinsville martyrs already dead — the Trenton Six and Willie McGee to die — the bloodbath must end!

On this May Day, we march shoulder to shoulder, Negro and white — for democracy and equality. We march with full understanding and bitter memory of the murder of six million Jews by the fascists of Hitler Germany, and we take a sacred vow that this will not happen here.

We demand an end to segregation! We demand an end to Jim Crow in every form and manifestation! We say:

²¹ May Day 1951: Is it Subversive?, by Howard Fast

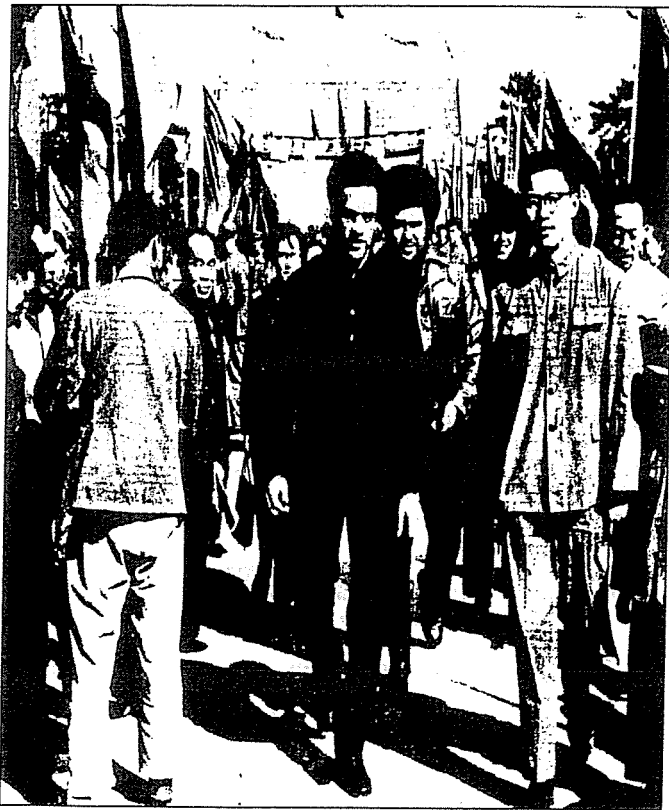
"Hands off the leaders of the Negro people! Hands off Paul Robeson, W.E.B. Du Bois and William L. Patterson! Free Lieutenant Gilbert!"

*We call for unity of all Negro and white workers!*²²

Yet despite these sentiments, the Party consigned itself to playing a support role only in the emerging Civil Rights Movement and failed to follow a Leninist policy of "Revolutionary Defeatism" in the Peace Movement, even though the wars were with communist-led countries and struggles. So intent were they on proving themselves to not be "subversive," they forgot they were supposed to be a revolutionary vanguard of the working class. They forgot what Mayday was about!



Panthers studying Mao's Little Red Book



Black Panther Party Minister of Defense in People's China

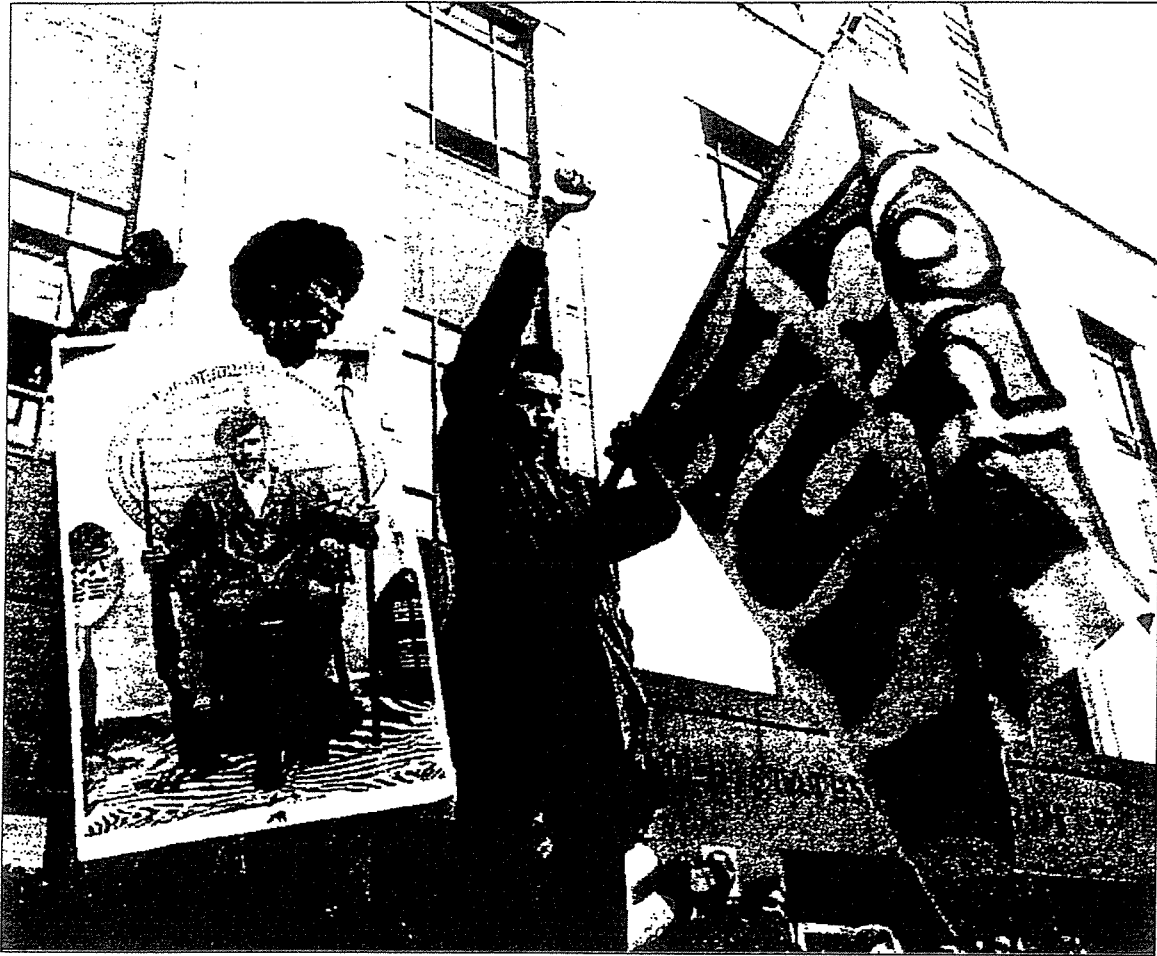
The New Vanguard

The struggle of the Nation of Black People in Amerika brought forth a new revolutionary vanguard in the form of the Black Panther Party, founded by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, CA in 1966. While the CP-USA blindly followed the revisionist clique that took power in the Soviet Union after the death of Stalin, the Panthers aligned themselves with the revolutionary leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the People's Republic of China.

The Black Panthers celebrated Mayday in 1969 by holding a Free Huey rally in front of the Federal Building in San Francisco, while on the East Coast, the Black Panthers made their local debut with a Mayday rally in Philadelphia. Mayday rallies were an important aspect of the campaigns to free the Panther 21 in NYC and Bobby Seale in New Haven, CT. Beginning on Mayday, 1970, with the pretrial proceedings, twelve thousand Panthers and their supporters arrived in New Haven individually and in organized groups, housed and fed by community organizations and Yale students in dormitories, meeting *en masse* on the New Haven Green across the street from the Courthouse.



²² Ibid



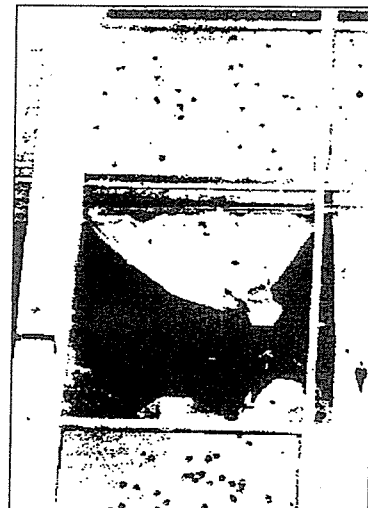
Mayday protest at Federal Building in San Francisco, 1969

The Shootings at Kent and Jackson State



On April 30, 1970, President Nixon went on TV to announce the invasion of Cambodia by U.S. and South Vietnamese troops. The following day, May 1st, spontaneous uprisings of students broke out on campuses all across the country. At Kent State in Ohio, students trashed store fronts, set cars on fire and burned the ROTC building. A call was made for a mass demonstration on May 4th. The Ohio National Guard was called out, the order was given to fire on the students, and four were killed and many others were wounded. Protests erupted on college campuses across the country.

One of these was the campus of Jackson State in Mississippi. Five minutes after midnight, May 15, 1970, police opened fire on a crowd of students gathered in front of Alexander Hall, a women's dormitory, killing 2 and wounding 12. The police fired 460 rounds in less than a minute. Afterwards they picked up their shell casings before summoning ambulances and withdrew as the National Guard moved in. Earlier, around 9:30 P.M., there had been a scuffle between the Black students and white motorists, and several cars were overturned and burned.



The Mayday Tribe

The Mayday Tribe was an ad-hoc coalition pulled together by Rennie Davis, a New Left leader who had become nationally famous when the federal government prosecuted him and other prominent organizers for conspiracy as the Chicago 7 for his role in organizing the protest outside the 1968 Democratic National Convention. In Davis's conception, the Mayday Tribe would bring the most politicized hippies of the time together with the hippest of the hardcore radicals.

The shootings at Kent and Jackson State and the work of the Black Panthers and other revolutionaries had convinced masses of American youth that they had an anti-imperialist duty to "bring the war home." The battle cry raised by the Mayday Tribe was: "If the government won't stop the war, the people will stop the government."

On Monday, May 3rd, 1971 one of the most disruptive actions of the Vietnam War era occurred in Washington, DC, when thousands of anti-war activists tried to shut down the Federal government in protest of the Vietnam War. The threat caused by the May Day protests, forced the Nixon Administration to create a virtual state of siege in the Nation's Capital. Thousands of Federal and National Guard troops, along with local police, suppressed the disorder and by the time it was over several days later, over 10,000 would be arrested. It would be the largest mass arrest in U.S. history.²³



The Tribe's plan was to "shut down the Government." This would be achieved by having small groups of determined protesters block major intersections and bridges in the Capital and stop workday traffic from coming into the city on Monday morning. On the weekend prior to the action, about 35,000 activists had camped out in West Potomac Park, not far from the Washington Monument. They had gathered in the park to listen to rock music and plan for the coming mass action. Unfortunately for the protesters, the government had other plans. Early Sunday morning May 2nd, the Nixon administration had the park permit canceled. U.S. Park Police and Washington Metropolitan Police, dressed in riot gear, raided the encampment. The police formed up in phalanxes and slowly moved through the park firing tear gas and knocking down tents, forcing out the campers. The campers scattered towards the Reflecting Pool and the Lincoln Memorial. After the campsite was closed down, most of the protesters went home but a hard core of about 10,000 regrouped at various churches and college campuses in the area. Even though their numbers and objectives had been reduced, they still planned to close down the government on Monday morning. Many were forced

into the nearest car and ordered to leave the City by Police. The mass exodus stopped traffic on the freeways for hours. There was a big mobile party on the Highways leading out of D. C. that day. Police ignored the drugs for the most part, concentrating on expelling the mob from the Nation's Capital.



The Nixon administration was determined to keep the Capital open at all costs. The Federal government already had various plans drawn up to deal with major disruptions in cities throughout the country. These plans had been developed in response to the urban disorders of the 1960s. The government now put one of these plans into action to protect the Capital. While protesters listened to music, planned their actions or slept, the authorities quickly moved in 10,000 Federal troops to various locations in the D.C. area, including 4,000 paratroopers from the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division. At one point, so many soldiers and marines were being moved into the area from bases along the East Coast, that troop transports were landing at the rate of one every three minutes at Andrews Air Force Base in suburban Maryland, about 15 miles from the White House. These troops were to back up the 5,100 D.C. Metropolitan Police and 2,000 D.C. National Guard troops that were already on the streets.

A state of siege existed in the Capital. Thousands of troops and thousands of demonstrators planned to confront each other on Monday May 3rd. Nixon's internal security forces had moved into place early Monday morning. Every bridge coming into the city was lined with troops. Every monument, park and traffic circle had troops protecting their perimeters. Paratroopers and marines made helicopter combat assaults onto the grounds of the Washington Monument. Hundreds of troops were brought into the city by helicopter to support the police. While the troops were in place and thousands held in reserve, the police clashed with members of the Mayday Tribe. The Yippies engaged in hit and run tactics throughout the city trying to disrupt traffic and cause chaos in the streets. The police responded with tear gas and mass arrests. While Nixon rested in San Clemente, California, thousands of Federal workers had to navigate through police lines and Mayday Tribe roadblocks. Nixon had refused to give Federal workers the day off because he wanted it to appear as though the government was still operating normally.

While the troops secured the major intersections and bridges. The police roamed through the city making massive arrest sweeps. They arrested anyone who looked like a demonstrator, rounding up thousands and transporting them to an emergency detention center located at the Washington Redskins practice field, next to RFK Stadium, east of the Capitol. Skirmishes between protesters and police occurred up until about mid-day, but by Monday afternoon, the Mayday Tribe's action was pretty much over. Against thousands of troops and police, the protesters didn't have a chance. On Monday the police had arrested over 7,000 demonstrators. Over the next few days several thousand more would be arrested during

*smaller protests, making this the largest mass arrest in U.S. history.*²⁴

While the Mayday Tribe did not succeed in shutting down the government, by forcing Nixon to deploy federal troops, they did "bring the war home."

*According to one of the few historians to have studied the event, Mayday so unnerved the Nixon administration that it palpably speeded U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam. White House aide Jeb Magruder said that the protest had "shaken" Nixon and his staff, while CIA director Richard Helms called Mayday "a very damaging kind of event," noting that it was "one of the things that was putting increasing pressure on the administration to try and find some way to get out of the war."*²⁵

*The Mayday Tribe ceased to exist soon afterwards. But in May 1972, when Nixon announced the mining of seven Vietnamese harbors, the legacy of Mayday was dramatically on display. Demonstrators all around the country quickly organized themselves and blocked highways, key intersections, and railroad tracks. The sites were mainly not notorious hotbeds of radicalism: They included Minneapolis, Albuquerque, Boulder, and Gainesville; Evanston, Illinois; East Lansing, Michigan; Oxford, Ohio. Protesters blocked the New York State Thruway and Chicago's Eisenhower Expressway; others shut down Santa Barbara's airport, by occupying its runways. In Davis, California, demonstrators sat down on Southern Pacific tracks; still more did the same on the Penn Central commuter line in New Brunswick, New Jersey. In Salt Lake City, antiwar protesters burned Nixon in effigy; in Columbus, Ohio, they threw rocks and potatoes at Vice President Agnew's limo.*²⁶

Revolutionary Mayday in Berlin

Well before the Berlin Wall came down, Communist workers united around the common history of Mayday:

Thousands of marchers on both sides of the Berlin wall marked May Day within a mile of each other, with both groups carrying placards bearing Communist slogans and both under the watch of huge police forces, but otherwise worlds apart.

Thousands of marchers on both sides of the Berlin wall marked May Day within a mile of each other, with both groups carrying placards bearing Communist slogans and both under the watch of huge police forces, but otherwise worlds apart.

In East Berlin, thousands of uniformed, auxiliary and plainclothes security men lined Karl-Marx-Allee. They patrolled side streets and mingled with marchers during the May Day ritual by Communist workers.

Tens of thousands of East Berliners strode past Erich Honecker and other East German leaders. The marchers carried banners hailing peace and Communism and extolling their achievements. Patriotic songs blared.

During the march, thousands of security men formed solid chains down both sides of the mile-long route.

The police presence was also intense for the May Day march through West Berlin's Kreuzberg district, the center of the city's counterculture, where rioting erupted on May 1 of last year.

*Thousands of police wearing flak jackets, helmets and plastic face guards filled Kreuzberg as 8,000 marchers moved through the streets, voicing solidarity with Palestinians, Nicaraguans, Lebanese Moslems, Turkish Communists and Peruvians.*²⁷

In a move reminiscent of the Social Democrats ban on Mayday 1929, the SPD - Christian Democrat - Green Party Coalition Government banned the celebration of Revolutionary Mayday in Berlin in 2001, while the Nazis counter-demonstration was permitted and given police protection.

"Ever since the mass rebellion in Berlin's Kreuzberg District on May 1, 1987, the Revolutionary May First Demonstration has represented the aspirations of millions of people for a world without oppression. For 14 years, the words "May First-1 p.m. in Oranienplatz" have stood for a revolutionary overturn of the existing social relations. For 14 years this demonstration has been a living example that people around the world—including in the heart of Europe—are ready to fight for such a radically different world.

"And, for that reason, it is no surprise that the rulers have tried every year to crush this spirit with clubs, teargas and water cannons, and with a reactionary anticommunist and racist political offensive. The struggles over this have marked the last decade in Berlin and Germany. In fact, this fight for Revolutionary May First, 2001 in Berlin will possibly stand as a historic milestone in the development of a revolutionary movement in Germany."

These are the opening words of the special May First report printed in "Aufstand!" (Revolt!), "the revolutionary communist newspaper in Germany."²⁸



Marking the tenth anniversary of the 1987 Kreuzberg Rebellion, when immigrant and German youth rose up in the old working class district of Kreuzberg and fought together in the streets to drive the police back. One of Germany's Maoist organizations, the Revolutionary Communists/BRD, wrote in their 1997 Mayday leaflet:

"Ten years ago, on May 1, 1987, there was an explosion of anger and revolutionary energy in Kreuzberg, which pointed the way to the future. Thousands and tens of thousands of people—

²⁴ Ibid

²⁵ Toward a Direct Action Antiwar Strategy, Posted By Matt McLaughlin On 25th July 2006, SDS Organizer - <http://studentsforademocraticsociety.org/organizer>

²⁶ Ending a war: Inventing a movement: Mayday 1971, Radical Society, Dec 2002 by Kauffman, L A

²⁷

May Day Marches on 2 Sides of Berlin Wall, SPECIAL TO THE NEW YORK TIMES, Published: May 2, 1988

²⁸ Report from Berlin on The Fight for Revolutionary May First 2001, Revolutionary Worker #1112, July 29, 2001, posted at <http://rwor.org>

*from different classes and strata—joined together and transformed the rabid police attack on the peaceful street festival at Lausitzerplatz into a true festival of the oppressed. We fought back like we hadn't done in decades. We showed a revolutionary unity and decisiveness no one had thought we were capable of. And this on May 1st, the revolutionary international holiday of the world proletariat! This was the fiery birth of the Revolutionary May 1st demonstration from Oranienplatz. This is our demonstration! Since then, it has gone on every year. The rulers have done everything to defame, split, criminalize and otherwise destroy this demo. No wonder, because this demonstration is an unmistakable expression of the fact that proletarian revolution is alive right in the heart of Europe—and will one day be victorious.*²⁹



Skin head Nazis parade while 5,000 protest ban on Revolutionary Mayday 2001

In 1999, the police deployed over 5000 riot police, armed with tanks and water cannon - the largest mobilization of police in Berlin history - to oppose 2,000 Mayday marchers in Berlin. Red flags flew overhead, people carried portraits of Mao Tsetung, banners of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and signs calling for freeing political prisoners, including Mumia Abu-Jamal. After the demo, police arrested a German-born Kurdish woman, Nuran Ayten, on charges of "slander of the state and its symbols" and "indoctrination of people," a repeat of her arrest after Mayday 1994. She was accused then of playing a song from a punk group Slime, that has the chorus, "Germany must die, so I can live!" She was also accused of supposedly yelling out a slogan, "German police are practicing overtime for a new '33" (referring to 1933 when the Nazis took over Germany), and for a slogan at another demonstration, "German police - murderers and fascists."³⁰

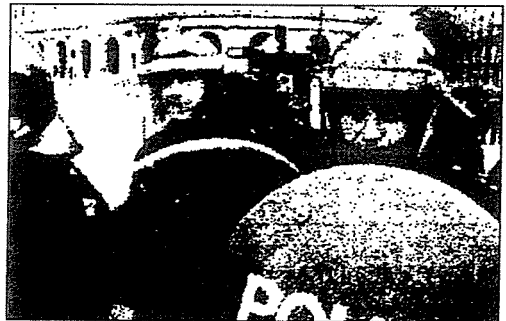
The battle for Revolutionary Mayday continues. Pitched battles with the police were fought in 2003. Though a lesser partner to and rival of the U.S., Germany is an imperialist and fascist country in its own "Reich."

*As one businessman said recently to a supporter of the Stop the War Brigade, "We didn't lose World War II. Just look at Germany today. We are united. We control the economies of most of the eastern States like Poland, the Czech Republic and even Russia. We have investments throughout the world. We have occupied Yugoslavia again. We have pretty much achieved the goals that Hitler put down in Mein Kampf."*³¹

Anti-Capitalism Mayday in London 2000

The Anti-Capitalism Mayday in London in 2000 saw the largest police mobilization in British history. Well-armed with cameras, the British police were determined to photograph every participant. The capitalist media tried to scare people away with predictions of violence, and they and the government tried to hype up the trashing of a McDonalds window into a full-scale riot, but the massive demonstration was more of a costumed carnival than anything else.

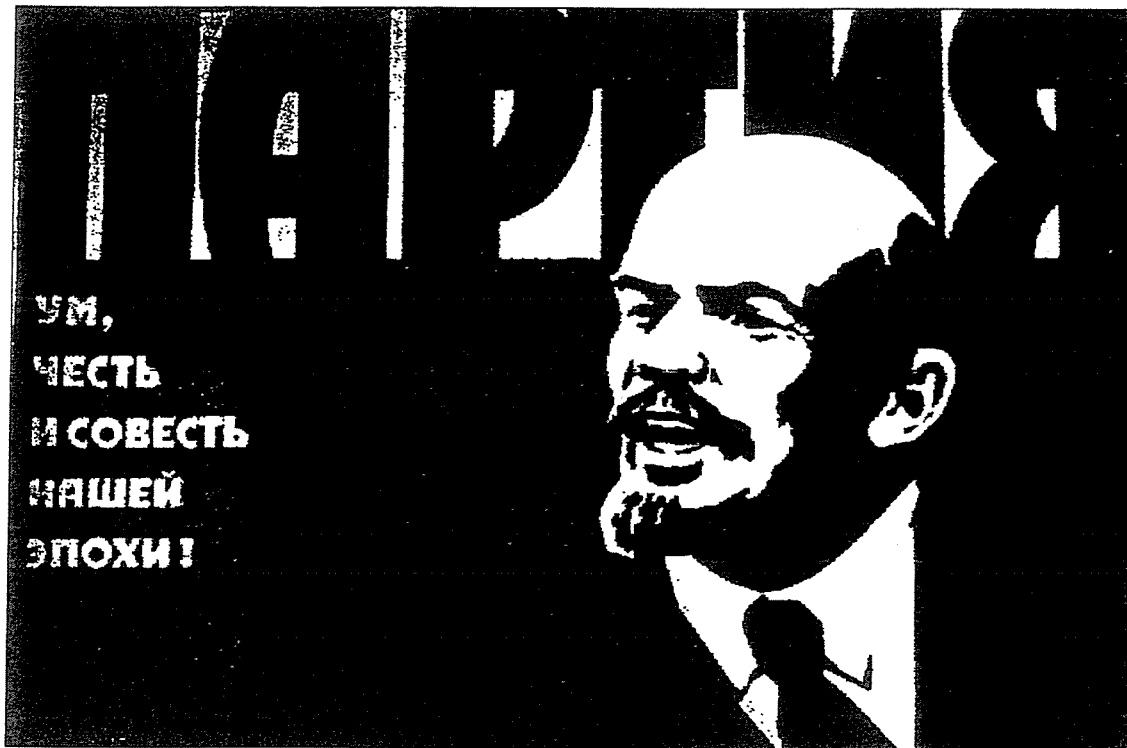
When the press finally reported on what people who were arrested were charged with, it turned out to be for things like "throwing an empty plastic water bottle at an armored police vehicle" or more commonly for "sitting down in the street." One woman was charged for holding onto a policeman's shield when he knocked her over.



²⁹ Revolutionary May Day in Berlin, 1997, Revolutionary Worker #909, June 1, 1997

³⁰ Berlin Revolutionary Charged with Criminal Songs and Slogans, Revolutionary Worker #1020, August 29, 1999

³¹ Ibid



V. I. Lenin

May Day Action by the Revolutionary Proletariat

SotSial-Demokrat No. 31, June 15 (28), 1913. *Lenin Collected Works*, Progress Publishers, 1977, Moscow, Volume 19, pages 218-227.

A year has passed since the Lena events and the first, decisive upsurge in the revolutionary working-class movement since the June Third coup. The tsar's Black Hundreds and the landowners, the mob of officials and the bourgeoisie have celebrated the 300th anniversary of plunder, Tatar incursions, and the disgracing of Russia by the Romanovs. The Fourth Duma has convened and begun its "work," though it has no faith in that work and has quite lost its former counter-revolutionary vigour. Confusion and tedium have beset liberal society, which is listlessly making appeals "for reforms" while admitting the impracticability of anything even approximating reform.

And now comes a May Day action by Russia's working class, who first held a rehearsal in Riga, then went into resolute action in St. Petersburg on May 1. (O.S.); this action has rent the dun and dreary atmosphere like a thunderbolt. The tasks of the approaching revolution have come to the fore again in all their grandeur, and the forces of the advanced class leading it stand out in bold relief before hundreds of old revolutionaries, whom persecution by hang men and desertion by friends have not defeated or broken, and before millions of people of the new generation of democrats and socialists.

Weeks before May Day, the government appeared to have lost its wits, while the gentlemen who own factories behaved as if they had never had any wits at all. The arrests and searches seemed to have turned all the workers' districts in the capital upside down. The provinces did not lag behind the centre. The harassed factory owners called conferences and adopted contradictory slogans, now threatening the workers with punishment and lock-outs, now making concessions in advance and consenting to stop work, now inciting the government to commit atrocities, now reproaching the government and calling on it to include May Day in the number of official holidays.

But even though the gendarmes showed the utmost zeal, even though they "purged" the industrial suburbs, even though they made

arrests right and left according to their latest "lists of suspects," it was no use. The workers laughed at the impotent rage of the tsar's gang and the capitalist class and derided the governor's menacing and pitiful "announcements;" they wrote satirical verses and circulated them by hand or passed them on by word of mouth; they produced, as if from nowhere fresh batches of small, poorly printed "leaflets," short and plain, but very instructive, calling for strikes and demonstrations, and reminding the people of the old, uncurtailed, revolutionary slogans of the Social-Democrats, who in 1905 led the first onslaught of the masses against the autocracy and against monarchy.

A hundred thousand on strike on May Day, said the government press the next day. Bourgeois newspapers, using the first telegraphed information, reported a hundred and twenty-five thousand (*Kievskaya Mysl*). A correspondent of the central organ of the German Social-Democrats wired from St. Petersburg that it was a hundred and fifty thousand. And the day after the whole bourgeois press quoted a figure of 200,000 - 220,000. Actually the number of strikers reached 250,000!

But, apart from the number of May Day strikers, much more impressive - and much more significant - were the revolutionary street demonstrations held by the workers. Everywhere in and around the capital crowds of workers singing revolutionary songs, calling loudly for revolution and carrying red flags fought for several hours against police and security forces frantically mobilised by the government. And those workers made the keenest of the tsar's henchmen feel that the struggle was in earnest, that the police were not faced with a handful of individuals engaged in a trivial Slavophil affair,^[2] that it was actually the masses of the capital's working class who had risen.

This was a really brilliant, open demonstration of the proletariat's revolutionary aspirations, of its revolutionary forces steeled and reinforced by new generations, of revolutionary appeals to the people and the peoples of Russia. Last year the government and the manufacturers were able to take comfort from the fact that the Lena explosion could not have been foreseen, that they could not have made

immediate preparations to combat its consequences; this time, however, the monarchy had displayed acute foresight, there had been ample time for preparation and the "measures" taken were most "vigorous;" the result was that the tsarist monarchy revealed its complete *impotence* when faced with a revolutionary awakening of the proletarian masses.

Indeed, one year of strike struggle since Lena has shown, despite the pitiful outcries of the liberals and their yes-men against the "craze for striking," against "syndicalist" strikes, against combining economic with political strikes and vice versa - this year has shown what a great and irreplaceable weapon for agitation among the masses, for rousing them, for drawing them into the struggle the Social-Democratic proletariat had forged for itself in the revolutionary epoch. The revolutionary mass-scale strike allowed the enemy neither rest nor respite. It also hit the enemy's purse, and in full view of the whole world it trampled into the mud the political prestige of the allegedly "strong" tsarist government. It enabled more and more sections of the workers to regain at least a small part of what had been achieved in 1905 and drew fresh sections of the working people, even the most backward, into the struggle. It did not exhaust the capacity of the workers, it was frequently demonstrative action of short duration, and at the same time it paved the way for further, still more impressive and more revolutionary open action by the masses in the shape of street demonstrations.

During the last year, no country in the world has seen so many people on strike for political ends as Russia, or such perseverance, such variety, such vigour in strikes. This circumstance alone shows to the full the pettiness, the contemptible stupidity of those liberal and liquidationist sages who tried to "adjust" the tactics of the Russian workers in 1912-13, using the yardstick of "European" constitutional periods, periods that were mainly devoted to the preparatory work of bringing socialist education and enlightenment, to the masses.

The colossal superiority of the Russian strikes over those in the European countries, the most advanced countries, demonstrates, not the special qualities or special abilities of Russia's workers, but the *special conditions* in present-day Russia, the existence of a revolutionary situation, the growth of a directly revolutionary crisis. When the moment of a similar growth of revolution approaches in Europe (there it will be a socialist and not a bourgeois-democratic revolution, as in our country), the proletariat of the most developed capitalist countries will launch far more vigorous revolutionary strikes, demonstrations, and armed struggle against the defenders of wage-slavery.

This year's May Day strike, like the series of strikes in Russia during the last eighteen months, was revolutionary in character as distinguished not only from the usual economic strikes but from demonstration strikes and from political strikes demanding constitutional reforms, like, for instance, the last Belgian strike.^[3] Those who are in bondage to a liberal world outlook and no longer able to consider things from the revolutionary standpoint, cannot possibly understand this distinctive character of the Russian strikes, a character that is due entirely to the revolutionary state of Russia. The epoch of counter-revolution and of free play for renegade sentiment has left behind it too many people of this kind even among those who would like to be called Social-Democrats.

Russia is experiencing a revolutionary situation because the oppression of the vast majority of the population - not only of the proletariat but of nine-tenths of the small producers, particularly the peasants - has intensified to the maximum, and this intensified oppression, starvation, poverty, lack of rights, humiliation of the people is, further more, glaringly inconsistent with the state of Russia's productive forces, inconsistent with the level of the class consciousness and the demands of the masses roused by the year 1905, and inconsistent with the state of affairs in all neighbouring not only European but Asian - countries.

But that is not all. Oppression alone, no matter how great, does not always give rise to a revolutionary situation in a country. In most cases it is not enough for revolution that *the lower classes should not want to live in the old way*. It is also necessary that *the upper classes should be unable to rule and govern in the old way*. This is what we see in Russia today. A political crisis is maturing before our very eyes. The bourgeoisie has done *everything* in its power to back counter-revolution

and ensure "peaceful development" on this counter-revolutionary basis. The bourgeoisie gave hangmen and feudal lords as much money as they wanted, the bourgeoisie reviled the revolution and renounced it, the bourgeoisie licked the boots of Purishkevich and the knout of Markov the Second and became their lackey, the bourgeoisie evolved theories based on "European" arguments, theories that revile the Revolution of 1905 as an "intellectualist" revolution and describe it as wicked, criminal, treasonous, and so on and so forth.

And yet, despite all this sacrificing of its purse, its honour and its conscience, the bourgeoisie - from the Cadets to the Octobrists - itself admits that the autocracy and land owners *were unable* to ensure "peaceful development," were unable to provide the basic conditions for "law" and "order," without which a capitalist country cannot, in the twentieth century, live side by side with Germany and the new China.

A nation-wide political crisis is in evidence in Russia, a crisis which affects the very *foundation* of the state system and not just parts of it, which affects the *foundation* of the edifice and not an outbuilding, not merely one of its storeys. No matter how many glib phrases our liberals and liquidators trot out to the effect that "we have, thank God, a constitution" and that political *reforms* are on the order of the day (only very limited people do not see the close connection between these two propositions), no matter how much of this reformist verbiage is poured out, the fact remains that not a single liquidator or liberal can point to any reformist way out of the situation.

The condition of the mass of the population in Russia, the aggravation of their position owing to the new agrarian policy (to which the feudal landowners had to snatch at as their last means of salvation), the international situation, and the nature of the general political crisis that has taken shape in our country - such is the sum-total of the objective conditions making Russia's situation a revolutionary one because of the impossibility of carrying out the tasks of a bourgeois revolution by following the present course and by the means available to the government and the exploiting classes.

Such is the social, economic, and political situation, such is the class relationship in Russia that has given rise to a specific type of strike impossible in modern Europe, from which all sorts of renegades would like to borrow the example, not of yesterday's bourgeois revolutions (through which shine gleams of tomorrow's proletarian revolution), but of today's "constitutional" situation. Neither the oppression of the lower classes nor a crisis among the upper classes can cause a revolution; they can only cause the decay of a country, unless that country has a revolutionary class capable of transforming the passive state of oppression into an active state of revolt and insurrection.

The role of a truly advanced class, a class really able to rouse the masses to revolution, really capable of saving Russia from decay, is played by the industrial proletariat. This is the task it fulfils by means of its revolutionary strikes. These strikes, which the liberals hate and the liquidators cannot understand, are (as the February resolution of the R.S.D.L.P. puts it) "one of the most effective means of overcoming the apathy, despair, and disunion of the agricultural proletariat and the peasantry, ... and *drawing them* into the most concerted, simultaneous, and extensive *revolutionary actions*."^[1]

The working class draws into revolutionary action the masses of the working and exploited people, who are deprived of basic rights and driven to despair. The working class teaches them revolutionary struggle, trains them for revolutionary action, and explains to them where to find the way out and how to attain salvation. The working class teaches them, not merely by words, but by deeds, by example, and the example is provided not by the adventures of solitary heroes but by mass revolutionary action combining political and economic demands.

How plain, how clear, how close these thoughts are to every honest worker who grasps even the rudiments of the theory of socialism and democracy! And how alien they are to those traitors to socialism and betrayers of democracy from among the intelligentsia, who revile or deride the "underground" in liquidationist newspapers, assuring naive simpletons that they are "also Social-Democrats."

The May Day action of the proletariat of St. Petersburg, supported by that of the proletariat of all Russia, clearly showed once again to those who have eyes to see and ears to hear the great historic importance of the revolutionary underground in present-day Russia. The only R.S.D.L.P. Party organisation in St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Committee, compelled even the bourgeois press, before the May Day action as well as on the eve of January 9, and on the eve of the Tercentenary of the Romanovs as well as on April 4,^[1] to note that St. Petersburg Committee leaflets had appeared again and again in the factories.

Those leaflets cost colossal sacrifices. Sometimes they are quite unattractive in appearance. Some of them, the appeals for demonstration on April 4, for instance, merely announce the hour and place of the demonstration, in six lines evidently set in secret and with extreme haste in different printing shops and in different types. We have people ("also Social-Democrats") who, when alluding to these conditions of "underground" work, snigger maliciously or curl a contemptuous lip and ask: "If the entire Party were limited to the underground, how many members would it have? Two or three hundred?" [See No. 95 (181) of *Luch*, a renegade organ, in its editorial defence of Mr. Sedov, who has the sad courage to be an outspoken liquidator. This issue of *Luch* appeared five days before the May Day action, i.e., at the very time the underground was preparing the leaflets!]

Messrs. Dan, Potresov and Co., who make these disgraceful statements, must know that there were thousands of proletarians in the Party ranks as early as 1903, and 150 thousand in 1907, that even now thousands and tens of thousands of workers print and circulate underground leaflets, as members of underground R.S.D.L.P. cells. But the liquidationist gentlemen know that they are protected by Stolypin "legality" from a legal refutation of their foul lies and their "grimaces," which are fouler still, at the expense of the underground.

See to what extent these despicable people have lost touch with the mass working-class movement and with revolutionary work in general! Use even their own yardstick, deliberately falsified to suit the liberals. You may assume for a moment that "two or three hundred" workers in St. Petersburg took part in printing and distributing those underground leaflets.

What is the result? "Two or three hundred" workers, the flower of the St. Petersburg proletariat, people who not only call themselves Social-Democrats but work as Social-Democrats, people who are esteemed and appreciated for it by the entire working class of Russia, people who do not prate about a "broad party" but make up in actual fact the only underground Social-Democratic Party existing in Russia, these people print and circulate underground leaflets. The *Luch* liquidators (protected by Stolypin censors) laugh contemptuously at the "two or three hundred," the "underground" and its "exaggerated" importance, etc.

And suddenly, a miracle occurs! In accordance with a decision drawn up by half a dozen members of the Executive Commission of the St. Petersburg Committee - a leaflet printed and circulated by "two or three hundred" - two hundred and fifty thousand people rise as one man in St. Petersburg.

The leaflets and the revolutionary speeches by workers at meetings and demonstrations do not speak of an "open working-class party," "freedom of association" or reforms of that kind, with the phantoms of which the liberals are fooling the people. They speak of revolution as the only way out. They speak of the republic as the only slogan which, in contrast to liberal lies about reforms, indicates the change needed to ensure freedom, indicates the forces capable of rising consciously to defend it.

The two million inhabitants of St. Petersburg see and hear these appeals for revolution which go to the hearts of all toiling and oppressed sections of the people. All St. Petersburg sees from a real, mass-scale example what is the real way out and what is lying liberal talk about reforms. Thousands of workers' contacts - and hundreds of bourgeois news papers, which are compelled to report the St. Petersburg mass action at least in snatches - spread throughout Russia the news of the stubborn strike campaign of the

capital's proletariat. Both the mass of the peasantry and the peasants serving in the army hear this news of strikes, of the revolutionary demands of the workers, of their struggle for a republic and for the confiscation of the landed estates for the benefit of the peasants. Slowly but surely, the revolutionary strikes are stirring, rousing, enlightening, and organising the masses of the people for revolution.

The "two or three hundred" "underground people" express the interests and needs of millions and tens of millions, they tell them the truth about their hopeless position, open their eyes to the necessity of revolutionary struggle, imbue them with faith in it, provide them with the correct slogans, and win these masses away from the influence of the high-sounding and thoroughly spurious, reformist slogans of the bourgeoisie. And "two or three" dozen liquidators from among the intelligentsia, using money collected abroad and among liberal merchants to fool unenlightened workers, are carrying the slogans of that bourgeoisie into the workers' midst.

The May Day strike, like all the revolutionary strikes of 1912-13, has made clear the three political camps into which present-day Russia is divided. The camp of hangmen and feudal lords, of monarchy and the secret police. It has done its utmost in the way of atrocities and is already impotent against the masses of the workers. The camp of the bourgeoisie, all of whom, from the Cadets to the Octobrists, are shouting and moaning, calling for reforms and making fools of themselves by thinking that reforms are possible in Russia. The camp of the revolution, the only camp expressing the interests of the oppressed masses.

All the ideological work, all the political work in this camp is carried out by underground Social-Democrats alone, by those who know how to use every legal opportunity in the spirit of Social-Democracy, and who are inseparably bound up with the advanced class, the proletariat. No one can tell beforehand whether this advanced class will succeed in leading the masses all the way to a victorious revolution. But this class is fulfilling its duty - leading the masses to that solution - despite all the vacillations and betrayals on the part of the liberals and those who are "also Social-Democrats." All the living and vital elements of Russian socialism and Russian democracy are being educated solely by the example of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and under its guidance.

This year's May Day action has shown to the whole world that the Russian proletariat is steadfastly following its revolutionary course, apart from which there is no salvation for a Russia that is suffocating and decaying alive.

Notes

[1] See present edition, Vol. 18, p. 457.—Ed.

[2] This refers to the Slavophil demonstrations organised by reactionary nationalist elements in St. Petersburg on March 17, 18 and 24 (March 30 and 31 and April 6), 1913 on the occasion of the Serbo-Bulgarian victories over the Turks during the first Balkan War. The reactionaries tried to use the national liberation struggle of the Balkan peoples in the interests of the expansionist, Great-Power politics of Russian tsarism in the Near East.

[3] The strike referred to here took place in Belgium from April 14 to April 24 (N. S.), 1913. It was a general strike of the Belgian proletariat demanding a constitutional reform - the introduction of universal suffrage. Of the more than one million Belgian workers, between 400,000 and 500,000 took part in the strike. The development of the strike was regularly reported in *Pravda*, and lists of Russian workers' contributions in aid of the strike were also printed.

[4] April 4, 1913 was the first anniversary of the shooting of workers in the Lena Goldfields; it was marked by a one-day strike of St. Petersburg workers in which over 85,000 people participated.□



CELEBRATE KARL MARX'S BIRTHDAY MAY 4TH



CAPITALISM + DOPE = GENOCIDE

By Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor (1970)

1. The Problem

Recently in the Black colony of Harlem a 12-year old Black boy was murdered by an overdose of heroin. Less than two weeks later a 15-year old Black girl met the same tragic fate. During the year 1969, in

New York City alone, there were over 900 deaths resulting from drug addiction. Of these, 210 were youths ranging in age from 12 to 19. Of the over 900 dead, the overwhelming majority were Black or Puerto Rican. It is estimated that there are at least 25,000 youths addicted to narcotics in New York City – and that is a conservative estimate.

Drug addiction in the colonized ghettos of America has constituted a major problem for over 15 years. Its use is so widespread that it can – without fear of exaggeration – be termed a “plague.” It has reached epidemic proportions, and it is still growing. But it has only been within the last few years that the racist U.S. government has considered drug addiction “a matter of grave concern.” It is interesting to note that this grave concern on the part of the government is proportionate to the spread of the plague into the inner sanctums of the White middle and upper-class communities. As long as the plague was confined to the ghetto, the government did not see fit to deem it a problem. But as soon as college professors, demagogic politicians, money-crazed finance capitalists and industrialists discovered that their own sons and daughters had fallen victim to the plague, a virtual “state of emergency” was declared. This is significant, because it provides us with a clue to the understanding of the plague as it relates to Black people.

From the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, to the clergy, to members of the medical profession, so-called educators, psychologists, right down to the chemically enslaved addicts on the street corner, the hopes for effectively curbing the spread of the plague are dishearteningly dim. Despite the stiffer jail sentences being meted out to those whom the law defines as “drug profiteers” – a euphemism for illegal capitalists – there are more dope dealers now than ever before. Despite the ever-increasing number of preventative and rehabilitative programs, the plague proliferates; it threatens to devour an entire generation of youth.

The basic reason why the plague cannot be stopped by the, drug prevention and rehabilitation programs is that these programs, with their archaic, bourgeois Freudian approach and their unrealistic therapeutic communities, do not deal with the causes of the problem. These programs deliberately negate, or at best deal flippantly, with the socio-economic origin of drug addiction. These programs sanctimoniously deny the fact the capitalist exploitation and racial oppression are the main contributing factors to drug addiction in regard to Black people. These programs were never intended to cure Black addicts. They can’t even cure the White addicts they were designed for.

This fascist government defines the cause of addiction as the importation of the plague into the country by smugglers. They themselves even admit that stopping the entry of the plague is impossible. For every kilo (2.2 lbs.) of heroin they confiscate, at least 25 kilos get past customs agents. The government is well aware of the fact that even if they were able to stop the importation of heroin, dope dealers and addicts would simply find another drug to take its place. The government is totally incapable of addressing itself to the true causes of drug addiction, for to do so would necessitate effecting a radical transformation of this society. The social consciousness of this society, the values, mores and traditions would have to be altered. And this would be impossible without totally changing the way in which the means of producing social wealth is owned and distributed. Only a revolution can eliminate the plague.

Drug addiction is a monstrous symptom of the malignancy which is ravaging the social fabric of this capitalist system. Drug addiction is a social phenomena that grows organically from the social system. Every social phenomenon that emanates from a social system that is predicated upon and driven by bitter class antagonisms that result from class exploitation must be seen from a class point of view.

2. Escapism and Self-Destruction

In regard to Black people, our problems are compounded and take on appalling dimensions as a result of the racist dehumanization that we are subjected to. To understand the plague as it relates to Black people, we must analyze the effects of capitalist economic exploitation and racist dehumanization.

The heinous and sadistic program of annihilating the humanity of Black people, that was initiated over 400 years ago by money-mad slave masters and that has continued unabated until this very day, is deliberate and systematic. It is done for the purpose of justifying and facilitating our exploitation. Since the reality of our objective existence seemed to confirm the racist doctrines of White supremacy and its antithesis, Black inferiority, and since we lacked an understanding of our condition, we internalized the racist propaganda of our oppressors.

We began to believe that we were inherently inferior to Whites. These feelings of inferiority gave birth to a sense of self-hatred which finds expression in self-destructive behavior patterns. The wretchedness of our plight, our sense of powerlessness and despair created within our minds a predisposition toward the use of any substance which produces euphoric illusions. We are inclined to use anything that enables us to suffer peacefully. We have developed an escapist complex. The escapist complex is self-destructive.

The depraved capitalist-racist oppressor exploits these psychological and emotional deficiencies for all they are worth. The oppressor encourages our participation in any activity that is self-destructive. Our self-destructive behavior patterns and our escapist tendencies constitute a source of profits for the capitalists. They also, by weakening, dividing and destroying us, reinforce the strength of the oppressor enabling him to perpetuate his domination over us.

Fratricidal street-gang fighting is a direct manifestation of a self-destructive behavior pattern. It is also a form of escapism by which Black youths vent their rage, frustrations and despair on each other rather than dealing with the true enemy. Pathological religionism or the fanatical indulgence in religion is essentially escapist because it encourages the victim to concentrate his attention, energy and hope for salvation and freedom on a dubious, mystical force. It discourages confronting the actual causes of our misery and deprivation. It encourages the focusing of attention upon pie in the sky, rather than the securing of more lamb chops right here on planet earth. It also serves as a source of profits for those religious charlatans, preachers and ministers who exploit it.

Alcoholism is both self-destructive and escapist. It is also a source of tremendous profit for the capitalists. The amazingly high number of bars and liquor stores in the Black communities testify to this tragic fact. The capitalist liquor industry could prosper just on the business it does in the Black ghetto alone.

3. The Heroin Addict

The most escapist and self-destructive activity for us, and one of the most profitable for the capitalist, and therefore the most encouraged by him, is drug addiction, specifically heroin addiction.

About 1898, a German chemist discovered diacetyl-morphine, heroin. It was hailed as the perfect drug for curing morphine addicts. But soon it became apparent that it was more addictive than morphine. By the 1920's, there were addicts who were injecting heroin directly into their veins. Heroin production in the United States was discontinued, and the drug was no longer used as an antidote for morphine addiction and as a pain killer.

Heroin addiction, the plague, the scourge of the Black colonies of Babylon: The plague, whose spiritual, moral, psychological, physical and social destructive powers greatly exceed that of any disease hitherto known to humanity. The plague, opium from Turkey, shipped to Marseilles, converted into morphine base, then processed into heroin, smuggled into America, cut, diluted, then placed into the Black ghetto. The plague, poisonous, lethal, white powdery substance, sold by depraved money-crazed beasts to Black youths who are desperately seeking a kick, a high, a means, anything that will help make them oblivious to the squalor, to the abject poverty, disease and degradation that engulfs them in their daily existence.

Initially the plague does just that. Under its sinister influence, the oppressive, nauseous, ghetto prison is transformed into a virtual Black Valhalla. One becomes imperious to the rancid stench of urine-soaked tenement dungeons, unaffected by the piercing cries of anguish of Black folks driven to the brink of insanity by a sadistic social system. Unaffected by the deafening wail of pig-police car sirens as they tear through the streets of the Black Hell en route to answer a 1013 call from some other pig-police, who is in a state of well-deserved distress. Unaffected by the trash cans whose decayed, disease-carrying, garbage has overflowed to fill the ghetto streets.

Yes, under its ecstatic influence one is made oblivious to ugly realities. But there is a trick, a cruel monstrous trick, a deadly flim-flam awaiting its naïve, youthful victim, for, as the illusory beauty of the heroin-induced high begins to vanish, correspondingly, the temporary immunity

from reality attained under its chemical trance vanishes. The reality that the pathetic victim sought so desperately to escape, once again descends upon and re-engulfs him. The rancid stench of urine-soaked tenement dungeons begins to assail his nostrils. Those Black cries of anguish seem to blend with the wailing sirens of pig-police cars. He hears them now, very loud, and very clear – in stereophonic sound. And the garbage that flows over onto the streets from uncollected trash cans is felt underfoot.

The young victim is not long in discovering that only by taking another dosage will he be able to attain sanctuary from his hideous reality. Each shot of the plague that he injects into his blood system brings him that much closer to the grave. Soon he is strung-out, hooked. He is physiologically and psychologically dependent on the plague. Both his body and mind have become addicted to heroin. He has now become a full-time, chartered member of the Cloud 9 Society. His physical body begins to take on a decimated appearance. A shameless disregard is displayed towards his clothes. That his shirt is filthy and his shoes are soleless, leaving him to walk virtually on his naked feet, does not matter. That his unwashed body now emits a most foul odor disturbs him but little. That his non-addicted friends now shun him and look upon him with contempt matters not, for the feelings are mutual. They no longer have anything in common. Everything ceases to matter. Everything except heroin: the plague.

As he continues, his body begins to build up an immunity to the drug. Now, in order to attain his euphoric high, he must increase his dosage. This means that he must obtain more money. So enslaved has he now become that he will do anything for a bag, for a "shot." To lie, to steal, to cheat, to rob is nothing to him. Whatever he must do for a "shot" he will do, he must do, for he is a slave to the plague.

The vicious cycle grinds into motion. He violates what the ruling class defines as being the law in order to secure money to feed his sickness. Inevitably, he is flagged-off, busted. He goes to jail, and after he has served out his sentence, he is released. The first thing he wants is a shot. The cycle continues. And he plunges deeper and deeper into the abysmal pit of degradation. And there, always there and ever waiting, for a price of course, to meet the addict's demand for dope is the cop-man, the dealer, purveyor of poison, distributor of death, merciless, murdering scum of the planet, vile capitalists, salesmen of death on the installment plan, the dope pusher, the plague-man.

4. Capitalism and Crime

Dope selling is beyond a doubt one of the most profitable capitalist undertakings. The profits from it soar into billions. Internationally and domestically, the trade and distribution of heroin is ultimately controlled by the *Cosa Nostra*, the Mafia.

Much of the profits amassed from the drug business is used to finance so-called legitimate businesses. These are also used to facilitate their drug-smuggling activities. Given the fact that organized crime is a business, and an ever-expanding one at that, it is constantly seeking new areas of investment to increase profits. Hence, more and more illegal profits are being channeled into legitimate businesses. Partnerships between the Mafia and "reputable businessmen" are the order of the day. There is a direct relationship between legitimate and illegitimate capitalists.

Over the years a number of politicians and foreign ambassadors and wealthy businessmen have been arrested in this country for drug activities. Others, because of their wealth and influence, were able to avoid arrest. In the fall of 1969, it was discovered that a group of prominent New York financiers was financing an international drug smuggling operation. No indictments were handed down. Shortly after that a group of wealthy South American businessmen were arrested in a plush New York City hotel with over \$10 million worth of drugs.

Given the predatory and voracious nature of the capitalist, it should come as no surprise that so-called legitimate businessmen are deeply involved in the drug trade. Capitalists are motivated by an insatiable lust for profits. They will do anything for money. The activities of organized crime and the "legitimate capitalists" are so inextricably tied up, so thoroughly interwoven, that from our vantage point any distinction made between them is purely academic.

The legitimization of the Mafia, their increased emphasis upon investing in, and establishing corporations, has been accelerated by the stiffer prison sentences that are being meted out to drug profiteers. In New York, this has resulted in the gradual withdrawal of the Mafia from their positions of actual leadership of the New York drug trade. The New York drug trade is now dominated by Cuban exiles, many of whom were military officers and police agents in the pre-revolutionary, repressive Batista regime. They equal the Mafia in ruthlessness and greed.

These new local kingpins have established a broad network of international smuggling operations. They utilize the traditional routes and create new ones, as indicated by the increased numbers of Narcotics Bureau seizures of dope coming from South America.

The concept of Black Power has influenced the thinking of every segment of the Black community. It has come to mean Black control of the institutions and activities that are centered in the Black community. Black teachers demand Black community control of the ghetto schools. Black businessmen and merchants advocate the expulsion of White businessmen from the ghetto so that they can maximize their profits. Black numbers-game operators are demanding total control of the ghetto numbers operations. And Black dope dealers are demanding community control of heroin. It is a tragedy that in New York the greatest gains made in the realm of Black community control have been made by Black racketeers, numbers-game bankers and dope dealers, by the Black illegal capitalists. Prior to 1967, it was a rarity to find a Black dope dealer who handled more than 3 kilos (1 kilo equals 2.2 lbs.) of heroin at any given time. Independent Black importers were unheard of. Now, there is an entire class of Blacks who have become importers, using Mafia-supplied lists of European connections.

The extent and instant rate of profits reaped from the dope industry could arouse the envy of U.S. Steel, General Motors and Standard Oil. From the highest level to the lowest, the profits are enormous. If the individual is sufficiently ambitious, cunning, ruthless and vicious, he may graduate from the status of street peddler to big time wholesaler and distributor in a short span of time.

A characteristic feature of class and racial oppression is the ruling class policy of brainwashing the oppressed into accepting their oppression. Initially, this program is carried out by viciously implanting fear into their minds and sowing the seeds of inferiority into the souls of the oppressed. But as the objective conditions and the balance of forces become more favorable for the oppressed and more adverse for the oppressor, it becomes necessary for the oppressor to modify his program and adopt more subtle and devious methods to maintain his rule. The oppressor attempts to throw the oppressed psychologically off-balance by combining a policy of vicious repression with spectacular gestures of good-will and service.

Given the fact that Black people have abandoned the non-functional and ineffective tactics of the "Civil Rights" era and have now resolved to attain their long overdue liberation by any means necessary, it has become necessary for the oppressor to deploy more occupation forces into the Black colony. The oppressor, particularly in New York, realizes that this cannot be done overtly without intensifying the revolutionary fervor of the Black people in the colony. Therefore, a pretext is needed for placing more pigs in the ghetto.

And what is the pretext? It goes like this: Responsible negro community leaders have informed us, and their reports concur with police findings, that the negro community is ravaged by crime, muggings, burglaries, murder and mayhem. The streets are unsafe, business establishments are infested by armed robbers, commerce cannot function. City Hall agrees with negro residents that the main cause for this horrible situation is the dope addicts who prey on innocent people. Yes, the dope addicts are to blame for the ever-increasing crime rate. And City Hall will answer the desperate cry of negro residents for greater protection – send in more police!

That victims of the plague are responsible for most of the crimes in the Black ghettos is a fact. That Black drug addicts perpetrate most of their robberies, burglaries and thefts in the Black community against Black people cannot be denied. But before, out of desperation, we jump up and scream for more police protection, we better remember who put the plague in Harlem and Bedford Stuyvesant and the other Black

communities. We better remember who ultimately profits from the drug addiction of Black people. We better remember that the police are alien hostile troops sent into the Black colonies by the ruling class, not to protect the lives of Black people, but rather to protect the economic interests and the private property of the capitalists and to make certain that Black people don't get out of place. Rockefeller and Lindsay could care less about the lives of Black people. And if we don't know by now how the police feel about us, then we are really in bad shape.

5. Pig Police

The plague could never flourish in the Black colonies if it were not for the active support of the occupation forces, the police. That narcotics arrests have increased in no way mitigates the fact that the police give dope peddlers immunity from arrest in exchange for money pay-offs.

It is also the practice of pig-police, especially narcotics agents, to seize a quantity of drugs from one dealer, arrest him, but only turn in a portion of the confiscated drugs for evidence. The rest is given to another dealer who sells it and gives a percentage of the profits to the narcotics agents. The pig-police also utilize informers who are dealers. In return for information, they receive immunity from arrest. The police cannot solve the problem, for they are a part of the problem.

When you consider that a kilo of heroin purchased by an importer for \$6,000, when cut and bagged and distributed will bring back a profit of \$300,000 in a weeks time, it becomes easier to understand that even if the death penalty were imposed on drug profiteers, it would not deter the trade.

The lying, devious puppets of the bourgeois ruling class, the demagogic politicians of Capitol Hill, have now passed a law which gives narcotics agents the right to crash in a person's home without knocking, on the pretext of looking for narcotics and "other evidence." This law was ostensibly passed to prevent dope dealers from destroying the dope and "other evidence." Now, anyone who thinks that this law will be confined to just suspected drug dealers is laboring under a tragic and possibly suicidal delusion. To assume that only suspected drug dealers will be affected by this law is to negate the reality of present-day America. To allow yourself to think for one moment that this law only applies to suspected drug dealers is to deny that the laws being passed, the policies being implemented, and the methods and tactics of the police have become blatantly and shamelessly fascist.

It should come as no surprise when the homes of revolutionaries and other progressive and true freedom-loving people are invaded by the police on the pretext of searching for drugs and "other evidence." A number of revolutionaries have already been imprisoned on framed-up narcotics charges. Lee Otis was given 30 years and Martin Sostre was sentenced to 41 years on trumped-up narcotics charges. Rest assured this policy will be intensified. It would do us well to consider what kicking in a person's door in search of drugs and "other evidence" actually means. What is "other evidence?" the bourgeois, fascist law-makers have not specified what constitutes "other evidence." The No-Knock Law is an integral part of the fascist trip this country has embarked upon.

Before, when the home of a Black person was burglarized by a drug addict, or a sister had her purse snatched, the police took all night to respond to the call, or didn't respond at all. The burglar or purse-snatcher was hardly ever caught. In most instances, when someone was arrested, it was the wrong person. But when an exploiting capitalist business establishment in that very same ghetto, especially a White one, gets ripped-off, there are immediately 15 siren-wailing police cars on the set, and three dozen pigs running up and down the street waving guns in everybody's face. And you can lay 5 to 1 odds that somebody is going to jail for it. Whether or not the arrested person perpetrated the act is irrelevant from the pigs' standpoint. The racist pig-police use Blacks as an outlet for their sadistic impulses, inadequacies and frustrations. Now that more police have been sent in, the situation has gone from bad to worse.

6. Revolution

The racist pig-police, the demagogic politicians and the avaricious big businessmen who control the politicians are delighted that Black youth have fallen victims to the plague. They are delighted for two reasons: one, it is economically profitable, and two, they realize that as long as they can

keep our Black youths standing on the street corners "nodding" from a "shot" of heroin, they won't have to worry about us waging an effective struggle for liberation. As long as our young Black brothers and sisters are chasing the bag, as long as they are trying to cop a fix, the rule of our oppressors is secure and our hopes for freedom are dead. It is the youth who make the revolution, and it is the youth who will carry it out. Without our young, we will never be able to forge a revolutionary force.

We are the only ones capable of eradicating the plague from our communities. It will not be an easy task. It will require tremendous effort. It will have to be a revolutionary program, a people's program.

The Black Panther Party is presently in the process of formulating a program to combat the plague, and we will. Dope is a form of genocide in which the victim pays to be killed.

**SEIZE THE TIME! INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE!
DESTROY THE PLAGUE!**

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

[Editor's note: Comrade Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor is a former BPP member and Political Prisoner (NY Panther 21) who is presently in exile. The views and analysis presented here are his own and are presented as part of our ongoing study of the history and legacy of the original Black Panther Party. The NABPP-PC is a completely legal and aboveground political party and does not advocate or promote violence or illegal activity.]



Minister of Defense BPP, Huey P. Newton

Prison Where Is Thy Victory?

By Huey P. Newton

January 3rd, 1970

When a person studies mathematics he learns that there are many mathematical laws that determine the approach he must take to solving the problems presented to him. In the study of geometry one of the first laws a person learns is that "the whole is not greater than the sum of its parts." This means simply that one cannot have a geometrical figure such as a circle or a square that contains more than it does when

broken down into smaller parts. Therefore, if all the smaller parts add up to a certain amount, the entire figure cannot add up to a larger amount. The prison cannot have a victory over the prisoner because those in charge take the same kind of approach and assume if they have the whole body in a cell that they have contained all that makes up the person. But a prisoner is not a geometrical figure, and an approach that is successful in mathematics is wholly unsuccessful when dealing with human beings.

In the case of the human we are not dealing only with the single individual, we are also dealing with the ideas and beliefs that have motivated him and that sustain him, even when his body is confined. In the case of humanity the whole is much greater than its parts because the whole includes the body, which is measurable and confineable and also the ideas, which cannot be measured and cannot be confined.

The ideas that can and will sustain our movement for total freedom and dignity of the people cannot be imprisoned, for they are to be found in the people, all the people, wherever they are. As long as the people live by the ideas of freedom and dignity, there will be no prison that can hold our movement down. Ideas move from one person to another by the association of brothers and sisters who recognize that a most evil system of capitalism has set us against each other, although our real enemy is the exploiter who profits from our poverty. When we realize such an idea, then we come to love and appreciate our brothers and sisters who we may have seen as enemies, and those exploiters who we may have seen as friends are revealed for what they truly are to all oppressed people. The people are the idea. The respect and dignity of the people as they move toward their freedom are the sustaining forces that reach into and out of the prison. The walls, the bars, the guns, and the guards can never encircle or hold down the idea of the people. And the people must always carry forward the idea, which is their dignity and their beauty.

The prison operates with the concept that since it has a person's body it has his entire being, because the whole cannot be greater than the sum of its parts. They put the body in a cell and seem to get some sense of relief and security from that fact. The idea of prison victory, then, is that when the person in jail begins to act, think, and believe the way they want him to, they have won the battle and the person is then "rehabilitated." But this cannot be the case because those who operate the prisons have failed to examine their own beliefs thoroughly, and they fail to understand the types of people they attempt to control. Therefore, even when the prison thinks it has won the victory, there is no victory.

There are two types of prisoners. The largest number are those who accept the legitimacy of the assumptions upon which the society is based. They wish to acquire the same goals as everybody else: money, power, and conspicuous consumption. In order to do so, however, they adopt techniques and methods that the society has defined as illegitimate. When this is discovered such people are put in jail. They may be called "illegitimate capitalists" since their aim is to acquire everything this capitalistic society defines as legitimate. The second type of prisoner is the one who rejects the legitimacy of the assumptions

upon which the society is based. He argues that the people at the bottom of the society are exploited for the profit and advantage of those at the top. Thus, the oppressed exist and will always be used to maintain the privileged status of the exploiters. There is no sacredness, there is no dignity, in either exploiting or being exploited. Although this system may make the society function at a high level of technological efficiency, it is an illegitimate system, since it rests upon the suffering of humans who are as worthy and as dignified as those who do not suffer. Thus, the second type of prisoner says that the society is corrupt and illegitimate and must be overthrown. This second type of prisoner is the "political prisoner." They do not accept the legitimacy of the society and cannot participate in its corrupting exploitation, whether they are in the prison or on the block.

The prison cannot gain a victory over either type of prisoner no matter how hard it tries. The "illegitimate capitalist" recognizes that if he plays the game the prison wants him to play, he will have his time reduced and be released to continue his activities. Therefore, he is willing to go through the prison programs and say the things the prison authorities want to hear. The prison assumes he is "rehabilitated" and ready for the society. The prisoner has really played the prison's game so that he can be released to resume pursuit of his capitalistic goals. There is no victory, for the prisoner from the "git-go" accepted the idea of the society. He pretends to accept the idea of the prison as a part of the game he has always played.

The prison cannot gain a victory over the political prisoner because he has nothing to be rehabilitated from or to. He refuses to accept the legitimacy of the system and refuses to participate. To participate is to admit that the society is legitimate because of its exploitation of the oppressed. This is the idea that the political prisoner does not accept, this is the idea for which he has been imprisoned, and this is the reason why he cannot cooperate with the system. The political prisoner will, in fact, serve his time just as will the "illegitimate capitalist." Yet the idea that motivated and sustained the political prisoner rests in the people. All the prison has is a body.

The dignity and beauty of man rests in the human spirit, which makes him more than simply a physical being. This spirit must never be suppressed for exploitation by others. As long as the people recognize the beauty of their human spirits and move against suppression and exploitation, they will be carrying out one of the most beautiful ideas of all time. Because the human whole is much greater than the sum of its parts. The ideas will always be among the people. The prison cannot be victorious because walls, bars, and guards cannot conquer or hold down an idea. □

THE HUEY P. NEWTON READER

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Editorial: On the Murder of Our Comrade



by Chairman Shaka Sankofa Zulu

"The state itself sets the stage for the kind of contradiction or violence that occurs in our world, particularly in the prisons. The ruling circle of the United States has terrorized the world. The state has the audacity to say they have the right to kill. They say they have a death penalty and it's legal. But I say by the laws of nature that no death penalty can be legal—it's only cold-blooded murder. It spurs all sorts of violence, because every man has a contract with himself, to keep himself alive at all cost."

-Huey P. Newton

Power To The People and Panther Love to our fallen comrade Hasan Shakur, a member of our Party, murdered by the state of Texas, August 31, 2006. The fascist power structure has set the terms on how they will deal with the people and our Party--violence. No matter how loud we proclaim our innocence to the ruling class and the political leaders of the U.S. state, our voice will be swiftly silenced by the merchants of the death.

The cold, rightist hand of fascism that is now terrorizing the people of the world must be met by the warm, leftist hand of people power and organization. Our Party, the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter, in solidarity with our allies, are proud to have known Comrade Hasan Shakur. He was not afraid to die, and he went out as a true Panther. Not one tear was shed by our comrade, for he knew that others would be watching and listening for any crack in his belief and conviction in Pantherism--the only ideology of revolution that will rescue Black oppressed people from the evils of imperialism, racism, and capitalism.

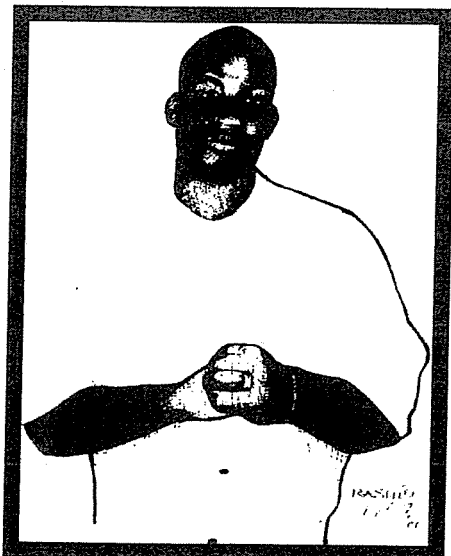
So, the power structure, in murdering Comrade Hasan Shakur, murdered another Black revolutionary. We will use his death as a weapon to educate the masses. His death is a scathing, flagrant indictment of the corroded and racist nature of all branches of the Amerikkkan power structure. This is not our system. It belongs to the ruling class--so in fighting for national liberation we need not be sparing in our wrath. All of it must be destroyed!

We are so proud that he didn't die a criminal, as the racist state would have liked. Instead he died a true Black Panther, a servant of the people in the highest development. "...He was free for a while. I guess that's more than most of us can expect."

DARE TO STRUGGLE AND DARE TO WIN! SEIZE THE TIME! BUILD PANTHER POWER AND PANTHER LOVE! ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Shaka Sankofa Zulu

TRANSFORM THE IRON HOUSES OF OPPRESSION INTO SCHOOLS OF LIBERATION! RIGHT ON!



Hasan Shakur (1977-2006)

A Brother and Freedom Fighter named Hasan Shakur

It was Black August 31st. that my brother and fellow freedom fighter Hasan Shakur was murdered on Texas Death Row by the unjust and racist Texas death machine. Another important fallen soldier is gone. Yes, brother Hasan has made that transition to the other side to be embraced by his warrior Ancestral Spirits, but he will not be, forgotten by us.

It is ironic that his transition has occurred during the month that is called Black August, and I'm sure the irony was not lost on our dear brother Hasan either as his execution date by the state inched ever more closer. Knowing Hasan, he may even have embraced it and felt it an honor to have closure during that month, for Hasan didn't fear death at all. Brother Hasan was consciously aware that the month we call "Black August" highlighted freedom fighters Jonathan Jackson, Marcus Garvey, George Jackson and Nat Turner (7th., 17th., 21st. and 21st. respectively), who either did their thing or were born on those days during the month of August. So I'm sure Hasan embraced it as an honor to make his transition in the same month as those freedom fighters.

Red Sun Rising, Vol. #1

I was first made aware of brother Hasan Shakur in 2002 by my mentor, Political Prisoner Russell "Maroon" Shoatz, and my right-hand man, Prisoner Of War Jerome "Hoagie" Coffey, while we were all being held on indefinite solitary confinement at the infamous SCI-Greene breaking camp. They were already in correspondence with Hasan, but they wanted me to take him under my wing, so to speak, and further his political education. I, however, was reluctant to do so, because I—like Maroon and Hoagie—had a lot of work on my plate that I was doing, and I felt I didn't have the time to be schooling anyone. So for a moment, Hasan was like the little brother to us that always wanted to go out with the big boys, but we would never let him come with us.

However, that all changed quickly, because unbeknownst to me, Mwalimu Maroon and Hoagie kept telling him about me, and encouraging him to contact me. Then one day, out of the blue, I received some personal mail, and low and behold, it was Brother Hasan Shakur!

Brother Hasan introduced himself to me, told me he had heard a lot of things about me, and explained how he acquired my contact information from Maroon and Hoagie and was told to write me. So in a sense, Brother Hasan was thrown on me! All reservations I may have had about corresponding and taking Hasan under my tutelage, were long gone. I linked up with brother Hasan — probably for the same reasons comrades Maroon and Hoagie did, because Hasan showed initiative, determination, and that freedom-loving fighting spirit that all revolutionaries must have. I quickly recognized that Hasan was a selfless man, with a solid and true love for the people.

Hasan became a person that I dearly loved. He was my little brother now. He became blood family in the truest sense of the word. My Mom was his Mom, and his Aunt BJ was my Aunt BJ. If we were in society together, it would have been *mi casa su casa*, showing nothing but brotherly love for each other, and engaging in the struggle together as comrade-in-arms.

I found Hasan to be a very intelligent young brother and definitely gifted with potential. Others had politicized brother Hasan prior to him coming into the circle of Political Prisoners in Pennsylvania, so Hasan was simply a diamond in the rough when we met him, so we just refined and polished him to help him shine like "The Jewel of Afrika." And shine he did! We introduced him to the "Afrikan-Centric Idea," to Jonathan Jackson and Comrade George and the Black Guerrilla Family, we introduced him to the many movements of New Afrikans in Amerikkka, in the Afrikan Diaspora, and on the Motherland, and we introduced him to the likes of Che and Fidel, Kwame Ture, Almirar Cabral, Cheik Anta Diop, Dr. Wade Nobles and many more illustrious Afrikan, Native, European, Asian, and Latin American freedom fighters.

But above all, he loved when Maroon and I would give him the history about the mighty Maroons, (fugitive/runaway Afrikan slaves), in the Americas, and how they heroically fought a guerrilla war for 400 years to crush the European slave system throughout the Americas. When we told him about the hidden history of the Maroons in the U.S. that fought a guerrilla war against the U.S. Army for two centuries and beat them; thus, creating "Liberated Territory" governed by Maroons (New Afrikans) for hundreds of years in Pennsylvania, The Great Dismal Swamp area of Virginia and the Carolinas, Florida, and in the state of Washington. Hasan was enthused about that, and I could see his big ole' grin through the pages of his response letters to me. He would write back and say, "Yo, I'm a Maroon too!"

He also loved the history of the Black Panther Party and the Black Liberation Army, and deeply respected the righteous work that those sistas and brothas put in back then. He couldn't get enough of the Panthers! It is of no wonder that he eventually became the Minister of Human Rights of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter. He truly expressed Panther Love in his everyday actions and was always about "Serving the People."

I'm sure that if Hasan had more time to live, he would have made more accomplishments than he did while in prison and done even bigger things from within that dark cell. Hasan is a perfect example of what a person can accomplish from behind prison walls in a small cell.

From within the confines of a prison cell he created newsletters that advocated the abolition of the death penalty. He networked with people nationally and internationally. He created support groups for himself and

others, and he created his own publishing company. He was a student and teacher of struggle.

Hasan became an inspiration to all prisoners who resist racist Amerika and her slave prison camps. If he had more time in life, he would have eventually attained the level of Stanley "Tookie" Williams and Mumia Abu Jamal, for that is what he aspired to reach. He used to always tell me, "Shakaboona, one day I'm a be just like Mumia." He longed to be here in the Pennsylvania prison system amongst the crew of political prisoners here like Maroon, Joseph "Joe-Joe" Bowens, Shabaka, Cetewayo, Hoagie, Ghani, myself, and others too many to mention. He wanted to be surrounded by the wealth of knowledge and wisdom he saw in the PPs/POWs from Pennsylvania, and I'm sure he would have loved the militancy of POWs Rob Jones and General Man-Sharif.

Of course that was all wishful thinking. Hasan knew that his place was there amongst his equally strong, knowledgeable, and committed comrades on Texas's Death Row like brother Haramia KiNassor, Charles "Chucky" Mamou, and Joseph Nichols Bey, to name a few. He has groomed these brothers to take on the struggle where he left off, which shouldn't be a problem for they were struggling right alongside brother Hasan pretty much from the beginning of his journey.

We encouraged Brother Hasan and all of our comrades on Texas Death Row, to join with us in building a national and international organization called the Human Rights Coalition (HRC) that would work to economically and politically empower our communities, and that would struggle on the behalf of prisoners to abolish Amerika's racist/classist death penalty, abolish the use of sentencing people to serve "Life without Parole" and sentencing juveniles to "Life," to make the penal system more transparent in order to provide checks against abuse of authority, to implement conjugal visitation rights for prisoners, to improve the living conditions and overall treatment of prisoners, and to wipe off many of these racist laws off the books of state/federal governments that sentence prisoners under laws like 3-Strikes, Crack and Powder Cocaine Disparity Law and the infamous Rockefeller Drug Laws of the 1970s.

Brother Hasan and our comrades on Texas Death Row fully understood what we were up against and knew that in order to put a stop to the oppressor's incarceration-death machine, all prisoners need to get their families, wives or girlfriends, their children, supporters, and other community activists to join the HRC in our struggle to "Empower The People" like the Panthers did in their day.

True to Hasan's innate character-trait of humaneness, he founded the HRC-Texas Chapter from behind the walls in the racist state of Texas.

Believe me when I say, our comrade Hasan Shakur was a thoroughbred warrior, made from the same material as Brother Omowale (Malcolm X), Bunchy Carter, Geronimo & Sandra Pratt, The General Harriet Tubman, and Blood Brothers Jonathan & George Jackson, and the mighty Maroon warriors he so praised.

Hasan Shakur was more than a comrade to me. He was my little brother, my family. Our lives were so much alike. We were blood brothers and Black Guerrillas to the end.

May The Creator, The Orishas, and Our Afrikan Ancestral Spirits Embrace Him. Ase! Ase! Ase!

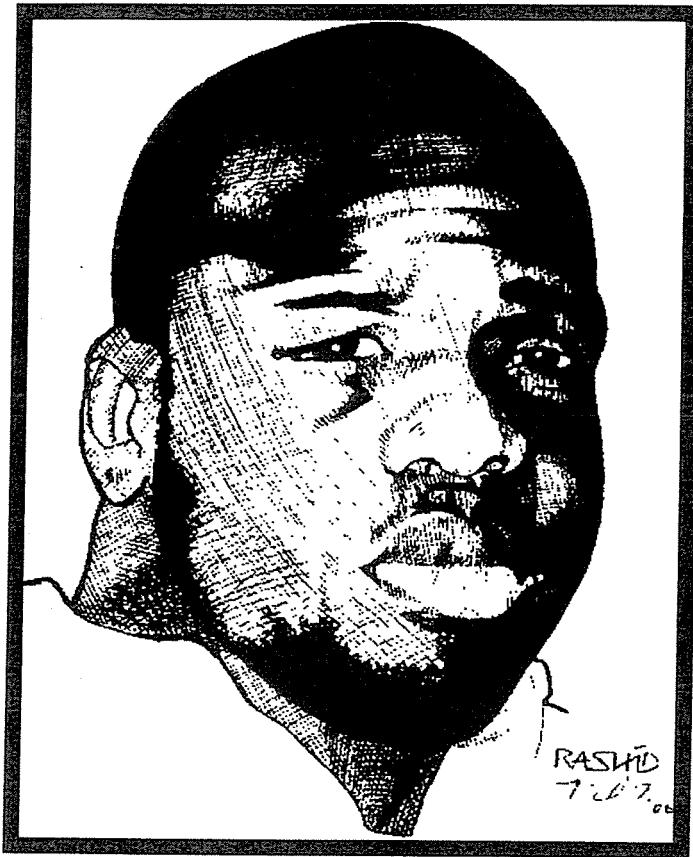
LONG LIVE HASAN SHAKUR! LONG LIVE HASAN SHAKUR!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE! POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

By Kerry Shakaboona Marshall

SCI Houtzdale/#BE-7826
PO BOX 1000
Houtzdale, PA 16698

BLACK PANTHERS STEP FORWARD!

**The Enemy has killed one of our
Panther brothers, we call for 1,000 to
take his place!**



Struggle for Humanity

By: Hasan Shakur

.....so I sit in a cage with a blue '75' painted on its door. Ever so often, a lower scale overseer peers into it to ask if I am 'ok'? My spirit is strong, yet my discontent for this situation I am in... I look this....this...pig in the eye and tell him: "I am lovely – isn't it a beautiful day?"

You see people – my spirit is strong. Stronger than I ever thought it could be. But – I have taken the time to look and study the people around me, and I have noticed something about us all. We are *taught* fear. Example: Have you noticed you can take a baby into a pool of water and let the baby go, and by *natural* instinct – that baby will swim! The baby will remain calm and swim in that water. Now, take that *same* child five years later and go to that same pool of water and that *same* child will be afraid of that water. What happened? The child has been exposed to the world around him/her.

So – this is where I come in to break that. I know from personal experience that the face of adversity is not a pretty one at all. Nonetheless; one must gaze *deeply* into the eyes of the adversity and not flinch. You see, I speak from the heart as I have been beating and slapping the hands of the body snatchers for almost nine years now. The adversity has become even greater as those same body snatchers have given me an execution date of April 27th, 2006. Yet, I remain vigilant, as I know and understand that if I just give up – I have given up on *you*. As a Panther; I must be of the people. I live, die, eat and breathe *the people*. I wouldn't be giving up on myself. I would be giving up on *you*.

I encourage you the people to reprogram yourself. You are men and

women and therefore you should demand to be treated as such and nothing less than such. In the process, you should also command the same treatment by carrying yourself as men and women.

We, the oppressed people, should not allow ourselves to not allow ourselves to not only be oppressed, but be belittled in the process. We must empower ourselves. Know thy self as well as the enemy. Also, know the ledge. We must know what our boundaries are and when armed with knowledge; the boundaries are *non-existent*.

I stand committed to not only myself, but to each and every one of you that are reading this statement right now. Arm yourself with the knowledge. We have long been in the struggle for life; for simple existence. We have seemingly won the struggle for civil 'rights.' I say: it does not exist until we exhibit the struggle for humanity. *The sooner begun! The sooner done!* □

To be enrolled in the New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC), you must commit to memory and live by the Party's Rules of Discipline and the 10-Point Program. You must uphold the Democratic Centralism of the Party. You must join and help build the mass organizations the Party supports. At all times and in all ways you must represent the Party's ideological and political line and conduct yourself as a true servant of the people and strive to be the people's pride.

"At this very moment, I represent the 2.3 million people in this system's injustice system. I represent the 3,000 plus people sentenced to die at the hands of this government, in its gulags across the nation."

"I stand tall as a Panther committed to the people's struggle! And as the Minister of Human Rights, I will exemplify the epitome of Socio-Revolutionary Consciousness!

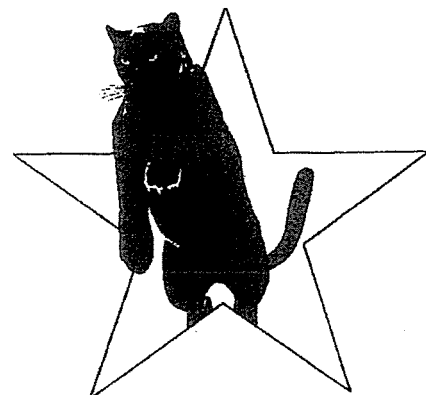
DARE TO STRUGGLE! DARE TO WIN!"

Hasan Shakur

**Uphold the legacy of Comrade Hasan
Shakur! Arise and step forward!**

For information on joining the Party write:

NABPP-PC
PO Box 4362
Allentown, PA 18105





**WHITE PANTHER ORGANIZATION TO WORK IN
TANDEM WITH NEW AFRIKAN BLACK PANTHER
PARTY – PRISON CHAPTER**

Greetings Comrades,

The decision has recently been made to form a White Panther Organization (WPO) to work in tandem with and under the leadership of the New Afrikan Black Panther Party-Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC). The purpose of the WPO is to provide a Panther-based means through which white brothers and sisters can uphold the tradition of the revolutionary abolitionist John Brown against white supremacy and racism, stand in the struggle of national liberation for Blacks, Latinos and other oppressed nationalities, and fight for proletarian revolution on an international scale.

The WPO is one of many groups in the United Front Against Imperialism which is seeking to end capitalist oppression and imperialist domination over the international proletariat. Our specific focus is to include whites everywhere in this world-wide struggle.

For those who are interested, write to the following address and request a copy of the White Panther Manifesto and membership information: Rising Sun Press, PO Box 4362, Allentown, PA 18105. I can also be reached by writing:



**Billy "Spider" Johnson #322385
P.O. Box 4362
Allentown, PA 18105**



**TEN POINT PROGRAM OF THE WHITE PANTHER
ORGANIZATION**

1. FULL SUPPORT FOR THE 10-POINT PROGRAM OF THE NEW AFRIKAN BLACK PANTHER PARTY – PRISON CHAPTER.
2. TOTAL SUPPORT FOR THE UNITED FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND THE STRUGGLES OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE EVERYWHERE.
3. TO TEACH THE SUPPRESSED HISTORY OF WHITE PEOPLE'S OPPOSITION TO RACIAL OPPRESSION AND GENOCIDE IN AMERIKA.
4. TO UPHOLD PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM AND THE UNITY OF THE MULTI-NATIONAL, MULTI-ETHNIC U.S. WORKING CLASS AGAINST NATIONAL AND CAPITALISTIC EXPLOITATION AND OPPRESSION.
5. TO RE-EDUCATE WHITE BROTHERS AND SISTERS WHO HAVE BEEN DELUDED BY RACIST, WHITE SUPREMACIST PROPAGANDA AND IDEOLOGY INTO OPPOSING THEIR OWN CLASS INTERESTS.
6. TO EMBRACE THE SPIRIT OF PANTHER LOVE AND SERVE THE PEOPLE IN THE CAPACITY OF REVOLUTIONARY WARRIORS.
7. TO UPHOLD THE TRADITION OF JOHN BROWN AND OTHERS WHO HAVE RECOGNIZED THAT AN INJURY TO ONE IS AN INJURY TO ALL, AND THAT NO ONE CAN BE FREE WHILE HIS BROTHERS AND SISTERS ARE IN BONDAGE.
8. TO UPHOLD REVOLUTIONARY DISCIPLINE, AND NEITHER STEAL FROM NOR INFORM ON, OR IN ANY OTHER WAY OPPRESS OR EXPLOIT THE PEOPLE.
9. TO BE UPRIGHT, HONEST AND FAIR IN ALL DEALINGS, TO SET A GOOD EXAMPLE FOR YOUTH AND BE RESPECTFUL OF ELDERS, AND IN EVERY WAY STRIVE TO BE THE PEOPLE'S PRIDE.
10. TO STAND FOR PEACE AND AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR, TO STAND FOR JUSTICE AND AGAINST INJUSTICE, AND FOR REVOLUTION AND AGAINST COUNTER-REVOLUTION. □

On the Questions of Race and Racism, Revolutionary National Liberation, and Building the United Front Against Imperialism - A Statement in Support of the White Panther Organization (WPO)

Reprinted from Right On!, No. #6



By Kevin "Rashid" Johnson

Minister of Defense, New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC)

"The economic nature of racism is not simply an aside...Racism is a fundamental characteristic of monopoly capitalism."

George L. Jackson, 1971

Introduction

Many people believe that racism - indeed the very concept of race itself - develops automatically when groups of people with different complexions, hair, and body types are brought together. This is *not* so! Actually, the concept of race is barely 500 years old. The common people have been programmed into accepting "race" as a normal and natural thing, to prevent them from questioning, investigating, and challenging the ideas and roots of race and racism. Race and racism are *inventions* of a specific social class, and devised to serve a specific social purpose. The creators are the oppressor capitalist ruling class, and the purpose is to divide the laboring class that the capitalists exploit against themselves. This is because, if united, the workers pose the single greatest threat to the capitalist class monopoly over social wealth, power, and control. A dispassionate study will show that in every situation where race has arisen to become a sharp dividing social factor, the hands of the capitalists can be seen pulling the strings, and it is only they who benefit from the conflicts.

George Jackson clearly recognized this. He pointed out that while white racism, the dominant form of racism in Amerika, expresses itself as:

"...the morbid traditional fear of Blacks, Indians, Mexicans, [and] the desire to inflict pain on them when they began to compete in the industrial sectors. The resentment and the seedbed of fear is *patterned into every modern capitalist society*. It grows out of a sense of insecurity and insignificance that is inculcated into the workers by the conditions of life and work under capitalism. This sense of vulnerability is the breeding ground of racism. At the same time, the ruling class actively promotes racism against the Blacks of the lower classes. This programmed racism has always served to distract the huge numbers of people who subsist at just a slightly higher level than those in a more debased condition (in the 1870's the strikes frequently ended in anti-Chinese or anti-Black lynchings)...Racism has served always in the U.S. as a pressure release..."

The sole concern of the capitalist class is to secure and increase their profits and power. They do not care whom or what they damage or destroy to accomplish this, nor do they care what nationality or complexion the people are whom they exploit, only that they keep the exploited workers unable to unite and mobilize against their conditions of exploitation. Racism has been the capitalists' most effective method of accomplishing this. Here in North Amerika, the game began in the late 1600's.

The Creation of the White Race and Racism

The first laborers exploited in North Amerika under British colonialism consisted of Afrikan, European, and Indian slaves and indentured servants. The concept of 'race' did not exist then. The laborers were *all equally* oppressed and exploited of their wealth-producing labor by the capitalist plantation owners and thus saw each other as equals. They lived, labored, loved, suffered, bred, bled, escaped, and died together. They also repeatedly rebelled and reveled together. But because they lacked a unifying leadership and vision or control over resources, they were unable to come together en masse to wage a united revolt to overthrow the plantation elite and the British colonial government that served and backed the elite. This all changed in 1676 when Bacon's Rebellion occurred.

The leader of the rebellion, Nathaniel Bacon, was a young plantation owner. He had left England to settle in the British colonies in 1673, and was appointed to the Council of British Colonial Governor William Berkeley. The colonial government's principal concern (as with any capitalist government), was to maintain stability in the colonies while protecting and expanding the holdings and wealth of the ruling class. To achieve this, Berkeley promoted developing trade relations and peace with the Indians who lived on surrounding lands. Bacon, however, promoted running the Indians off their land to expand the colonial settlements. In defiance of Berkeley's policies, Bacon independently organized and led poor farmers who lived on the outskirts of the colonies (most of whom were recently freed indentured servants), on murderous terror raids against nearby Indian communities. But instead of fleeing, the Natives responded with counter-raids against their

attackers. Bacon, unable to match the Indian counter-attacks, sought but was denied military support from Berkeley.

Bacon then turned on the established colonial ruling class and Berkeley's government. He armed and organized the colony's African and English slaves with promises of freedom, and in 1676 led them in revolt against the colonial rulers. The revolt succeeded in overthrowing the colonial ruling class and government, and captured the capitol at Jamestown, Virginia.

However, six months into the revolt, and at the height of his power, Bacon died of influenza. Bacon's Rebellion, deprived of its leader and organizer, collapsed, and the colonial ruling class and Council quickly regained control, though not without a determined last stand by the core group of rebels, principally composed of African slaves. It was at this point that the plantation elite and their reinstated government realized the immense danger and power of a unified working class. Consequently they decided to ensure that no united revolt like Bacon's Rebellion occurred again. Their solution was to split the lower class by permanently enslaving one sector while winning the loyalty of another sector, inciting its fear and contempt against and using it to police the enslaved sector. To divide, agitate, and rule was the plan. This they accomplished by *inventing* the concept of race and dividing the lower class along racial lines.

Laws were immediately passed that established the categories of "negro" (Spanish for "black"), and "white" as distinct racialized social statuses. In 1682 legislation was enacted that made slavery a *permanent* and *hereditary* status for all "Blacks," and over the next several decades slavery and indentured servitude of 'whites' were phased out. Further laws were passed that forbade and penalized positive social interactions between the races, particularly escapes, marriages, and procreation.

The poor white men made up the body of the colonial militias and, beginning in 1727, were conscripted into manning slave patrols under fines and other penalties if they refused. This plantation police force was the forerunner and grandparent of today's urban police forces that continue to be concentrated against people of color to repress them across America with violence and terror. In most areas, the slave patrols came to outnumber the black slaves. A variety of minor privileges were also granted to the poor whites, including tiny plots of land to live on -- at the Indians' expense -- a musket, the authority to kill rebellious Blacks, tax exemptions, and other benefits for manning slave patrols, grater leniency in the eyes of the law than Blacks, voting privileges, etc.

By inventing the social category of "white," and granting the lower class Europeans a share in power over the super-exploited and enslaved Africans, the capitalists created a scheme that caused the poor Europeans a false sense of privileged class unity with, and a confused loyalty toward the ruling class which was the source of all of the lower classes' poverty and misery. By selling out their own class interests to the elite, the poor whites made a deal with the devil that saw them focus their frustrations on Blacks instead of the capitalists, and thus ensured that they would *remain* an impoverished and exploited class, just a step above the Blacks.

To ensure the dedication of the slave patrols, and whites in general, in repressing and containing the black slaves, the ruling class generated a paranoid fear of slave revolts and especially of "Negroes with guns." From every pulpit, and every center of white social gathering and influence, Blacks were depicted as always plotting to revolt with the aim of murdering all whites indiscriminately (men, women, and children), molesting white women, and subverting 'good' white Christian civilization with Black "heathenism." Both the political and religious institutions were, and remain today, proponents of racism and white fear of Black revolt.

The church hierarchy, which was tied in with the ruling elite, also added fuel to the fire of racism by theologizing the myth of white racial superiority over all other races, claiming that whites were the Creator's "chosen people" destined to rule over all others as a divine right, and that slavery was a punishment ordained by the creator for Blacks as the "Curse of Canaan." It was through these combined methods that "white supremacy" and the very concept of the "white" and "black" races were

born and spread, and remain today normalized concepts that divide the lower class to further the interests of the wealthy elite.

The capitalists found race and racism such effective tools for manipulating and undermining the working class that appeals to race and racism, (overtly and subliminally), have been their generalized method of subverting working class struggles and manipulating workers to serve as mercenaries and mindless cannon fodder in fighting capitalist wars. To solidify lower class support, the capitalists who were struggling to break free of British control appealed to poor whites to fight the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), to achieve an independent "white nation." The Declaration of Independence expresses this in its statement "When...it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another." Because of the racialized identity of "whiteness," the colonists had come to identify themselves as a different "people" than the English.

From such wealthy elite notables and "Founding Fathers" as Benjamin Franklin (in 1751 to John Jay), Jedediah Morse (to Andrew Johnson in 1864), and James Madison emphasized in public and in private letters that America was to be a "white nation." (See Steve Martinot, *The Rule of Racialization*, 2003). This was specified in one of the first legislative acts of the independent American government -- the Naturalization Act of 1790 -- which stated that the U.S. was to be a "white republic." The "White" racialized identity which had its origins in the Virginia colony, was subsequently adopted into European thinking and served as it had in North America, to rationalize European colonization of people of color in Asia, Africa, Australia, and elsewhere, and to alienate the European working class from uniting with the super-oppressed peoples of color.

The American capitalists used the same device to justify their brutal and genocidal seizure of Indian and Mexican lands to expand their agricultural empire. They won the allegiance of the poor whites by promoting these actions as white "Manifest Destiny," as the duty and calling of whites to conquer "inferior" peoples, and by giving out free land grants. These same appeals are used today in pursuit of U.S. conquest and repression of people of color, only the concept of white supremacy and "Manifest Destiny" have become so ingrained and normalized in the collective white American mind, that they need not be explicitly stated. Moreover, to do so is politically incorrect and unwise in today's world where people of color have proven unwilling to accept overtly expressed racist oppression, (witness the national independence struggles of the 20th century against European colonialism that swept Asia and Africa; the urban uprisings, civil rights, and New African, First Nation, Mexican, and Puerto Rican liberation struggles in America, the worldwide opposition to South African Apartheid, etc.).

Therefore, the white supremacist appeal today is made and pursued more clandestinely and with greater sophistication, using such code words as "spreading democracy," "fighting terrorism," "fighting crime," "preventing the spread of Communism," etc. But any objective analysis quickly reveals that these policies, backed by extreme state violence, and demonizing labels such as "criminal," "terrorist," etc., are consistently applied to non-white peoples, and it's the white U.S. population that's appealed to in order to back these policies. That the national identity of America remains that of a white nation is revealed by its population being still classified by race, with panic arising anytime the elites claim some 'other' race like Latin American immigrants are threatening to overrun the "white majority," or that Blacks are a danger to the stability and moral integrity of America.

White racism caused many whites, (especially of the lower class), to become so consumed and intoxicated with the myth of their racial superiority, their right to repress and contain Blacks and others' ambitions, and the idea that their own poverty and lack of power was somehow the fault of Blacks, that they've resorted to confused, fundamentalist reactionary violence to subvert every effort of Blacks to improve or challenge their own conditions. Thus, Black political and economic struggles and gains have frequently been followed by reactionary white violence, or the rise of far right-wing white terrorist groups, like the Ku Klux Klan and Nights of White Camelia for example, the white mobs that attacked Blacks in Massachusetts (1850) and Philadelphia, Boston, and Cincinnati (1830's) to repress the Black vote;

the frequent lynchings during Reconstruction (1865-77), white riots against Blacks communities when Blacks moved in large numbers to Northern and Western cities to fill industrial jobs in the early 1900's, mob attacks and violence to repress civil rights struggles in the south during the 1950's and 60's, etc. This reactionary fanatical racial violence and conflict occurs always upon incitement of the ruling elite, to divert and neutralize the danger of revolt of any sector of the working class against their class exploitation and political impotence.

Division Created Within Racial Ranks

The divide and rule scheme was further refined based upon proposals made by a Caribbean slave owner, Willie Lynch, to a gathering of plantation owners in Virginia in 1712. Lynch proposed not only instigating sharp division between Blacks and whites, but among the black slaves as well, by playing on minor differences between them to generate fear and distrust. He proposed that the "black slaves should trust no one except the plantation elite. That they should be hostile toward themselves and that hostility should be maintained between them and the lower class whites. Lynch put it this way:

"Gentlemen, I greet you here on the banks of the James River in the year of our Lord 1712. First, I shall thank you, the gentlemen of the Colony of Virginia for bringing me here. I am here to help you solve some of your problems with slaves. Your invitation reached me on my modest plantation in the West Indies where I have experimented with some of the newest and still the oldest methods for control of slaves. Ancient Rome would envy us if my program was implemented. As our boat sailed south on the James River, named for our illustrious King, whose version of the Bible we cherish, I saw enough to know that your problem is not unique. While Rome used cords of wood as crosses for standing human bodies along its old highway in great numbers, you are here using the tree and the rope on occasion.

"I caught the whiff of a dead slave hanging from a tree a couple of miles back. You are not only losing valuable stock by hangings, you are having uprisings, slaves are running away. Your crops are sometimes left in the fields too long for maximum profit, you suffer occasional fires, your animals are killed. Gentlemen, you know that your problems are; I do not need to elaborate. I am not here to enumerate your problems, however, I am here to introduce you to methods of solving them.

"In my bag here, I have outlined a number of DIFFERENCES among the slaves, and I take their differences and make them bigger. I use FEAR, DISTRUST, and ENVY for control purposes. These methods have worked on my modest plantation in the West Indies and it will work throughout the South. Take this simple little list of differences, and think about them. On top of my list is "AGE," but it is there because it starts with an "A"; the second is "COLOR" or "SHADE", there is INTELLIGENCE, SIZE, SEX, STATUS ON PLANTATION, ATTITUDE OF OWNERS, WHETHER THE SLAVES LIVE IN THE VALLEY, ON THE HILL, EAST, WEST, NORTH or SOUTH, HAVE FINE HAIR or COARSE HAIR, or is TALL or SHORT. Now that you have a list of differences, I shall give you an outline of ACTION - but before that I shall assure you that distrust is stronger than trust, and envy is stronger than adulation, respect or admiration.

"The Black slave after receiving this indoctrination shall carry on and will become self-refueling and self-generating for hundreds of years, maybe thousands.

"Don't forget you must pitch the OLD BLACK MALE vs. the YOUNG BLACK MALE, and the YOUNG BLACK MALE vs. the OLD BLACK MALE. You must use the DARK SKIN SLAVE vs. the LIGHT SKIN SLAVE and the LIGHT SKIN SLAVE vs. the DARK SKIN SLAVE. You must use the FEMALE vs. the MALE and the MALE vs. the FEMALE-

You must also have your white servants and overseers distrust all Blacks, but it is necessary that your slaves trust and depend on us. They must love, respect, and trust ONLY US.

"Gentlemen, these kits are your keys to control. Use them. Have your wives and children use them. Never miss an opportunity - if used intensively for one year, the slaves themselves will remain perpetually distrustful. Thank you, gentlemen."

These methods of dividing slaves and Blacks versus poor whites can clearly be seen still in operation today, and the effects still remain with us - the distrust, fear, and envy. While the lower classes have come to love, emulate, and depend on the predatory capitalist class, its wealth, luxury, and artificial prestige, are all obtained through the labor, powerlessness, and poverty of the working class. Yesterday's chattel slaves are today's wage slaves: only the slave class today has grown to include all races and nationalities.

Capitalism Creates Racism Abroad

Kwame Nkruma observed that the same game of racial divide and rule was played when capitalism took root in Afrika..

"The close links between class and race developed in Africa alongside capitalist exploitation. Slavery, the master-servant relationship, and cheap labor were basic to it. The classic example is South Africa, where Africans experience a double exploitation - both on grounds of color and of class. Similar conditions exist in the U.S.A., the Caribbean, in Latin America, and in other parts of the world where the nature of the development of productive forces has resulted in a racist class structure. In these areas, even shades of color count - the degree of blackness being a yardstick by which social status is measured.

"...[A] racist social structure...is inseparable from capitalist economic development. For race is inextricably linked with class exploitation; in a racist-capitalist power structure, capitalist exploitation and race oppression are complementary; the removal of one ensures the removal of the other...

"The effects of industrialization in Africa as elsewhere, has been to foster the growth of the bourgeoisie, and at the same time the growth of a politically-conscious proletariat. The acquisition of property and political power on the part of the bourgeoisie, and the growing socialist and African nationalist aspirations of the working class, both strike at the root of the racist class structure, though each is aiming at different objectives. The bourgeoisie supports capitalist development while the proletariat - the oppressed class - is striving towards socialism.

"In South Africa, where the basis of ethnic relationships is class and color, the bourgeoisie comprises about one-fifth of the population. The British and the Boers, having joined forces to maintain their positions of privilege, have split up the remaining four-fifths of the population into "Blacks," "Coloreds," and "Indians." The Colored and Indians are minority groups which act as buffers to protect the minority whites against the increasingly militant and revolutionary Black majority. In the other settled areas of Africa, a similar class-race struggle is being waged.

"A non-racial society can only be achieved by socialist revolutionary action of the masses. It will never come as a gift from the minority ruling class. For it is impossible to separate race relations from the capitalist class relationships in which they have their roots.

"South Africa again provides a typical example...It was only with capitalist economic penetration that the master-servant relationship emerged, and with it, racism, color prejudice and apartheid...

"Slavery and the master-servant relationship were therefore the cause, rather than the result of racism. The position was crystallized and reinforced with the discovery of gold and diamonds in South Africa, and the employment of cheap African labor in the mines. As time passed, and it was thought necessary to justify the exploitation and oppression of African workers, the myth of racial inferiority was developed and spread.

"In the era of neocolonialism, 'underdevelopment' is still attributed not to exploitation but to inferiority, and racial undertones remain closely interwoven with the class struggle.

"It is only the ending of capitalism, colonialism, imperialism and neocolonialism and the attainment of world communism that can provide the conditions under which the race question can finally be abolished and eliminated."

Kwame Nkrumah, *Class Struggle in Africa*, 1970

An Example of Racism Incited to Divert Working Class Struggle

World War I (1914 -1918) was a competition between the European imperialist countries for access to and control over the abundant natural resources and markets of the 3rd world colonies. The war generated a boom for the war industrialists, particularly the American steel and manufacturing industries that were producing and selling weapons, machinery, and spare parts needed by the European elite to supply their armies, (which were manned by the working class of course). When the U.S. entered the war in 1917, the mandatory draft created a large shortage of white industrial workers. Laborers were needed. With promises of plenty, southern Blacks were drawn by the industrialist job recruiters into the Northern and Western cities to fill the vacant jobs. The poor migrant Blacks were also a welcomed replacement, since they would accept work at much lower wages than the white workers would tolerate, thus increasing the capitalists' profits by lowering labor costs.

The war's end in 1918 saw the return of the whites in need of employment. A strong working class movement was already underway in the U.S., which had the capitalists in a panic. They feared working class revolution, like the one that had just succeeded in overthrowing the capitalist class in Russia in 1917. To offset a united radical struggle of the working class poor, capitalist agents within the trade union movement incited the whites against the Blacks, diverting their attention away from challenging capitalist class oppression and toward the Blacks who'd "stolen" their jobs and were driving down wages.

This appeal to reactionary race hate to channel the anger of white workers away from challenging working class exploitation provoked racial violence against Blacks which culminated in widespread white race riots in the "Red Summer" of 1919. These riots saw over 20 incidents of white mobs converging on Black neighborhoods to gang rape Black women and girls, and murder and maim Black men, women, children and the elderly indiscriminately.

Fast-forwarding to today, we now see an identical situation of competition over jobs along racial lines taking place between Blacks versus Mexican and Latin American migrants. Under centuries of colonial and neo-colonial policies, U.S. capitalists with government backing have robbed the fertile land and resources and crushed the economies of their countries, imposing imperialist policies that have violently driven millions upon millions off their native lands and into complete insecurity, poverty and beggary. In desperate need of jobs to provide for their families, many are forced to migrate to America, to fill jobs that pay starvation wages or deprive them of benefits enjoyed by 'legal' workers. Their predicament duplicates that of Blacks who were forced to migrate to the northern and western cities from the south in search of employment upon being pushed off the land by Klan terror, and otherwise compelled to live in impoverished servitude.

But instead of struggling alongside these migrant workers today, Blacks have been incited by imperialist agents and propaganda to assume much the same repressive role as the white workers during the early 1900's. We perceive these migrants to be "stealing" our "scarce jobs, government benefits and housing, and driving down wages. Consequently a virtual war has been taking place between Black versus Mexicans and Latin Americans on the streets and inside U.S. prisons. Much of the violence, which begins inside the prisons where these 'races' are forcibly confined in miserable close quarters, spills over into society.

In just 2005, over 300 race riots occurred in the California prison system alone, mostly between Black versus Mexican and Latin American prisoners. These conflicts have been exposed repeatedly as incited by the imperialist controlled prison guard unions. So, *once again*, the capitalists, whose greedy ambitions are the *cause* of massive

poverty, job shortages, land theft, and forced migrations of both Blacks and the Native peoples of this region of the world, (who must risk their lives to cross borders created by the capitalists and white racism), have the commonly oppressed people, who are *all* victims of class and national oppression, warring amongst themselves.

The Race Game Played Between Whites

The Game of racism was not only created and used to play working class whites against people of color. It was also used between whites, and with the same purpose of undermining working class struggles against capitalist class exploitation. Indeed it was the principal method of whipping up mass hysteria in support of fascism in Western Europe during the early 1900's. And contrary to popular deception, the U.S. capitalist elite and government supported its purpose and function which was to suppress working class revolution. There is an extensive although repressed record in proof of this.

The tendency in mainstream circles and of the ruling class propaganda industry has been to paint German Nazism, for example, as a sort of odd Intent German anti-Semitism, which was brought to the surface by a "mad" leader (Hitler), who by luck and guile found himself in power. This, however, runs counter to the *actual* fact that the German and American capitalists consciously and deliberately financed and pushed Hitler into power to suppress a working class revolution that was threatening to take power. The capitalist Great Depression had disillusioned the workers across Europe about the promises of capitalism, and they were looking with hope to the example of Russia, (Socialist Russia being independent of the imperialist countries was not affected by the Depression). The capitalists also feared that the destabilized middle class would join forces with the lower class workers to overthrow their economic and political control. They opted to play the race card.

By inciting "Aryan" racism — blaming non-Aryans for Germany's economic crisis, which was actually caused by the capitalists — the Nazis won over the confused German middle and lower class and youth to subvert the working class movement and rechannel its momentum toward attacking sectors of German society that were classified as non-Aryan ("inferiors" and "degenerates"). Violent repression was thus targeted against the German Communists and radical youth, who were leading and organizing the workers' struggle, and the Jews, Slavs, Poles, Gypsies, Gays and disabled people. Overt fascism, like pure racism, was a desperate political strategy of the capitalist class control.

Just as the method of allying the majority white American working class to back the capitalist class's designs has been, by rallying them under the banner of a racialized "white nation," so too did the German capitalists do the same using the Nazis to rally the German workers' support under the banner of a racialized "Aryan nation." And as intended, this incitement of racist sentiments divided a once united working class against itself, whipped up hysterical and irrational mass support for the ruling class designs to smash working class struggle and to back the capitalists' aims to expand and colonize other nations, in this case not only nations of colored people but Europeans as well. Under the spell of a *purely invented* racism, the German masses proceed to back the Nazi war machine that saw them kill and die by the millions and carry out acts of the most savage brutality recorded in history — and all by and against white working class people.

As said, the U.S. government and business community supported Hitler and Mussolini before World War II. See for example:

1. Christopher Simpson, *The Splendid Blonde Beast: Money, Law and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1995, pp. 46-64;
2. David Schmitz, *Thank God They're On Our Side: The United States and Right Wing Dictatorships, 1921-1965*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999, Chapters 1 and 3;
3. David Schmitz, *The United States and Fascist Italy, 1922-1940*, Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1988;

4. John P. Diggins, *Mussolini and Fascism: The View from America*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1972.

U.S. government internal documents explain the class-based reasons for the warm American business support for fascism that are detailed in these books. In 1937, for example, a report of the U.S. State Department's European Division described the rise of fascism as a natural and commendable response of "the rich and middle class, in self-defense" when the "dissatisfied masses, with the example of the Russian revolution before them, swing to the Left." Fascism, thus, "must succeed or the masses, this time reinforced by the disillusioned middle classes, will again turn to the Left." The report also stated that "if Fascism cannot succeed by persuasion [in Germany], it must succeed by force." (See Schmitz, *The United States and Fascist Italy, 1922-1940*, p. 140). U.S. Ambassador to Russia, William Bullitt "believed that only Nazi Germany could stay the advance of Soviet Bolshevism in Europe." (Daniel Yergin, *Shattered Peace: The Origins of the Cold War and the National Security State*, Boston, MA: Houghton-Mifflin, 1977, p. 26).

The American charge d'affaires in Berlin wrote to Washington in 1933 that America should back the Nazi Party as the hope for Germany. He stated that Nazi policies "appeal to all civilized and reasonable people." American Ambassador Frederic Sackett noted that "it is perhaps well that Hitler is now in a position to wield unprecedented power." (See Schmitz, *The United States and Fascist Italy, 1922-1940*, pp. 174, 133, and Chapter 9).

U.S. corporations like Ford Motor Company were totally approving of fascism; financed and profited from the Fascists states, and participated in plundering Jewish assets under Hitler's Aryanization programs.

"Many U.S. companies bought substantial interests in established German companies, which in turn plowed the new money into Aryanizations or into arms productions banned under the Versailles Treaty. According to a 1936 report from Ambassador William Dodd to President Roosevelt, a half-dozen key U.S. companies - International Harvester, Ford, General Motors, Standard Oil of New Jersey, and DuPont - had become deeply involved in German weapons production..."

"U.S. investment in Germany accelerated rapidly after Hitler came to power, despite the Depression and Germany's default on virtually all of its government and commercial loans. Commerce Department reports show that U.S. investment in Germany increased some 48.5 percent between 1929 and 1940, while declining sharply everywhere else in continental Europe. U.S. investment in Great Britain...barely held steady over the decade, increasing only 2.6 percent."

Christopher Simpson, *The Splendid Blonde Beast: Money, Law and Genocide in the Twentieth Century*, supra, p. 64.

The U.S. government did not in fact unanimously declare European fascism an avowed enemy until it attacked U.S. interests. And even then American business interests still backed the Fascists. In fact, Prescott Bush, (grandfather of George W. Bush), and his father-in-law, George Herbert Walker, were the Nazi's financiers and traders through periods of the Jewish Holocaust, after their attacks on Britain and France, and even after the bombings of Pearl Harbor in 1941. It took the seizure of their Union Banking Corporation by the U.S. government in October 1942, under the Trading with the Enemies Act, to stop Bush and Walker.

Prior to WWII U.S. support for Italian Fascism was much the same. In December 1917, the Wilson administration expressed that the rising labor movement posed, "the obvious danger of social revolution and disorganization." Mussolini's Black Shirts solved the problem with violence, referring to Mussolini's October 1922 march on Rome, which smashed Italian democracy. The U.S. Ambassador noted with approval that the Fascists carried out "a fine young revolution." With government backing, the racist thugs bloodily repressed working class agitation. The U.S. embassy noted, Fascism was "perhaps the most potent factor in the suppression of Bolshevism in Italy." In a February 1925 report, the embassy also approvingly observed that the Fascists had smashed the

workers struggle through "restricting the right of free assembly, in abolishing freedom of the press and in having at its command a large military organization." It was also stated that "between Mussolini and Fascism and Giolitti and Socialism, between strong internal peace and prosperity and return to free speech, loose administration and general disorganization, Peace and Prosperity were preferred." (See Schmitz, See Schmitz, *The United States and Fascist Italy, 1922-1940*, pp. 76-77). These approving pronouncements are as undemocratic as one could get. It should also be remembered that when these official champions of capitalism talk about "disorder," and "peace" and "prosperity," they're speaking about these things from the perspective of their capitalist bosses in containing, repressing, and controlling the exploited workers, and against the workers' struggles to gain control over the society's economic and political institutions and power.

The U.S. business press spoke openly in support of Fascism. Fortune magazine, for example, devoted a special issue to Fascism in July 1934, and in its article "The State: Fascist and Total." It commented approvingly that "the purpose and effect of Fascism is to un wop the wops," and any views by American people that the Italians should resent Fascism, "is a confusion, and we can only get over it if we anesthetize for the moment our ingrained idea that democracy is the only right and just conception of government."

The rise of counter-revolutionary racist Fascism in Europe was accompanied by an attendant rise of far right-wing racist counterrevolutionary elements in America. The Klan for example saw a resurgence, and its membership swelled as never before in the 1920's.

Clearly when any struggle arises from within the ranks of the working class, the capitalists incite a corresponding rise of racist elements to divide and counter the up-thrusting masses and their challenge to capitalist domination. In essence, racism, and its most fundamentalist political and military form (namely fascism) are purely counter-revolutionary tools of the capitalist class used to sabotage working class struggle by dividing, inciting and turning the working class against itself.

The Race Game Played Between Blacks

Racism has also been used to divide exploited Blacks against themselves to further imperialist interests. One outstanding example occurred among the people of Rwanda and resulted in the genocidal war of 1994, which saw hundreds of thousands murdered while the imperialists sat by and watched. Until the Belgians entered Rwanda with imperialist aims in 1916, the Rwandans were a united people. The various ethnic groups shared the same language and had for centuries cooperated, supported, and sustained each other. The Hutu were 85%, the Tutsi 14%, and the Twa 1% of the population. The Hutu raised crops, the Tutsi tended herds. Economic relations between them was based upon the Hutu exchanging their surplus of vegetables for surplus Tutsi livestock. Their economies also sustained each other in that the Hutus set aside land for the Tutsi to graze their animals on. The manure of the animals in turn provided fertilizer for the Hutu crops.

In 1918 the European imperialist League of Nations "awarded" Rwanda to Belgium as a colony. This African country presented a source of great wealth to the Belgian King Leopold, in the form of vast forests of rubber trees. Rubber was in high demand in the industrial countries due to the recent invention of the inflatable tire. Like the agricultural capitalists of America, the Belgians needed a local slave class to work the rubber plantations and a local middle level force to police them. The colonial Belgian government, along with the Catholic Church played the race game to produce the desired result. They opened mission schools to only the Tutsi and forbade the Hutu from receiving an education. In the schools, Rwandan history was rewritten to project the Tutsi as the racial superior of the Hutus. The myth was taught that the Tutsi were a partly Caucasian Hamitic people because of their having taller statures, thinner features, and lighter complexions than the Hutu. Identity cards were issued which classified the entire society as Hutu, Tutsi, or Twa.

The Belgians treated the Hutu with the most savage brutality to enforce their submission. Millions upon millions resisted and were massacred, while millions more had ears, noses, and limbs cut off. Tutsi chiefs were appointed by the Belgians over the Hutu to serve as agents to this brutality. The Tutsi, like whites in America, were pleased to be

identified as allies of the ruling powers and to believe the myth of their racial superiority. Consequently, the Tutsi also lived in perpetual fear of Hutu revenge if the Hutu ever came together in revolt.

When the national independence struggles against European imperialism began to sweep across Afrika in the 1950's and 1960's, the educated Tutsis took notice and agitated for Rwandan independence. In turn the Belgians backed the Hutu to repress the Tutsi. Rwanda still won independence from Belgium in 1962, but this saw the Hutu take control of the upper levels of government. The Tutsi remained in the lower ranks, continuing to control the educational system, church, and livestock. The Hutu however took much of the Tutsi land upon taking power. Many of the Tutsi fled.

A 1973 coup saw a new Hutu government take power which changed the status of the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa from racial to ethnic groupings, and sought to democratically restructure the ethnic groups within social institutions according to their numbers. This meant a larger share for the Hutu in the economy, church, and educational institutions. Thousands of Tutsi lost their jobs and fled the country. A few years later the government turned sour, state property was privatized, and the economy collapsed. In addition to droughts and famines, the imperialist International Monetary Fund imposed a neo-liberal structural adjustment program that totally devastated the country. The Tutsi were repressed and another wave fled Rwanda, to refugee camps in Uganda.

The genocidal war of 1994 was the result of the exiled Tutsis returning and seeking to regain power in Rwanda. The imperialists, including Amerika, were fully aware of preparations for the genocide before it began, but sat by as events unfolded. This "race" war, like many other race based conflicts, saw "respectable" people engaged in the murderous frenzy: teachers, doctors, nurses, journalists, and clergy. Husbands killed wives, friends killed each other, gang rapes were frequent, etc. Such is the result of race hate, racism, and the violence they spawn. Over 500,000 were killed in a matter of just a few months.

The entire "racial" division in Rwanda was, like that here in Amerika, *created* by a ruling capitalist elite, whose power and profits were served by dividing a previously united people along racial lines, granting one sector a share of relative power and elevated social status, and a sense of racial connection to the ruling elite, so to use it to repress and control the other super-exploited by the ruling capitalist class. While in reality the *entire* divided people are collectively exploited by the ruling capitalist class.

Racism in Reverse

For a people, like Blacks in Amerika, who have endured centuries of brutality, degradation, disrespect, indignity, powerlessness, and being labeled "inferiors" based *solely* upon skin color, the desire for respect become and remains very strong. This desire for respect has left many Blacks vulnerable to the appeals of reverse racism. Reverse racism is here defined as a belief in Black superiority and white inferiority. But, for Blacks in Amerika, who have no independent access to or control over any institutions of power or productive wealth, the features of reverse racism take place primarily in their minds, as they lack the means to exercise any dominant or comparable power over those they claim to be their inferiors, namely whites.

Reverse racism first took root on a large scale with the teachings of Marcus Garvey, who preached the beauty and high culture of Blacks. In colonizing Afrika, beginning the late 1800's, the European imperialists used racism to alienate their country's own oppressed working class from the super-exploited Afrikans, and to rationalize their brutal colonial oppression of Afrikans. To give a scientific gloss to their racism doctrines, the imperialists commissioned novelists and intellectuals to develop theories to support their claims of European racial superiority and African racial inferiority. These European and Amerikan writers claimed that Afrika, when discovered by the white man, was a land of backward, ignorant savages upon whom they had bestowed the benefits and blessings of Christianity and white civilization. Garvey reversed these false and degrading European histories and views of Afrikans. He countered that ignorant, murderous, pillaging European savages attacked Afrika out of jealousy over our power, prosperity, and having achieved the highest level of civilization yet known. Neither version was objectively true. However, Garvey's teachings had an electrifying effect on Amerikan Blacks. In only a few years millions of

Blacks joined his universal Negro Improvement Association, supporting his "back to Afrika" movement. Garvey's teachings offered Blacks a new basis for pride, self-esteem, self-confidence, and respect, all tied into a messianic notion of Black racial superiority. By turning the teaching of white supremacy on its head, Garvey brought together the largest Black organization in U.S. history.

Following his arrest and exile, and the collapse of his UNIA, Garvey's doctrine and its Black capitalist underpinnings became the common doctrine of Black organizations that sought a large following. Most notable was the Nation of Islam, which was founded three years after Garvey's deportation. Indeed, the NOI absorbed many Garveyites, including some of the NOI's most influential leaders like Malcolm X. The NOI, however, enhanced and gave a theological twist to Garvey's doctrine, (much as the white church had done with white racism), by posing Blacks as the Creator's chosen people and whites as spawns of the Devil. The NOI's teachings were enhanced even further by its excommunicated member Clarence 13X, in his youth-based Nation of Gods and Earths, (formerly the 5% Nation), which promotes the Black man as god and whites as the actual devil.

Another proponent of subjective reverse racism was Dr. Khalid Muhammed, another excommunicated member of the NOI, who led the New Black Panther Party (NBPP) up until his death in 2001. Dr. Muhammed steered the NBPP far away from the class-based ideological and political line of the original BPP and in the direction of race-based anti-white politics, the NBPP's present path.

The New Afrikan Black Panther Party – Prison Chapter (NABPP-PC) distinguishes itself from such race-based politics as promoted by the NBPP, as we are proponents of class struggle and the revolutionary nationalist liberation struggles of those oppressed by imperialism. We recognize that the capitalists created and use race divisions to perpetuate conflict within the oppressed lower class sectors, and that racism and the race blame game serves the interests of the oppressor class and undermines the interests of the oppressed. This is proven historical fact. Furthermore, as revolutionary New Afrikan nationalists, we realize that there is a contradiction between race and nationalism, and moreover, that there is *no* nation composed of a single race. *All* existing nations, like the Indian Nations here in North Amerika, include whites and mixed bloods, even though there are contradictions. It was the policies of white colonialism *created by the ruling class* that produced these contradictions, and indeed the New Afrikan Nation. In this regard, we say all people of Afrikan heritage, regardless of skin tone, are part of a single Afrikan- New Afrikan Nation...A Pan-Afrikan Nation. Indeed most "Blacks" in Amerika are mixed bloods, mixed with white and/or Indian bloodlines.

We therefore move beyond the black and white dogmatism - Native Americans have always done this in adopting any "race" of people into their nations who embrace and respect their heritage and culture. All non-chauvinistic nations have done this. We also accept that nationalities can overlap and are not merely an either/or situation. People the world over embrace multiple nationalities, and so can New Afrikans. One can be Venezuelan and New Afrikan, or Lenape and New Afrikan, etc. This concept becomes practical revolutionary internationalism that has all oppressed nationalities struggling for both national self-determination *and* united multi-national anti-imperialist cooperation.

In the context of national liberation, we must remember that nationality is itself a temporary form of social organization and identity. It is a means to an end and not an end in itself. The nation is a product of social-historical development, and will wither away in time. Our orientation as genuine revolutionaries is to the whole of humynity and the future classless and nation-stateless society. Getting from here to there involves national liberation struggles and security issues. As Mao Tse Tung observed, "Proletarian nationalism is applied proletarian internationalism." It involves uniting all who can be united at each stage of the struggle. From our point of view, the key question is building alliances between the oppressed nations within the U.S. and abroad and the multi-national proletariat.

Rising Above Race to Build Class-Based Alliances

World suffering and oppression, poverty, and want are not caused by

race, but by national and class exploitation and oppression at the hands of the monopoly capitalist class. However, as repeatedly pointed out above, race and racism have been a principal tool and weapon of this class used to keep the oppressed workers of the world divided and warring among themselves, to divide, agitate, and rule. Toward the end of their lives, both Malcolm X and Martin Luther King, Jr. came to realize that basing struggle against oppression on race without challenging capitalist economic exploitation was a losing battle. And it was at that point when they began to agitate to have their followers struggle against capitalism, imperialism, and colonial oppression instead of exclusively focusing on race, (merely struggling against white oppression), that they were murdered. George Jackson pointed this out:

"It's no coincidence that Malcolm X and M. L. King died *when* they did. Malcolm X had just put it together... You remember what was on his lips when he died, Vietnam and economics, political economy. The professional killers could have murdered him long before they did. They let Malcolm rage on Muslim nationalism for a number of years because they knew it was an empty ideal, but the second he got his feet on the ground, they murdered him."

Fred Hampton summed it up perfectly in his November 1969 speech which he delivered at the University of Northern Illinois and aptly entitled: "It's a Class Struggle Goddamn!" Fred stated:

"You know a lot of people have hang-ups with the [Black Panther] Party because the Party talks about a class struggle. And the people that have those hang-ups are opportunists, and cowards, and individualist and everything that's anything but revolutionary. And they use these things as an excuse to justify and to alibi and to bonify their lack of participation in the real revolutionary struggle. So they say, 'Well, I can't dig the Panther Party because the Panthers they are engrossed with dealing with oppressor country radicals, or white people, or hunkies, or what have you.' They say, these are some of the [reasons] why I am not in the struggle. We got a lot of answers for these people. First of all, we say primarily that the priority of this struggle is class. That Marx, and Lenin, and Che Guevara, and Mao Tse-Tung and anybody else that has ever said or know or practiced anything about revolution, always said that a revolution is a class struggle. It was one class - the oppressed - against the other class, the oppressor. And it's got to be a universal fact. Those that don't admit to that are those that don't want to get involved in a revolution, because they know as long as they're dealing with a race thing, they'll never be involved in a revolution. They can talk about numbers, they can hang you up in many, many ways..."

"[We] never negated the fact that there was racism in Amerika, but we said... the only by-product, what comes off of capitalism, that happens to be racism. That capitalism comes first and next is racism. That when they brought slaves over here, it was to make money. So first the idea came that we went to make money, then the slaves came in order to make that money. That means that "through historical fact, racism had to come from capitalism. It had to be capitalism first and racism was a by-product of that."

Like Malcolm X and MLK, and not even a month after giving this speech, Fred Hampton was assassinated, shot in the head while asleep in bed, by Chicago police (in collaboration with the FBI), in a well-orchestrated hit. Coincidence?

The imperialists' hired guns made no pretenses about murdering Fred. No attempts were made to conceal their involvement by using puppets or agents. They used forces in government uniform, and a Black cop pulled the trigger at that. So what made Fred so threatening that the capitalists' goons would go to such open extremes to neutralize him? It was because Fred proved to be a much greater danger to the ruling class than all other leaders of the Black Movement combined. He was not only an exceptional organizer and inspirational leader and teacher of New Afrikans, but he could turn the most reactionary of white workers into revolutionaries.

It was Fred's work that led to the formation of the Young Patriot Party

(YPP), a revolutionary party of poor redneck white Appalachian youth whose symbol was a confederate flag with a red star emblazoned on it. Fred's approach was to appeal to class instead of being sidetracked by race. He walked into a redneck Hillbilly bar in Chicago when they asked, "What are you doing here?" he said, "I'm here to organize the Niggers." They said, "No Niggers come in here," and were ready to fight. He said, "Oh yeah? Well the way I see it, they work y'all like Niggers, treat y'all like Niggers, and make y'all live like Niggers. So that makes y'all niggers in my book, and I say it's time to get organized and deal with this shit!"

In another 1969 speech Fred pointed out:

"We got to face some facts. That the masses are poor, that the masses belong to what you call the lower class, and when I talk about the masses, I'm talking about the white masses, I'm talking about the Black masses, and the Brown masses, and the Yellow masses, too. We've got to face the fact that some people say you fight fire best with fire, but we say you put fire out best with water. We say you don't fight racism with racism - we're gonna fight racism with solidarity. We say you don't fight capitalism with no Black capitalism; you fight capitalism with socialism..."

"We have to understand very clearly that there's a man in our community called a capitalist. Sometimes he's Black and sometimes he's white. But that man has to be driven out of our community, because anybody who comes into the community to make profit off the people by exploiting them can be defined as a capitalist. And we don't care how many programs they have, how long a dashiki they have. Because political power does not flow from the sleeve of a dashiki..."

From within the Chicago chapter of the BPP, Fred was the leader of a growing multi-racial, multi-national, anti-imperialist united front that included the BPP, the Puerto Rican Young Lords Party, the Students for a Democratic Society (before the Weathermen faction took over), and the Revolutionary Youth Movement II. He even worked to politically develop apolitical street gangs. The imperialist realized, as did the southern plantation owners, in the wake of Bacon's Rebellion, that the greatest threat to their power is the *united* resistance of all elements of the oppressed laboring class. "In order for capitalism to continue to rule, any action that threatens the right of a few individuals to own and control public property must be prohibited and curtailed whatever the cost in resources... whatever the cost in blood... The national repressive institutions (police, National Guard, army, etc.), are no less determined." (George Jackson). It was because of the genuine threat that Fred's revolutionary practice posed in bringing together the divided "races" into a united movement to combat imperialism that he had to be liquidated.

New Afrikan Liberation and the Race Question

The position on race presented here is not to say that New Afrikans or "Blacks" should abandon or hand over our liberation struggle to the initiative or control of whites, nor that our struggle in this regard should depend or wait upon the cooperation of those who identify as "white." Quite the opposite: *We are our own liberators!*

New Afrikans are an oppressed and colonized nation within Amerika. As such, reforms cannot secure racial and social equality for us. Nor can whites identify with and recognize the conditions we suffer under - no one knows our oppression, the forms it takes and the liberation we desire like we do. We are a people with a history, a culture, and an identity that is our own, and was forged over centuries of common experience and oppression. It is therefore *our* place and no one else's to claim those things as uniquely our own and develop them to their highest potential as a people. In order to have any security as a people and not be dependent upon the whims of any other sectors, we must contest the basic means of our survival and governance. If we are not able to defend our own destiny and selves, we are *not free*. And if we do not break free from the conditions of our colonization, we leave ourselves open to further colonization under any number of reformed conditions and methods.

Merely joining up with Amerikan whites cannot ensure this because our oppression exceeds theirs. We must be able to assert and protect our economic and political rights whether whites support us or not. Self-

determination is the essence of our achieving liberation, and it is our right and duty to run our own organizations and liberation struggle. As the victims of racism only we know best how to resist it. But overall, we are oppressed as a nation and must free ourselves as a nation. In doing so we will destroy the basis of our colonized condition within the Amerikan Empire.

In aid of our struggle, the advanced sectors of white Amerika should work to destroy the notion of white skin privilege and white national chauvinism, which are the underlying national identity of Amerika. They must aid us in protecting our democratic rights and the democratic right of all peoples, including their own. In turn, we must join up with the entire multi-ethnic, multi-national, and multi-racial working class, radical youth, and progressive elements in a United Front Against Imperialism, to smash the overall imperialist system.

Imperialism is capitalism is colonialism. The defeat of imperialism requires the liberation of the colonized and neo-colonized nations on which imperialism feeds. But we must also remember that imperialism is capitalism, capitalism on a global scale that enslaves and profits off not only the workers of the non-industrialized nations and oppressed nationalities across the world, but also the workers of the industrially advanced capitalist countries. To defeat capitalism we must join together in a united struggle of the entire working class of all nations, ethnicities, and "races" in a United Front Against Imperialism, and to ultimately overthrow the capitalist political economy and its ruling class's power, privilege, and domination over social labor and wealth. Without a repressed working class under its thumb, capitalism cannot exist. Therefore, the entire working class must deny the capitalists its labor power.

Political forms of organization to lead the whole working class are necessary, and we support them. The advanced and anti-imperialist whites must also struggle against the fanatical and backward white supremacist elements like the Klan, Neo-Nazis, etc. These elements represent overt fascism in embryonic form, who will be backed by or handed state power to suppress and divide any working class and national independence struggle that arises to challenge monopoly capitalism, as the elite are wont to do, (and Western Europe in the early 1900's stands as a glaring example), when their power is threatened from below. They will move the most rabid racists into positions of political and military power to attack and smash revolutionary and progressive elements and incite and engage in a divisive race war. They will certainly also incite the fanatical Black reverse racists to turn on and attack Black revolutionary elements. They will justify such actions with claims that those who collaborate with any whites are "sell-outs." To them all whites are the enemy, as they have no concept of class struggle and will back dictators and sub-fascists like Haiti's Papa Doc Duvalier and the Congo's Joseph Mobutu, so long as they have black skin.

To the reverse racists it's all about a racist contest, and their backward thinking enables them to be used as imperialist agents to attack and kill the revolutionary elements. This is how Amilcar Cabral was assassinated in 1973. Cabral was Afrika's leading revolutionary, a Pan-African and anti-imperialist theorist and fighter of the 1960's and 1970's. He effectively led the people of Guinea Bissau against the greatest odds, in a successful national independence struggle against Portugal's colonialism.

Cabral emphasized that race must not be the basis of his country's independence struggle; that he did not confuse imperialism and colonialism with the color of people's skins, but desired to see economic, political, and military power in the hands of the working people so to free his country of all oppressive forces, be they white or black. In fact, his position and showing of solidarity with the white workers of Portugal generated a general uprising of the lower classes in Portugal that nearly saw a revolutionary overthrow of power there. He was also able to turn other white nations against Portugal's colonial policies in his country. It was this uprising and international support coupled with the political and armed liberation struggle of the people of Guinea Bissau that ultimately forced the Portuguese military and colonial administration to abandon Guinea Bissau and return to Portugal to suppress the revolt there.

In turn, Portuguese agents inside of Cabral's party assassinated him.

Those Black agents, Cabral's fellow countrymen, were opponents of his class-based struggle and were incited to murder Cabral because of his collaboration with "whites" and his being of mixed Afrikan and Portuguese blood. The Portuguese imperialists used proponents of reverse racism to kill the man who had led Afrika's greatest national independence struggle, freed his people from a savage and brutal colonial existence, and even offered his country's support to the struggles of New Afrikans here in Amerika. There are valuable lessons to be learned here.

Reverse racists have been used by the imperialists many times in attempts to derail many other revolutionary movements of people of color and to assassinate key leaders. Such racist elements were used to murder Malcolm X. The FBI used such elements as the United Slaves Organization to assassinate key members of the BPP, Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter and Jon Huggins in January 1969. Indeed in many cases, such as during the national independence struggles in Angola and Mozambique during the 1960's and 1970's, the elements who promoted anti-white ideology ended up becoming open collaborators with and agents of the very "white" imperialist powers they were supposed to be fighting. In Angola, for example, Jonas Sivimbi's UNITA became open agents of U.S. and South Afrikan imperialism and Holden Robert's UPA/FNLA (Uniao das Populacoes de Angola/Frente Nacional de Libertacao de Angola), became open agents of Portuguese colonialism. In Mozambique, racists like Uriah Simango, whose clique professed all whites and mulattoes to be the enemy, was purged from the ranks of Frelimo (the revolutionary Liberation Front of Mozambique). Subsequently Simango, exposed as an agent of Portugal, was implicated in the letter bomb assassination of Frelimo president Eduardo Mondlane. These elements became agents of their people's imperialist and colonial enemies and turned their arms against their own people's revolutionary forces, namely the MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola) and Frelimo (the Liberation Front of Mozambique).

At *no* time and in *no* place has playing the race card or the racial blame game *ever* won *any* people freedom from oppression. But what it *has* done is generate most *every* known major genocidal war that has occurred over the past several centuries, from the genocidal extermination of tens of millions of Native Americans to the genocidal attacks on Afrikans by Arabs in Southern Sudan today. The racial game produces only a back and forth cycle of bloodshed, carnage, and misery between competing racial groups. For its blind participants, racism offers nothing positive except a subjective and superficial sense of belonging to a group which professes to be "superior" to another group and the destruction of the natural compassion and sanity that would otherwise prevent humyns from brutalizing and massacring innocent people. And it's a double-edged sword: one "race" victimizes another and is in turn victimized, or another "race" becomes the target of the victim. The complicity of many Jews today in Anglo-Zionist race-oriented genocidal policies against Palestinians and other Arabs is an outstanding example of a people who were once victims of racial violence in turn victimizing another innocent people in the name of race and claims of "God-given" right. And all to advance the wealth and power interests of a capitalist elite.

For white and Black supremacists here in Amerika, a race war would not prove beneficial to either "race!" It would only produce a cycle of mutual slaughter of members of both races. No one would be "liberated" as a result, but multitudes of loved ones, friends, and colleagues on *both* sides would be brutalized, butchered, maimed, massacred, and displaced. In the race hate game no one wins - there is simply no way for a sane mind to romanticize it. But in a unified struggle of the oppressed classes and nationalities against imperialism, the very source of world suffering, misery, and racism *itself* can be uprooted and power turned over to those who can be trusted to use it properly, namely the oppressed masses.

In the fevered minds of racists, their fanatical howlings about violent repression or annihilation of "inferior races" sounds like fun: that is until the bloodshed begins and they find themselves on the receiving end of counter-violence that quickly spins out of control. To many racist southern whites, the brutal enslavement of New Afrikans seemed like a fun enterprise: that is until revolts like Nat Turner's turned the guns back

on them. At that point a massive Black and white abolitionist movement sprang to life to end slavery. There are simply no superior and inferior races. Indeed the very concept of race is an invention. A comrade put it this way in a letter to me:

"Racism is the spawn of colonialism and is based on lies. The technological edge the Europeans took advantage of came late in the game. Much of it was borrowed from other cultures like gunpowder from China, or the lanteen sail from Afrika, and potatoes from South Amerika. The combination of these elements and the ability to use them to establish global hegemony created the illusion of white supremacy.

"In reality, we're all pretty damn equal. Even the difference between smart and dumb people is not so great. No one of us is really all that smart. Is capitalism smart? We let the nastiest men run the show by the nastiest means and hope that it will work out alright for the rest of us. Is that smart? We've got all these gadgets running, but the sum of it is we've burned a hole in the atmosphere and the ice caps are melting.

"Even the idea of Communism is not so brilliant. It is just common sense. Ants work together for their common welfare. The genius lies in overcoming our own stupidity to do what is necessary to survive, and this will be a big struggle and one we could lose. There is a time factor in our getting our collective act together.

"The good news is that all the elements necessary for our survival as a species are present. We just have to sort out our political-social organization, and deal with the nasty men."

Even mainstream sources now admit that the concept of race is today a scientifically unsustainable concept. That the "theories" invented centuries ago to validate the idea are invalidated by today's science. The Merriam Webster Collegiate Encyclopedia (2000) defines and dismisses the notion of *race* thusly:

"Race: Term once commonly used in physical anthropology to denote a division of humankind possessing traits that are transmissible by descent and sufficient to characterize it as a distinct human type (e.g. Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Negroid). Today the term has little scientific standing, as older methods of differentiation, including hair form and body measurement, have given way to the comparative analysis of DNA and gene frequencies relating to such factors as blood type, the excretion of amino acids, and inherited enzyme deficiencies. Because all human populations today are extremely similar genetically, most researchers have abandoned the concept of race for the concept of the cline, a graded series of differences occurring along a line of environmental or geographical transition. This reflects the recognition that human populations have always been in a state of flux, with genes constantly flowing from one gene pool to another, impeded only by physical and ecological boundaries. While relative isolation does preserve genetic differences and allow populations to maximally adapt to climatic and disease factors over long periods of time, all groups currently existing are thoroughly "mixed" genetically, and such differences as still exist do not lend themselves to simple typologizing. "Race" is today primarily a social designation, identifying a class sharing some outward physical characteristics and some commonalities of culture and history."

This same text goes on to admit that racism is a creation and tool of colonialism:

"Racism: Belief that race is the primary determinant of human traits and capacities and that some races are inherently superior to others. More broadly, the term refers to any racial prejudice or discrimination throughout the era of European colonialism, the British viewed imperialism as a noble activity ("the white man's burden") destined to bring civilization to the benighted races, while the French invoked the notion of *mission civilisatrice*, their duty to bring civilization to backward peoples. An influential modern proponent was the Comte de Gobineau, who held that the so-called Aryan was the supreme race. His

most important follower was Houston Stewart Chamberlain, whom Adolf Hitler credited with supplying the "scientific" basis of the Nazi's racialist philosophy, used to justify the persecution of Jews and other non-Aryans. South African society was built on the principle of apartheid, or racial "separateness." Today the general trend is away from racism, though the problem of racist thinking remains intractable."

Although this mainstream reference work totally avoids pointing out what social-economic class invented the entire racial concept and its birth and role here in North Amerika, it does make clear that both "race" and "racism" are today proven to be scientifically baseless and live on solely as psycho-social concepts. So why then do the Amerikan political and economic rulers still classify Amerikan citizens by race? It is obviously because they desire to maintain its role as a divisive undercurrent to be appealed to and whipped into hysteria when their power and privilege are threatened from blow. Thus, the national identity of Amerika remains that of a "white nation."

The concepts of race and racism, like a deeply ingrained backward superstition, are so deeply embedded in the social psyche and are so deeply influential on social attitudes and behaviors, that they cannot be simply ignored. The oppressed "races" must collectively struggle against racial oppression and domination, while the conscious members of the oppressor races must struggle to conquer the myth of racial superiority within their own "racial" groups. Reverse racism must also be countered. In confronting racism we must be aware of its counterrevolutionary nature and the forms it takes in the minds of those who embrace it consciously or subconsciously. George Jackson gave an insightful analysis on this point. He stated:

"Racism is a matter of ingrained traditional attitudes conditioned *through institutions*. For some, it is as natural a reflex as breathing. The psycho-social effects of segregated environments compounded by bitter class repression have served in the past to render the progressive movement almost totally impotent.

"The major obstacle to a united left in this country is white racism. There are three categories of white racists: the overt, self-satisfied racist who doesn't attempt to hide his antipathy; the self-interdicting racist who harbors and nurtures racism in spite of his best efforts; and the unconscious racist, who has no awareness of his racist preconceptions.

"As Black partisans, we must recognize and allow for the existence of all three types of racists. We must understand their presence as an effect of the system. It is the system that must be crushed, for it continues to manufacture new and deeper contradictions of both class and race. Once it is destroyed, we may be able to address the problems of racism at an even more basic level. But we must also combat racism while we are in the process of destroying the system.

"The self-interdicting racist, no matter what his acquired conviction or ideology, will seldom be able to contribute with his actions in any really concrete way. His role in revolution, barring a change of basic character, will be minimal throughout. Whether the basic character of a man can be changed at all is still a question."

As Comrade George pointed out, our struggle demands that we acknowledge and recognize the three categories of racists. However, we must also acknowledge and recognize that the reverse racists also fit into these three categories. And in answer to George's question whether there is a possibility of changing the basic character of the "self-interdicting racist," we think yes. The Marxist recognizes that there is a dialectical relationship between our social practice and how we think. That reactionary thinking can be corrected through revolutionary social practice. But that practice must also in turn be guided by and committed to correct ideology.

Our Comrade Tom Big Warrior analyzed the process very well in a discussion we had some time ago concerning a New Afrikan brother with whom I was struggling to break out of a deeply ingrained hatred of whites. This brother's views had been imbedded in him at a very young

age by a now deceased grandfather, whose memory he held with the highest respect. While he could not refute my arguments against race-based hatreds, he also felt powerless to change his feelings. Here is Tom:

"I understand what you're talking about with the brother who has deeply rooted hatred of whites. I've got brothers in my nation who have the same issues regarding Blacks, particularly among the hillbillies of mixed white-Native heritage. It was bred into them from a very young age and reinforced by their social practice (or lack of it) with Black folks.

"Hell, everybody in Amerika has been brainwashed on race. I know I have been affected by it, but I've got the advantage of both a theoretical understanding and a lifetime of positive social interaction with people of all ethnic backgrounds (and particularly Black Comrades), so I can identify and throw away feelings that come from racist programming as they come up.

"I think the key with this brother is to get him to see that his feelings are part of the slave mentality he (and his grandfather) were programmed to have to keep Black people from throwing off their oppression. If you can't inspire meek submission and self-deprecation, you can inspire hate and fear, (which is the next best thing), and this leads to alienation and division.

"The greatest threat in the South was unity between the Blacks and poor whites, who had common class interests. So the big landlords played them against each other by promoting blind hatred and racism.

"If he can grasp that his feelings are chains upon him causing him to act against the interests of Black people and working people in general, (that he is falling into the role of a "Nigger" set for him by "Mr. Charlie"), he will see that it must be overcome so he can be a "true Black Warrior" and a genuine revolutionary.

"We feel the way we feel because we think the way we think. Changing our thinking changes how we feel. In fact our feelings expose how we think at the deepest levels. Sometimes we think we have something all sorted out and understood, but then a feeling pops up to show us that we are still in process, and we have to keep struggling to grasp the idea more firmly.

"If the brother wants to be a revolutionary, he can't be liberal with himself. He has to recognize that white people must be won to support Black liberation and make proletarian revolution. Unless this is done, Black people will continue to be oppressed, and the imperialists will keep running the show.

"He has to decide if he wants to be part of the problem or part of the solution. The MC5, the house band of the White Panther Party, had a song where the singer shouts out, "It takes 5 seconds to decide and determine your purpose here on the planet, 5 seconds to decide if you are going to be a part of the problem or you are going to be a part of the solution - KICK OUT THE JAMS MOTHERFUCKER!"

"This is just what they were talking about - this mental/emotional programming that jams up our ability to make revolution. Ain't nothing to do but kick it out, get rid of it, to get to what needs to be done.

"When you reason with him he says, "Yeah, yeah you're right, Brother," because you can't reasonably argue for racism. But he's not willing to let go and backslides right back into it. As if counter-revolution was his purpose on the planet.

"It's time to invoke the 5 second rule. Time for him to make a commitment and stop being liberal with himself. The world can't wait for us to get serious about revolution.

"If he really wants to honor his grandfather's memory, he shouldn't let the wounding that was done to him and other Blacks go on another generation. You can't play the blame game and win.

"The pigs didn't kill Fred Hampton because he was good at

organizing Black people, but because he could turn redneck hillbilly crackers into Red revolutionaries, which he did with the Young Patriot Party - that's true history.

"He was a better revolutionary than Huey Newton, Bobby Seale and Eldridge Cleaver put together, and he is the one we should measure ourselves and our praxis by.

"It is our practice that determines our thinking, but there is a dialectic between theory and practice called praxis, in which theory becomes the determining factor.

"This is different than idealism, which Marx was struggling against. This is what Mao was talking about when he said *ideological and political line will determine everything*. It is the difference between Utopian socialism and our Scientific socialism.

"We begin with a concrete analysis of concrete conditions and from this develop theory, then apply our theory to practice, then sum up our practice to strengthen and advance our theory, then go back to practice, over and over getting sharper and sharper. That's praxis.

"That's how a bush-wah intellectual, or a peasant or a lumpen can transform into a proletarian revolutionary without working in a factory or even ever seeing one. It doesn't happen spontaneously, *it takes struggle*.

When we truly recognize that the capitalists are at the root of racism, that it is a tool and weapon invented and used by them to preserve their power and privilege and to keep the lower classes divided, oppressed, miserable, and powerless, then we must also recognize our *revolutionary duty* to rise above racist and reverse racist programming. This is a difficult task which demands *concrete practice*. It is *because* of the depth of race-conditioning that the liberation struggle of New Afrikans and other oppressed nationalities cannot be dependent upon white cooperation, however, that cooperation should be sought and developed in process to build a United Front Against Imperialism. True liberation from national oppression *compels* destruction of the imperialist system. Otherwise, the monopoly capitalists will continue to derail independence struggles by allying themselves with racist and comprador elements within the bodies of the oppressed nationalities and races, push them into positions of power, and then use them to subvert the liberation struggles and bring the masses back under imperialist control. This is the essence of neocolonialism and the method used by the imperialists to undermine most all of the national independence struggles of the last century.

In that it's the capitalist institutions that create, perpetuate, and benefit from racism, (indeed they *need* to preserve it to maintain their elevated power and status), they will assuredly mobilize resistance against all genuine efforts to build class-based racial solidarity: They will use the most rabid of white racists, and incite many New Afrikans, Native and other people of color to fall out on the reactionary side, and the more intelligent reactionary, (reverse racist and comprador), leaders will encourage this. Our movement must be prepared to confront and counter such measures. We must set an example of promoting class unity and solidarity. It will also occur that some people will vacillate between the revolutionary and reactionary sides and that the dividing line won't be static and clear cut. The task of winning people politically will ultimately decide victory.

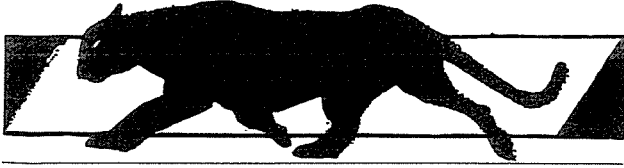
Conclusion

It should be clear by now that those of us who play into racism act as agents of our own imperialist oppressors, (whether consciously or not), and we aid in continuing our own oppression and want. In fact, we *increase* and *intensify* our own oppression and misery by inciting and perpetuating hatred, humiliation, insensitivity, and violence not only against the other race(s), but in turn against our "own" race. It's a cycle that no one benefits from except the oppressor class that sits at the top laughing at what fools we are, while their power and wealth remain secure from any real challenge. It is on this basis that the New Afrikan Black Panther Party - Prison Chapter promotes, unites with, and supports the White Panther Organization and all anti-imperialists of all

nationalities and all oppressed peoples in a common struggle against imperialism. We welcome the WPO as fellow comrades and Panthers within the democratic centralism of our Vanguard Party.

All Power to the People!

Kevin "Rashid" Johnson, Minister of Defense, NABPP- PC



New Arrests in a Decades-Old Slaying of Police Officers

By ELIZABETH SOLOMONT

Special to the Sun, January 24, 2007

Two men serving sentences for murdering two New York City police officers in 1971 were rearrested yesterday in connection with the killing of a San Francisco officer that same year, in what officials described as a series of attacks on police by the Black Liberation Army.

Along with five others, Herman Bell and Anthony Bottom were implicated in the murder of Sergeant John Young of the San Francisco Police Department, officials said. Young was killed on August 29, 1971, when officials said members of the radical group shot him through the bulletproof glass window of a police station in Ingleside, Calif.

Officials also arrested five individuals they described as former members of the Black Liberation Army in connection with the murder, including Francisco Torres, 58, of Queens. Also arrested in connection with the murder were Ray Michael Boudreaux, 64, of Altadena, Calif., Richard Brown, 65, of San Francisco, Henry Watson Jones, 71, of Altadena, and Harold Taylor, 58, of Panama City, Fla. Police arrested Richard O'Neal, 57, of San Francisco, on charges of conspiracy, but did not link him to Young's death.

Officials said Young's death was the result of one of a series of attacks on police between 1968 and 1973, including the 1971 murder of two New York City police officers, Waverly Jones and Joseph Piagentini. Jones and Piagentini were shot from behind in Harlem on May 21, 1971. Bell and Bottom, the latter of whom is known as Jalil Muntaqim, as well as another accomplice, Albert Washington, were later convicted of murdering them. Although nearly 36 years have passed since the attacks, officials in 1999 reopened investigations into several murders of San Francisco police officers in the 1960s and 1970s after "advances in forensic science led to the discovery of new evidence in one of the unsolved cases," officials at the San Francisco Police Department said yesterday in a news release.

Although officials declined to elaborate on the forensic evidence in this case, Mr. Torres in July was forced to provide a court-ordered DNA sample to the authorities, the Daily News reported. He and his brother, Gabriel Torres, were suspected of planning the attack on Jones and Piagentini, but a judge ruled that there was insufficient evidence.

However, officials have now implicated Bell and Mr. Torres in Young's murder. They said the two allegedly entered the Ingleside police station while several accomplices acted as lookouts and getaway drivers. Bell allegedly fired a shotgun through bulletproof glass, killing Young. Torres tried to set off dynamite as they fled, although the device failed.

Police also said Bottom and Washington were supposed to have joined them, but were arrested after a traffic stop that night when they fired on — but did not injure — a San Francisco police sergeant. When police searched their car, they discovered the .45-caliber gun used to kill the two New York City officers.

As he left police headquarters in Lower Manhattan yesterday, Mr.

Torres, handcuffed and restrained by chains around his ankles, looked directly into news cameras that awaited his arrival. Asked if he killed Young, he said, "It's a frameup."

In a statement, Commissioner Raymond Kelly praised the arrests and reiterated his opposition to parole for Bell and Bottom. "They shot two New York City police officers in the back as part of a series of assassinations directed against police officers in those murderous days," he said. "It may have been 35 years ago, but I certainly haven't forgotten. Neither has anyone who was a member of the police department back then."

Reached by telephone at her home on Long Island, Piagentini's widow praised the arrests. "It's good to know that the justice system has been, for 36 years, tracking this case," Diane Piagentini said. "These are cold-blooded killers. They knew what they were doing back in '71 and their purpose in '71 was to kill police officers in this country."

A spokesman for the Patrolmen's Benevolent Association declined to comment.

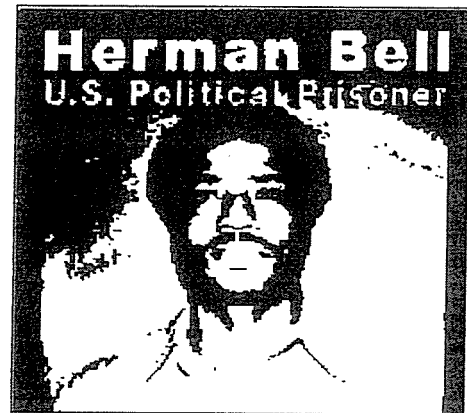
Meanwhile, those involved in a movement to free Bell and Bottom reiterated their position yesterday that the men are political prisoners who should be released from prison.

"I know Herman Bell and Anthony Bottom and their case. They have said they are innocent," City Council Member Charles Barron said.

Many members of the Black Panther Party were framed during the 1960s, Mr. Barron said, adding: "I think that was a time when there was a war going on when black people were killed with impunity by police officers."

A lawyer representing Bell, Stuart Hanlon, called into question new evidence supposedly brought by police. "The evidence has been with the police for 35 years," he said, adding that he believes police are targeting the wrong people for the murder. "They are trying to raise politics to arrest people," he said.

Similar articles appearing in California news (San Francisco, Monterey, Contra Costa) include the fact that these same defendants were charged with this crime in 1974, but the charges were dropped when police admitted that their confessions had been extracted through the use of torture by New Orleans police. Outside of Northern California, that very important detail seems to have been omitted from all other news sources' accounts.



Message from Ashanti

To all Jericho chapters, members and allies:

It is with urgency that we call on you to be alert right now in light of this latest assault on our movement coming from California and New York. By now you have heard the news that fascism has called for the arrest of at least eight (8) former members of the Black Panther Party, two of whom are already serving life sentences in New York state prisons. The incident occurred back in August 29, 1971, when, if I remember correctly, a unit of the Black Liberation Army attacked a precinct in San

Francisco in retaliation for the assassination of Field Marshall George Jackson the week prior.

As with many actions of the BLA, large-scale corralling measures were taken and numerous folks, community revolutionaries and unaffiliated community folks were arrested and charged with criminal bs. Torture and other illegal but totally characteristic measures were used by local, state and federal forces to coerce? confessions? and manufacture evidence where there was none. But that's war, ain't it? Revolutionaries held up through it then, as they do now, 35 years later. 35 years later? I am being facetious. The war never ended, good people. And neither has our response to their war on our revolutionaries still confined within their steel, concrete and electronic bowels.

We say:

FREE ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS. WE ARE THE JERICHO AMNESTY MOVEMENT.

Right on?

RIGHT ON.

The names that we have so far of the arrested are:

Ray Michael Boudreaux, 64, of Altadena; Richard Brown, 65, of San Francisco; Herman Bell, 59, and Anthony Bottom, 55, both currently incarcerated in New York state; Henry Watson Jones, 71, of Altadena; Francisco Torres, 58, of Queens, New York; and Harold Taylor, 58, of Panama City, Fla.

There is even a "mystery suspect," sort of like in the Sean Bell Mystery Fourth Man theory. They said he may be hiding out in Tanzania, Belize or France. We hope that the O'Neils in Tanzania and Donald Cox in France know what's going on and also be alert.

The mass rag sheets have given their jive poisoned descriptions of the BLA, but we say that the BLA is a people's army fighting the good fight and still determined to win. But folks will say that there is no longer a BLA, and I take pleasure in reminding folks with the words of Assata Shakur that there is and will always be a Black Liberation Army until Black folks are free. So, take that local, state and federal forces of fascism. Long as we believe, and long as our young folks hip-hop and praise the name "Black Liberation Army," the army is alive and well and in a safe place in our hearts surrounded by balagoonistic spirits, Sandra-Holmes spirits, etc. Hell, Empire is raising the dead. Let's go to work!

Stay tuned to freedom archives,³² Jericho and other peoples' sites for more info. The best we can say now is that information is still coming in. We should prepare for two things: 1. to be ever alert, and support activity for our comrades, even if on short notice. Right on! RIGHT ON!

What? What?

Filiberto is that you, that whisper?

What? What? Nannie Prosser is that you, that whisper?

What? Meryl. Geronimo. John Brown. Twyman?

Lawd, the empire in trouble!!!!!!

Ashanti Alston

Proud to have been a POW out of the ranks of the BLA
Servant Co-Chair, National Jericho.



Anthony "Jalil Muntagim" Bottom

Jalil Abdul Muntagim was 19 years old when he was arrested. A former member of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the Black Liberation Army (BLA), he is one of the world's longest held political prisoners/prisoners of war. While imprisoned in San Quentin, Jalil launched the National Prisoners Campaign to Petition the United Nations to recognize the existence of political prisoners in the United States in 1976. The International Commission of Jurists, after touring the U.S. and meeting with specific political prisoners, reported that political prisoners did in fact exist in the U.S.

In 1997, Jalil launched the Jericho Movement. Over 6,000 supporters marched in Washington D.C. and San Francisco demanding amnesty for U.S. Political Prisoners/POWs based on International Law.

**Free All U.S Political
Prisoners/POWs!**

**Free
the
SF8!**

³² (www.freedomarchives.org)

